

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz

Puritanism, Sectarian
Polemics and Jihād



Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz

Puritanism, Sectarian
Polemics and Jihād

Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi



SHĀH 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ

Puritanism, Sectarian, Polemics and Jihād

by

SAIYID ATHĀR ABBAS RIZVI
M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.A.H. (Australia)

MA'RIFAT PUBLISHING HOUSE

16, Patey Street, Campbell,
Canberra, A. C. T. 2601,
AUSTRALIA

1982

First published by
MA'RIFAT PUBLISHING HOUSE
16 Patey Street, Campbell
Canberra, A. C. T. 2601
Australia
1982

This book can be exported from India only by the publishers, Ma'rifat Publishing House, 16 Patey Street, Campbell, Canberra, A. C. T. 2601, Australia, and this constitutes a condition of its initial sale and subsequent sales in India. Infringement of this condition of sale will lead to civil and/or criminal legal action and prosecution.

© RIZVI, SAIYID ATHAR ABBAS (b. 1921)

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of Ma'rifat Publishing House, Canberra.

Printed at Prem Printing Press, 257, Golaganj,
Lucknow-226001 (India)

TO
the memory of

SHAYKH 'ABD AL-RAZZĀQ OF BĀNSĀ

AND

MAWLĀNĀ FAKHR AL-DĪN OF DELHI

THE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

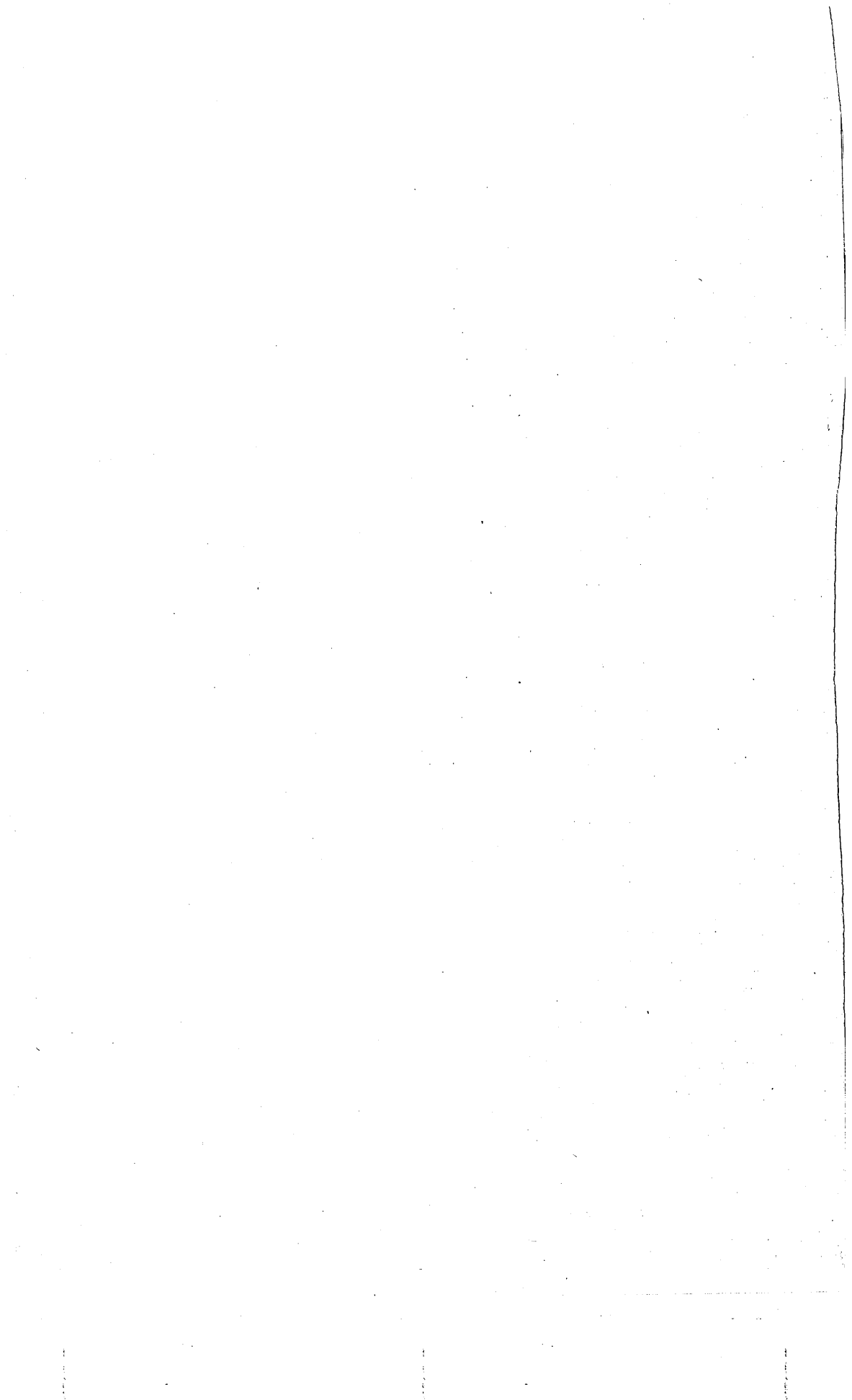
CONTENTS

Introduction (Review of the sources).	1-8
Chapter 1 The dissolution of Islamic political control and aspects of social and intellectual life ..	9-74
Chapter 2 Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, his brothers and their disciples ..	75-102
Chapter 3 The religious contributions by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and his brothers ..	103-173
Chapter 4 The responses to the social, religious, economic and political challenges ..	174-244
Chapter 5 The <i>Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya</i> ..	245-355
Chapter 6 The Shī'ī refutations of the <i>Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya</i> and the Sunni counter-attacks ..	356-470
Chapter 7 Sunni puritanism and <i>jihād</i> ..	471-541
Chapter 8 The puritanical and polemical works of Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān's disciples ..	542-573
Conclusion ..	574-579
Bibliography ..	580-591
Index ..	592-609

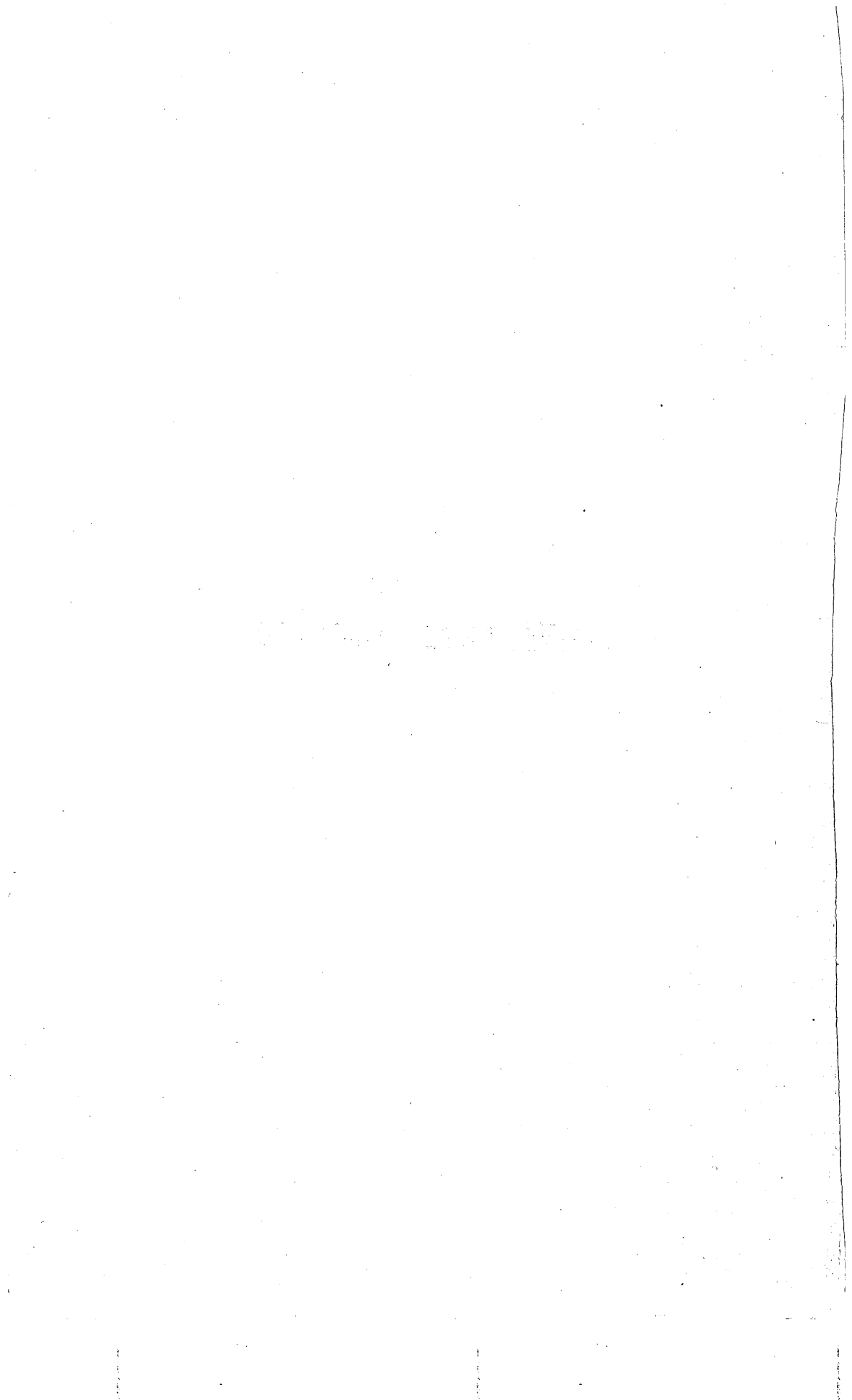
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

'Aligarh Ms.	Manuscript in Mawlānā Āzād Library, 'Aligarh Muslim University, 'Aligarh, India.
Āsafiya Ms.	Manuscript in the Āsafiya Library, Haydarābād, Andhra Pradesh (A. P.), India.
b.	<i>bin.</i>
b.	born preceded by date.
B.	<i>Bawāriq-i mūbiqa</i> by Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad.
B. M.	<i>Bustān al-muhaddithin</i> by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz.
Br. M.	British Museum.
B. S.	<i>Burhan-i Sa'adat</i> by 'Allāma Mufti Sayyid Muhammad Qūli.
Bānkīpūr	Manuscripts in the <i>Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore</i> , Patna, India.
C. P. C.	<i>Calendar of Persian correspondence.</i>
d.	died.
Dh	Dhū'lfaqār by Ghufrān Ma'āb Sayyid Dildār 'Alī.
Delhi Arabic	Delhi Arabic Ms. in the India Office Library, London.
D. P.	Delhi Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library, London.
E. I. ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition.
Ethé	Manuscripts in the Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library, London.
F. A.	<i>Fath al-'Aziz</i> by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz.
Fatāwā	<i>Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz.</i>
H.	<i>Husām-i Islām</i> by Ghufrān Ma'āb.
H. S. I.	<i>A history of sufism in India</i> , Vol. I. by S. A. A. Rizvi.
I	<i>Ihyā' al-Sunna</i> by Ghufrān Ma'āb.
I. O.	India Office Library, London.
I. S.	' <i>Imād al-Sa'adat</i> by Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naqawī.
Ivanow	Manuscripts in <i>Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
J.	<i>Jawāhir-i 'abqariyya</i> by Mufti Mīr 'Abbās.
Kh.	Khwāja.
M.	Muhammad.
M. A.	<i>Masāri' al-afhām</i> by 'Allāma Mufti Sayyid Muhammad Qūli.

M. R. M.	<i>Muslim revivalist movements in northern India</i> by. S. A.A. Rizvi.
Makhzan	<i>Makhzan-i Ahmadī</i> by Mawlawī Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī.
Malfūzāt	<i>Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz.</i>
Mihr	<i>Sayyid Ahmad Shahid</i> by Ghulām Rasūl Mihr.
N.	<i>Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya</i> by Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil, Hakīm.
R. I. M.	<i>Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign</i> by. S. A. A. Rizvi.
R. N.	<i>Rūznāmacha-i Shāh 'Ālam</i> , Bānkīpur.
Rāmpūr	Manuscript in the Razā Library, Rāmpūr, U. P., India.
Rieu	Manuscript in <i>The Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum</i> , London.
S.	Sayyid.
S. I.	<i>Sawārim-i Ilāhiyāt</i> by Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Ghufrān Ma'āb.
Sh.	Shaykh.
S. M.	<i>Siyar al muta'akhhirin</i> by Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātabā'ī.
S. N.	<i>Sayf-i Nāsiri</i> by 'Allāma Mufti Sayyid Muhammad Qūli.
Sirat	<i>Sirat-i Sayyid Ahmad Shahid</i> by Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī Nadwī.
T.	<i>Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya</i> by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz.
T. A.	<i>Tārīkh-i Ahmadī</i> , Tonk.
T. M.	<i>Taqīb at-makā'id</i> by 'Allāma Mufti Sayyid Muhammad Qūli.
Tash	<i>Tashyid al-matā'in</i> by 'Allāma Mufti Sayyid Muhammad Qūli.
Thānesari	<i>Hayāt-i Sayyid Ahmad Shahid</i> by Muhammad Ja'far Thānesari.
U. N.	<i>'Ujala-i nāfi'a</i> by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz.



SHĀH 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ



Introduction

The period studied in the present work, from the death of Shāh Walī-Allāh in 1176/1762 to the death in action at Bālākot in 1246/1831 of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's disciple, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, is marked by intense intellectual activity geared to examining the basis of the contemporary social, religious and economic institutions.

The rapid conquests by the English, the dissolution of Mughal rule and the decline of Muslim influence accelerated Muslim intellectual efforts to establish new political, social, economic and religious relationship *vis-a-vis* the foreign conquerors.

This period also saw Sunnī and Shī'ī ideological differences developing into full-scale Sunnī-Shī'ī polemical warfare, each side accusing the other of being heretics and infidels. The battles of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd and Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd against the popular forms of sūfism venerating past and present *pīrs* (spiritual guides) and against such popular Sunnī beliefs as seeking Prophet Muhammad's intercession for sins, culminated with Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's *jihād* (holy war) against the Sunnī Afghān tribes and the Sikhs and divided the Sunnis themselves into irreconcilable groups.

An exceedingly rich polemical and doctrinal literature, written by the leaders of different movements and their followers, characterises this period. Volumes of their correspondence have been preserved and some contemporary biographical and historical material also survives. Modern authors have written whole books or chapters and articles on the basis of the Sunnī material and have commented on the Shī'īs too, but no modern author seems to have had access to the Shī'ī material itself. The present work gives both Sunnī and Shī'ī material, presenting the voluminous Shī'ī sources for the first time.

Persian and Arabic writings of the period were also published in the nineteenth century, but some Persian works have been distorted by their editors to accord with their own political fears and inhibitions. For example, Mawlānā Muhammad Ja'far Thānesarī, in his *Sawānih Ahmadi*, deleted all reference in Sayyid Ahmad's letters to his intention to fight against the English. Ja'far Thānesarī, who was an important leader of the Wāhhābī movement, fought against the British and was imprisoned on the Andaman islands from 1866 to 1883. When his *Sawānih Ahmadi* was published, Ja'far

Thānesari, fearful of arousing retaliatory action against the Muslims, made changes in Sayyid Ahmad's letters.

Even today, Professor K. A. Nizāmī, Director of the Centre of Medieval Indian Historical Research at 'Aligarh and former representative of the Indian Government in Syria, has chosen to delete the following paragraphs from his selection of Shāh Walī-Allāh's letters without giving any reason. The deleted paragraph in the Rāmpūr manuscript reads :

"Kalima-i Hashtum : Ānki qadghan baligh bāyad numūd ki dar shahr-i Islām rusūm-i kufr mithl Holī wa raftan-i Gangā fāsh na bāyad wa dar 'āshūra rawāfid pā az hadd-i i'tidāl birūn naguzārānd wa dar bāzārḥā wa kūchahā i'lāniyya shūkhīḥā wa bibākīḥā nakunand wa lā ta'ināt ki migūyand nagūyand.

Eighth point : Strict orders should be issued in all Islamic towns forbidding religious ceremonies publicly practised by infidels (such as the performance of Holī and ritual bathing in the Ganges). On the tenth of Muharram, Shī'is should not be allowed to go beyond the bounds of moderation, neither should they be rude nor repeat stupid things (that is recite *tabarra*, or condemn the first three successors of the Prophet Muhammad) in the streets or bazaars."¹

The interpolations and distortions which have occurred in editing the literature of the period have led the present author to compare existing editions with the original manuscripts, although printed works have been used whenever possible.

The most detailed Persian history of the period is the *Siyar al-muta'akhhirin* by Nawwāb Sayyid Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātabā'i Hasani, which covers the period up till 1195/1781. A more personal narrative is the memoirs of Tahmās Khān, who was taken captive in his homeland near Bāyazīd in Asia Minor, and brought to India by his Uzbek masters who were in Nādir Shāh's army. First he served in the army of Mu'in al-Mulk (d. 1167/1753-4) and then successively under Dābita Khān and Najaf Khān. He completed the *Tahmās-nāma* in 1193/1779. It also contains an account of contemporary events.

Kunwar Prem Kishore Firāqī, son of Kunwar Ānand Kishore and grandson of Rāja Jugal Kishore, wrote an account of events from 12 Muharram 1199/25 November 1784 to 11 Rabi'I, 1199/23 January 1785, in a book entitled the *Waqā'i' 'Ālam-Shāhi*. As an introduction to the work he added a history of the Delhi court from the reign of Ahmad Shāh

1 A letter to the king, *wazīr* and nobles in the *Maktūbāt-i Shāh Walī-Allāh Rāmpūr* includes the eighth point but is deleted from *Shāh Walī-Allāh ke siyāsī maktūbāt* by K. A. Nizāmī, 'Aligarh 1950. S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his times*, Canberra 1980, p. 227.

(1161-67/1748-54) to that of 'Ālamgīr II (1167-73/1754-60). A more detailed royal history is provided by Ghulām Husayn Khān bin Bhikārī Khān's *Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, which gives a bombastic account of 'Ālamgīr II (1167-73/1754-60) and Shāh 'Ālam ('Alī-Gawhar). The author was living at Lucknow in 1798 when Captain W. Francklin published his *History of the reign of Shāh Aulūm*. However, the most well-informed historian of the period was Mawlawī Khayr al-Dīn Muhammad Ilāhābādī whose *'Ibrat-nāma* contains a detailed account of Shāh 'Ālam's reign. A more specific aspect of Shāh 'Ālam's reign is treated in Muhammad Zahr al-Dīn Mirzā's *Wāqī'āt-i Azfarī*. This deals with the overthrow of Ghulām Qādir Khān Rohella who seized Delhi and blinded the emperor, Shāh 'Ālam. The account of Muhammad Zahr's captivity and wanderings after his escape throw some light on the life of both the Hindu *rājas* and Muslim *nawwābs*. Munshī Munnā La'l's *Shāh 'Ālam-nāma* is also an important source for the study of Shāh 'Ālam, but only up to his thirtieth year. An interesting diary of court events, from the beginning of 1 Jumāda I 1173/18 January 1759 to the Emperor's death on 7 Ramadān 1221/19 November 1806, was compiled by Tek Chand, the East India Company's *akhbār-nawīs* (news-writer) while he was at Shāh 'Ālam's court. The *Makhzan al-futūh* by Bhagwān Dās Pandit Shivpurī gives an account of Lord Lake's operations against the Marāthas, from his advance upon Delhi on 7 August 1803 to his treaty with Holkar in December 1805, and subsequent return to Calcutta.

The provincial histories of the period are also very important when forming a balanced view of events. Khwushwaqt Rāy, an East India Company news-writer in the Panjāb, wrote a history of the Sikhs at the instigation of Colonel (afterwards General Sir) David Ochterlony. The account in his *Ahwāl-i firqa-i Sikhān* is brought down to 1811, the date of the completion of the work. Several books were also written specifically about the Sikh Mahārāja, Ranjīt Singh. His biography to the year 1824-5 is contained in the *Rūznāmcha-i Ranjīt Singh* written by one of his officials, the historian Lāla Mohan; while Diwān Amar Nāth's *Zafarnāma-i Ranjīt Singh* gives a detailed account of Ranjīt Singh's conquests. Ghulām Muhyī al-Dīn (Būte Shāh) Ludhiyānawī completed his *Tārīkh-i Panjāb* at the request of Captain Murray, Resident at Ludhiyāna. His account of the Sikh *misl*s and Ranjīt Singh is very sympathetic. Lāla Sohan La'l Sūrī's *'Umdat al-tawārīkh* also provides a detailed history of the Sikhs. The *Chirāgh-i Panjāb* by Ganesh Dās, completed in 1846, is another very important general history of the Panjāb. Muftī 'Alī al-Dīn bin Muftī Khayr al-Dīn Lāhawrī wrote the *'Ibrat-nāma* in 1854 while he was the Commissioner at Lahore under Charles Raikes. Besides the history of the Sikhs, the *'Ibrat-nāma* also gives the geography and statistics of the Panjāb.

The *Amīr-nāma* was written by Basāwan Lāl Shādān bin Naynsukh Rāy

Kāyath Saksena of Bilgrām in 1240/1824-5. It gives a very detailed account of the exploits of the Afghān adventurer Amīr al-Dawla Muhammad Amīr Khān (d. 1834), who was made the first *nawwāb* of Tonk in 1817. The work also contains an account of Nawwāb Wazīr al-Dawla, the son and successor of Nawwāb Amīr Khān.

The *Tārīkh-i Farrukhābād* dealing with the history of Farrukhābād, from its foundation in 1126/1714 to 1243/1827-8, is a mine of information on Afghān customs and commercial and intellectual interests. Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Fakhri's untitled history of Najib al-Dawla gives a detailed account of Najib al-Dawla's exploits against the Marāthas, Jāts and Sikhs. Munshi Shiv Prasād's *Tārīkh-i fayd-bakhsh*, completed in 1190/1776, gives the history of the Rohella Afghāns up to their defeat by Nawwāb Shujā' al-Dawla and the East India Company at Lāl Dāng in 1188/1774. Nawwāb Muhammad Mustajāb Khān, the author of the *Gulistān-i Rahmat*, written in 1207/1792-3, was one of the fourteen sons of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, the Rohella chief whose biography is given in the *Gulistān-i Rahmat*. The *Gul-i Rahmat*, written in 1249/1833-4 by Nawwāb Muhammad Sa'adat-Yār Khān, a nephew of Mustajāb Khān, represents an enlarged version of the *Gulistān-i Rahmat*.

Ghulām Husayn Khān bin Muhammad Himmat Khān, an official of Rājas Balwand Singh and Chayt Singh (deposed 1195/1780) wrote a history of the *zamīndārs* of Banāras, but a more detailed account is given in Khayr al-Dīn Ilāhābādī's *Tuhfa-i tāza* or *Balwand-nāma*.

Several books relevant to this period in Awadh are also available. Abū Tālib Isfahāni wrote a history of the reign of Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla of Awadh, the *Tafdh al-ghāfilīn*. Āgha Muhammad 'Alī Bihbihāni gives a biography of Wazīr 'Alī Khān, who succeeded Āsaf al-Dawla in September 1797, but was deposed by Sir John Shore in January 1798. 'Imād al-sa'adat, a history of Awadh from the reign of Nawwāb Burhān al-Mulk Sa'adat Khān to 1216/1801, is a most comprehensive work and draws upon earlier sources satisfactorily covering both the Mughal and Awadh courts. Muhammad Fayd Bakhsh bin Ghulām Sarwar wrote a description of Faydābād (Fyzabad) from 1179/1765-6 to 1233/1817-18. A more personal narrative, the story of Bādshāh Begum, wife of Ghāzī al-Dīn Haydar, entitled the *Waqā'i'-i dil-pidhir*, was written by 'Abd al-Ahad bin Mawlawī Muhammad Fa'iq in 1253/1837-8. Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Haydar wrote the *Tārīkh-i Awadh*, the history of the Awadh dynasty to the accession of Nawwāb Wājīd 'Alī Shāh in 1263/1847. The Urdu translation, entitled the *Qaysar al-tawārikh*, also includes an account of the reign of Wājīd 'Alī Shāh and the suppression of the freedom struggle of 1857-58. The *Tabṣirat al-nāziri*n by Mir Sayyid Muhammad Shā'ir bin Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl Husayni Wāsiti Bilgrāmi, completed in 1182/1768, throws light on the seven Bilgrāmi Sayyids anterior to 1100/1688-9.

The *Hadīqat al-aqālīm* by Murtadā Husayn Bilgrāmī, completed in 1202/1787, contains a geographical, historical and biographical account of the seven climatic regions into which Ptolemy's followers divided the world. Contemporary historical and biographical accounts relating to Delhi, Bengal, Bihār and Awadh present a vivid picture of the decline of the Mughal empire and its supporters.

There are many historical accounts of Bengal and its rulers. In 1202/1787-88, Ghulām Husayn "Salīm" Zaydpūrī wrote a general history of Bengal. A detailed account of Gwalior, from its capture by the British in 1780 to the poisoning of Rānā Chhatra Singh in 1785-6, is given by Khayr al-Dīn Muhammad Ilāhābādī in his *Gwālīyar-nāma*. Mun'im Khān bin 'Abd al-Mughni Hamadānī wrote the *Sawānīh-i Dakan* containing an account of the six *sūbas* (Mughal provinces) of the Deccan and a history of the Nizāms from the conquests of Nizām al-Mulk Āsafjāh to 1197/1783. Another history of the Nizāms, entitled the *Tuzuk-i Āsafī*, and dealing especially with Nizām 'Alī Khān (1175-1218/1761-1803) to Shawwāl 1206/May-June 1792, is an important work written by Shāh Tajallī 'Alī. On 1 Rabi', II 1208/6 November 1793, Lachhmī Narāyan Shafīq Awrangābādī completed his history of the Nizāms, *Ma'āthir-i Āsafī*. Abu'l-Qāsim bin Radi al-Dīn al-Mūsawī (Mīr 'Ālam), who was a confidential agent of Nizām 'Alī Khān and was involved in finalizing treaties on behalf of his master, as well as commanding the Nizām's contingents at Seringāpatam, wrote the *Hadīqat al-'ālam*, an account of the Nizāms to the death of Tipū in 1213/1799. The *Tārīkh-i dīl-afrūz* by Ghulām Husayn Khān Jawhar comprises a history of the Nizāms to the accession of Sikandarjāh (1218-1244/1803-1829). On 4 Jumāda II, 1260/21 June 1844, Khwāja Ghulām Husayn completed the *Gulzār-i Āsafīyya*, a history of the Qutb-Shāhs and the Nizām, together with biographies of other notable persons.

The *Qissa-i Haydar 'Alī Khān*, a history of Haydar 'Alī to 1196/1782, and the *Ahwāl-i Nawwāb Haydar 'Alī Khān Bahādur*, a biography of Haydar 'Alī from his birth to 1196/1782, were written by anonymous authors. At the instigation of Richard Johnson, another anonymous writer compiled a history of Haydar 'Alī Khān from his birth to the accession of Tipū. The *Tārīkh-i Khudādādi* (Khudādād or "God-given" was the official title of Tipū Sultān's government) is a brief auto-biography by Tipū Sultān extending to the end of the Marātha war in February 1787. Manuals and collections of documents relating to Tipū's Mysore administration have been preserved and, in 1197/1783, Sayyid Zayn al-'Ābidīn produced the *Fath al-mujāhidīn* containing the rules and regulations governing Tipū's army. A more general study is given in the *Sultān al-tawārīkh*, by the same Sayyid Zayn al-'Ābidīn, which is a voluminous history of the Mysore sultāns. Khwāja 'Abd al-Qādir, who acted as secretary to a delegation which Tipū sent to Constantinople in 1786, wrote a detailed account of

their journey from Seringāpatam to Basra entitled the *Waqā'i'-manāzil-i Rūm* ; unfortunately the portions relating to their travels from Basra to Constantinople and the return journey are not available. The objectives of the delegation were threefold. Firstly they hoped to secure confirmation of Tipū's rule over the kingdom carved out by him and his father for, the Mughal emperor, as we shall see, considered Tipū an usurper. Secondly, the delegation was to urge the Sultān of Turkey to send military assistance to Tipū in order to expel the British from India. Thirdly, the delegation was also expected to secure permission from the Sultān of Turkey for the establishment of "factories" in his dominions for selling Mysore goods.

In 1217/1802, Mīr Husayn 'Alī Khān, a servant at Haydar 'Alī's and Tipū's court, wrote the *Nishān-i Haydari*, a history of his patrons. Prince Ghulām Muhammad, one of the youngest of Tipū Sultān's sons, wrote the *Kārnāma-i Haydari* on the basis of Persian, English and French records.

Protégés at the court of the Nawwābs of Carnatic also composed histories of their masters. In 1174/1760-1, Mīr Muhammad Ismā'il Khān Abjadi, the tutor of Nawwāb 'Umdat al-Umarā' (1210-1216/1795-1801), completed a *mathnawī* (long poem), the *Anwar-nāma*, on the exploits of Nawwāb Anwar al-Dīn Khān (d. 1162/1749). In 1195/1781, Nawwāb Wālājāh 'Umdat al-Mulk Muhammad 'Alī (1162-1210/1749-1795) ordered Munshi Burhān Khān bin Hasan Hindī to write a history of Carnatic, concentrating mainly on his father, Nawwāb Anwar al-Dīn Khān, and himself. The work was entitled the *Tuzuk-i Wālājāhi*. An anonymous work, the *Waqā'i'-i Sa'adat*, completed in 1218/1803, gives the history of the Nawwābs of Arkāt from Sa'adat-Allāh Khān to Safdar 'Alī Khān (d. 1155/1742) and of the *jāgīrdārs* of Vallore from Ghulām 'Alī Khān to Ghulām Murtadā Khān (d. 1176/1762-3). On 27 Dhu'l-hijja 1252/4 April 1837, Muhammad Karīm Khayr al-Dīn Hasan Ghulām Dāmin completed his history of the reigns of Nawwāb Wālājāh and Nawwāb 'Umdat al-Umarā' giving a summary of the later events under 'Azīm al-Dawla (1808-19), 'Azīmjāh (1820-25), A'zamjāh (1825) and Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth (1225-55). His work was called the *Sawānih-i Mumtāz*.

The biographical dictionaries of poets, sūfī saints and 'ulamā' also form a very important source of material for the present study. They are listed in the bibliography. The theological and polemical works written by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, his brothers, family and disciples and by contemporary Sunni and Shi'i scholars, are discussed in the following pages.

European language sources and the administrative records of the East India Company, are indispensable for an analysis of the political, administrative and educational history of the period. Incidentally two of these throw important light on Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and his relations with the English.

CHAPTER ONE

The Dissolution of Islamic Political Control and Aspects of Social and Intellectual Life

In the second half of the eighteenth century the rulers of the rapidly disintegrating Indian states and adventurers embarked on the utterly suicidal policy of seeking military assistance from foreign powers in order to defeat their rivals and to buttress their own throne or leadership. Even the Rājput princes welcomed Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's invasion which could only temporarily cripple the Marātha ambition of gaining dominance over Northern India.¹ In the Deccan both the Muslim princes and the Marātha leaders vied with each other in seeking French or English help to aggrandize themselves at their rival's expense.

English Supremacy

The internecine war in the Deccan accelerated after the death of the first Āsafjāh Nizām al-Mulk in 1748. He had already transformed the Mughal Deccan provinces into the Āsafjāhi kingdom of the Deccan. His second son Nāsirjang assumed the title of *sūbadār* (governor) of the Deccan but was challenged by Muzaffarjang, Nizām's grandson, who claimed that he had been nominated as successor by his maternal grandfather. A similar war of succession had started in Karnātak (the Carnatic, i.e. the Madras coast), which had been made a separate province by Awrangzib in 1703, with Arkāt (Arcot) as its capital. Here, Husayn Dūst Khān (Chāndā Sāhib) rushed to seize the throne but was captured by the Marāthas and taken as a captive to Satāra. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, came to the rescue of both Muzaffarjang and Chāndā Sāhib, and in 1748, he released Chāndā Sāhib. In 1750 Nāsirjang was killed struggling to assert his supremacy over the Deccan and Muzaffarjang was proclaimed the *sūbadār* of Deccan. At the investiture ceremony in Pondicherry, Muzaffarjang made Dupleix *nawwāb* or governor of the territories south

1 S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his times*, pp. 170-71, 301-08.

1759, Shujā' al-Dawla,¹² the Nawwāb of Awadh, waited on him outside Faydābād (Fyzabad) and encouraged him to seize Bihār. 'Alī Gawhar moved to Allahabad where the imperial governor, Muhammad Qulī Khān, a cousin of Shujā' al-Dawla, joined him. At the end of March 1759, these two besieged Patna. At Mīr Ja'far's request, Clive himself now marched against the Prince. The news that Shujā' al-Dawla had seized Allahabad prompted Muhammad Qulī to rush to the rescue of this province. On 16 May, 'Alī Gawhar was forced to evacuate Bihār. At Ghotaulī five miles north of the present Son East Bank railway station, he heard the news that on 29 November his father, 'Ālamgīr II, had been murdered by 'Imād al-Mulk. Consequently 'Alī Gawhar proclaimed himself Emperor of Delhi, assuming the title Shāh 'Ālam II on 20 December 1759.¹³

Shāh 'Ālam II under English Protection

On 5 February 1760, Clive sailed for England but not before despatching two battalions of sepoys to Bihār. When Shāh 'Ālam invaded Bihār and unsuccessfully tried to surprise Murshidābād he was forced to retreat. His invasion of Bihār in January 1761, with the help of Jean Law and the French, also failed. Shāh 'Ālam then decided "to throw himself into the hands of the English". Colonel Carnac received him at Gaya and escorted him to Patna. Nawwāb Mīr Qasīm 'Alī Khān, whom the English had replaced by Mīr Ja'far on 20 October 1760, called on Shāh 'Ālam on 11 March 1761 and obtained imperial confirmation of his governorship. The payment of Rs. 1,800 as a daily allowance was promised by the English in return for Shāh 'Ālam's confirmation of the political arrangements in Bengal and Bihār.¹⁴

When Shāh 'Ālam left Delhi, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī had already crossed the Indus to attempt his fifth invasion of India. On 14 January 1761 he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Marāthas on the battlefield of Pānīpat. Before starting on his return journey to Afghānistān in mid-March 1761, Ahmad Shāh issued *farmāns* to the ruling princes and to the East India Company asking them to recognise Shāh 'Ālam II as Emperor. Vansittart wrote on 1 March 1761:

"His Majesty's (Durrānī's) faithful servant (referring to himself) who has succeeded Sabatjang (Clive) is obedient to the will of Shāh 'Ālam,

12 Shujā' al-Dawla, son of Mansūr 'Alī Khan Safdarjang, ruled in Awadh from 1756-1775.

13 Nawwāb Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabatabā'i, *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn*, Lucknow 1866, III, pp. 904-8, II, pp. 656-707; *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, Br. M., Or ff. 203-15. 1749; Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, Calcutta 1914, pp. 43-106.

14 Gleig; G. R., *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, London 1841, I, 317; K. K. Datta, *Shah Alam II and the East India Company*, Calcutta 1965, pp. 23-46.

who has been brought into the fort of Patna, (and) is ready to accompany him (to Delhi)."¹⁵

Despite repeated affirmations of loyalty and promises of obedience, Vansittart took no real steps to have the *khutba*¹⁶ in Shāh 'Ālam's name read in Bihār, Bengal and Orissa. Shāh 'Ālam's mother, Malika Zinat Mahal, wrote letters to her son urging him to return to Delhi as Ahmād Shāh had promised to restore him to the throne. Shāh 'Ālam himself desperately wished to occupy his ancestral throne. The English escorted him to the western boundary of Bihār. Shujā' al-Dawla called on Shāh 'Ālam in mid-June and it was the news that 'Imād al-Mulk, who had seized Agra, was preparing to obstruct the Emperor's march to Delhi, which caused Shujā' al-Dawla first to invade Bundelkhand. He seized Kālpī, Moth and Jhānsī. The *Wizārat* (the position of *wazīr*) was formally conferred on Shujā' al-Dawla by the Emperor on 15 February 1762.¹⁷

The Bundela chiefs of Urchha and Datia sent their customary tribute to the Emperor. However, the Emperor could not obtain control over Mahoba, which was ruled by a great grandson of Chhatrasāl Bundela.¹⁸ Early in 1763, the Emperor's expedition reached Qannauj.

Shujā' al-Dawla urged Ahmad Khān Bangash, the ruler of Farrukhābād to surrender the territories he had acquired after the battle of Pānīpat. Ahmad Khān, though professing loyalty to the Emperor, refused to part with them. On Ahmad Khān's appeal to the Trans-Gangetic Rohellas, Hāfiz Rahmat Khān of Bareilly, Dunde Khān and other Afghān chiefs rushed to Farrukhābād. Sūrajmal Jāt also despatched a force under 'Imād al-Mulk to fish in the troubled waters.¹⁹ Shujā' al-Dawla and the Emperor arrived near Farrukhābād. Najīb al-Dawla also came to help the Emperor but he quailed at the prospect of Afghān fighting Afghān. He told Shujā' al-Dawla that his Rohellas would not fight under his command because of their sectarian and racial differences. The Rohellas were Sunnis and Afghāns, Shujā' al-Dawla was a Shī'a and an Īrānī. Shujā' al-Dawla realised the gravity of the situation. However, Najīb al-Dawla succeeded

15 C. P. C.; J No. 981 quoted by Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Bombay 1965, p. 374.

16 Oration delivered on Fridays at the time of *zuhr* (meridian prayer) and after sunrise in the '*id al-fitr* and the '*id al-adhha* prayers. The name of the reigning *khalīfa* or the ruler used to be mentioned in the *khutba* to assert his sovereignty.

17 Ghulām 'Alī Khān, '*Imād al-Sa'adat*, Lucknow 1864, pp. 89-91, p. 86; S. M., III, p. 926.

18 S. W. T., pp. 104-5.

19 Nūr al-Dīn, ff. 59-60; I. S., pp. 87-91; Khayr al-Dīn, '*Ibrat-nāma*, Br. M., Or 1932, f. 39a-40b; S. M., II, p. 641.

system envisaged the commanders of each *misl* as having equal status although some commanded as many as ten thousand soldiers in the field while others had only a few hundred men under them.

After reaching Qandahār, Ahmad Shāh sent an expedition under his general, Nūr al-Dīn Bāmza'ī, but the Sikhs repulsed him at Siālkot and he took shelter in Jammū. Ahmad Shāh's Governor of Lahore, Khwāja 'Ubayd Khān, was also defeated and the Sikhs entered Lahore. Jassa Singh was declared king of Lahore and given the title *Sultān-al Qawm* (the king of the nation). However, Ahmad Shāh rushed to re-assert his control over the Panjāb. He regained Lahore, surprised the fleeing Sikhs, both men and women, and massacred about 10,000 of them near Barnāla on 5 February 1762. The carnage is called "*Wadda Ghalu-ghara*" (the great holocaust). The Shāh returned to Lahore with carts laden with Sikh heads. On 10 April 1762 he invaded Amritsar. The Sikh temple, Har Mandir, was desecrated and blown up with gun-powder but the Sikhs were not intimidated. In April-May 1762, they defeated Zayn Khān, Ahmad Shāh's governor in Sirhind, and forced him to sue for peace on the payment of Rs. 50,000 as tribute. In October 1762 the Shāh again marched against Amritsar but failed to crush its inhabitants. On 12 December 1762, the Shāh left once more for Qandahār. His sixth invasion also failed.²³ The Sikhs re-appeared from their strongholds and divided into two large armies. The army of the juniors, called the *Taruna Dal*, made Amritsar its centre and they started rebuilding the temple. The army of the elders, called the *Būdhā Dal*, established outposts in all the important centres of the Panjāb.

In 1763-64, the Sikhs seized the provinces of Sirhind, Lahore and Multān. They entered into the Jamunā-Gangetic Doāb, ransacked Sahāranpūr on 20 February 1764, and then plundered Meerut, Bārha, Shāmlī and Kāndhla. Najīb al-Dawla, who had defeated Sūrajmal, was unable to contain the Sikh guerrillas and bought peace by paying eleven lacs of rupees. The Sikhs then fell upon the Jallandar Doāb. In December 1764 Jawāhir Singh swept over the upper Doāb. The *Būdhā Dal*, consisting of the Ranghar and Gūjars, devastated villages as far as the foot of the Siwālik hills, chastising mostly the Rājput converts to Islam. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān's bribes to the Sikhs gave some villages a temporary respite.²⁴

In October 1764, Ahmad Shāh set off from Qandahār to crush the Sikh power, raising the cry of *jihād* (holy war) against them. He seized Lahore

23 Nūr-al-Dīn, ff. 56b-57a; Sohan La'l Sūrī, *'Umdat al-tawārikh*, Lahore 1885-89, I, pp. 155-57; Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, pp. 274-85.

24 Nūr al-Dīn, ff. 72; Tahmās Khān, *Tahmās-nāma*; 'Aligarh University ff. 26a-28b, 55a-56b; *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, pp. 289-94.

and Amritsar but the hit-and-run tactics of the Sikh guerrillas were invincible. He planned to send reinforcements to Delhi where Najib al-Dawla was engaged in a war against Jawāhir Singh Jāt, son of Sūrajmal Jāt, and a strong army of Sikhs.²⁵ Ahmad Shāh ordered his army to march towards Sirhind which was completely devastated. Its palaces, gardens, orchards and water tanks were in ruins : only the shrines of Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (971-1033/1564-1624) and his descendants gave comfort to the orthodox Sunni Afghāns.²⁶

Ahmad Shāh then moved on to Kunjpura, but in the middle of February 1765 peace was concluded between Najib al-Dawla and the Jāts. Mir Nasir Khān Balūch of Qalāt, who had joined Ahmad Shāh, suggested that the Shāh should move to Delhi, form a united army of Rohellas, Jāts and Marāthas and crush the Sikhs. Ahmad Shāh himself knew that such a scheme was chimerical, for confederacy had not proved successful even during the battle of Pānīpat. The Afghān army dreaded the Indian summer but above all Delhi had been plundered twice and no substantial wealth could be gained from sacking it again. Ahmad Shāh rejected Nasir's advice, moved to Sirhind and confirmed Alā Singh, the Sikh *zamindar* of Patialā, as governor of Sirhind, and bestowed on him the insignia of royalty. Alā Singh promised to pay three and a half lacs of rupees as tribute. Ahmad Shāh was prepared to recognise other prominent Sikh *zamindārs* as governors of other Panjāb regions, for his main aim was to exact tribute. He was a farsighted statesman not the visionary *jihād* warrior. However, no Sikh leader offered to act as a governor of Ahmad Shāh.²⁷

The Sikh guerrilla bands made Ahmad Shāh's return march from Sirhind through Jallandar Doāb exceedingly hazardous. "Shamelessly the Sikhs first attacked and then took to their heels", says Qādi Nūr Muhammad, author of the *Jang-nāma*. Ahmad Shāh crossed the Rāvi. He did not stay in Lahore but pushed forward to the Chanāb, where the violent current of the river took a heavy toll of Afghān lives. The Sikhs did not pursue Ahmad Shāh beyond the Rāvi however, and the rest of his army reached home safely.²⁸

During 1765 and 1766, there was no respite from local Afghānistān problems for Ahmad Shāh. In April 1765, the Sikhs seized Lahore from Kābuli Mal, whom the Shāh had appointed governor three years earlier. This

25 *Infra*, pp. 19-20.

26 Nūr Muhammad, Qādi, *Jang-nāma*, edited and translated into English by Ganda Singh, Amritsar 1939, pp. 128-42.

27 *Jang-nāma*, p. 127.

28 *Ibid*, pp. 129-34.

conquest was marked by an issue of coins bearing Banda Bahādur's (1710-16) motto:

"Degh-u-tegh-u-fatch-u nusrat-i bidirang
Yāft az Nānak Gurū Govind Singh"²⁹

Alā Singh, whom the Sikhs had considered a traitor, now made peace with his Sikh brethren. From Sirhind the Sikh bands poured into the Jamunā-Gangetic Doāb. They fearlessly sacked the Rohella territories, but Najib al-Dawla's troops gave them a good beating and they retreated to Amritsar. However, Sikh prestige was so high that even the defeated governor of Bengal, Mīr Qāsim, asked them to restore him to the throne.³⁰

In November 1766 Ahmad Shāh reached the Panjāb for the eighth time. The Panjāb *zamīndārs* were forced to give undertakings that they would kill the Sikhs ruthlessly and refuse them shelter; some *zamīndārs* managed to flee from these territories. The Sikh leaders rejected Ahmad Shāh's appeal to come to terms with him. At the beginning of March 1767, Ahmad Shāh crossed the Satlaj on his way home again. The Sikhs re-occupied the areas evacuated by the Afghān armies; Afghān control was confined to only a few miles around the Afghān army. Near Ambāla, Najib al-Dawla called on Ahmad Shāh. Shāh 'Ālam urged Ahmad Shāh's envoys to persuade their king to march to Delhi and escort him there with 20,000 horse. Shujā' al-Dawla, however, played a double game. Najib al-Dawla told Ahmad Shāh that, if he marched towards Delhi, he would frighten the entire region and the whole country would become a desert. Najib al-Dawla paid two lacs of rupees to Ahmad Shāh who appointed Najib's son, Dābitā Khān, as governor of Sirhind. At the end of March 1767, Ahmad Shāh returned home.³¹

In mid-May the Sikhs again poured into the territory of Najib al-Dawla. Ambetha, Nānawta, Meerut and Shāmlī were sacked, but the Sikhs fled when they heard of the arrival of the troops of Dābitā Khān and Jahān Khān (Ahmad Shāh's general). Some Sikhs were killed. However, as soon as Ahmad Shāh had left Lahore, the Sikhs gained control of the whole area from Rāwalpindī to the Jamunā. The Rohella territories east of the Jamunā were the target of their unceasing raids. In January 1768 they plundered Muzaffarnagar and Nānawta, then retreated to Sahāranpūr.³²

At the beginning of 1769, Ahmad Shāh entered the Panjāb again but he

29 The Kettle and the Sword—the Symbols of Service and Power—Victory and ready Patronage, have been obtained from Gurūs Nānak-Govind Singh, *Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*, pp. 308-9.

30 Nūr al-Dīn, ff. 100b-106a.

31 C. P. C., II, 16, 20, 35, 50, 65, 108, 213, 310, 323; *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 64a-65b.

32 Nūr al-Dīn, ff. 111a-113b.

found the Sikhs so firmly established that he could not harm them, so he hastened to Mashhad, in Eastern Iran, to consolidate his control there. The rebel governor of Mashhad made peace. On 9 June 1770, Ahmad Shāh left for Qandahār. His empire at that time embraced Kashmīr, Peshāwar, Multān, Sind, Balūchistān, Khurāsān, Hirāt, Qandahār, Kābul and Balkh but it was soon to be dismembered. The unity that he had imposed upon the Afghān tribes was also shortlived. Sikh control from the Indus to the Jamunā became undisputed. Beyond the Jamunā, the Sikhs invaded the Rohella territories of Najib al-Dawla and sacked Delhi. They imposed a tax on the peasants called *rakhī*, similar to the *chawth*³³ of the Marāthas, which guaranteed the payee immunity from their invasions. It amounted to between two and five rupees per head. A number of villages were treated as constituting a circle and two to three horsemen were sufficient to collect *rakhī* regularly.³⁴

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's victory over the Marāthas at the battle of Pānipat relieved the redoubtable Jāt ruler, Sūrajmal, of Marātha incursions and he extended his kingdom from twenty miles south of Delhi to the river Chambal, including Agra. In October 1761, Najib al-Dawla made peace with Sūrajmal but it was shortlived. In December 1763, Sūrajmal seized Farrukhnagar ruled by Balūch. It had been a buffer state between him and Najib al-Dawla. Najib al-Dawla tried to avoid war and remonstrated with Sūrajmal who took no heed and marched against Delhi. Najib al-Dawla came out to meet him but, while crossing a branch of the Hindan, Sūrajmal was ambushed by the Afghāns and killed on 27 December 1763. Najib al-Dawla failed to prevent Sūrajmal's son Jawāhir Singh escaping from Farrukhnagar. Instead of penetrating the Jāt territories and destroying their kingdom, Najib al-Dawla returned to his capital Najibābād.³⁵

Jawāhir re-organized his forces and early in November 1764 reached the vicinity of Delhi. The Jāt army plundered the Shāhdara grain market near Delhi and fired cannonballs at Delhi Fort from the east bank of the Jamunā. The bombardment continued for a fortnight. Early in January 1765 a Sikh force, 12,000 strong, came to assist them. Shortly afterwards 10,000 *Nāga sannyāsīs* (Hindu hermits) from Awadh got enlisted under Jawāhir. Najib's army exchanged artillery fire with the Jāt-Sikh-Sannyāsi forces, but it was the shortage of supplies in Delhi which exhausted their power of resistance. Najib al-Dawla won over Malhār Holkar, Jawāhir's Marātha

33 The Marāthas imposed a levy of one-fourth of the revenue assessment on the areas which sought immunity from their invasions. No other responsibility was undertaken.

34 G. R. Williams, "The Sikhs in the Upper (Jumuna-Gangetic) Doāb," *Calcutta Review* 1872, pp. 28-29; Nūr al-Dīn, ff. 72a-74a; S. M., III, pp. 927-29.

35 *Ibid.*, 72b-92a; *Murāsīlāt-i Najib al-Dawla*, 'Aligarh University Ms. Nawwāb 'Abd al-Salām Collection; Father Xavier Wendel, *An Account of the Jat Kingdom of Bharatpūr*, Orme Ms. O. V. 216, India Office Library, pp. 97-99.

mercenary, by paying him a large bribe. 'Imād al-Mulk, to whom Sūrajmal had given protection, was angry with Jawāhir Singh. Both he and Malhār secretly promised help to Najib al-Dawla. The arrival of Ahmad Shāh in the Panjāb tilted the scales in Najib al-Dawla's favour. In utter disappointment, Jawāhir concluded a peace treaty in the middle of February 1765. On Friday, 22 February, corresponding to the first day of Ramadān, 'Imād al-Mulk, sitting side by side with Najib al-Dawla on an elephant, rode to the Jāmi' mosque to offer prayers. In deference to 'Imād al-Mulk's wishes, Shāh 'Ālam's name was not mentioned in the *khutba*.³⁶

Jawāhir thereupon withheld the unpaid balance of the promised 22 lacs to Malhār and drove 'Imād al-Mulk from Fort Dīg. 'Imād al-Mulk took shelter under the Nawwāb of Farrukhābād. Jawāhir also crushed the refractory Jāt chiefs. In mid-May 1766, Jawāhir defeated Malhār's troops and seized Dholpūr. Next year he conquered the Kālpi region. He then declared war against the Jāt's former overlord, the Rāja of Jaipūr. Both sides suffered heavy losses. The territories around the Chambal became independent. In August 1768, Jawāhir Singh himself was assassinated and the ensuing civil war shook the foundation of the nascent Jāt kingdom.³⁷

In March 1767, Najib al-Dawla bade farewell to Ahmad Shāh, who had again confirmed him as supreme controller of India. He was now ill and exhausted and confessed to Shāh 'Ālam's mother that he was unable to protect himself, let alone Hindustān. In March 1768, he resigned from the position of regent and retired to Najibābād making his son, Dābitā Khān, caretaker of his government.³⁸ From January 1768 the Sikhs began to claim that their invasions of Najib al-Dawla's territory were commissioned by Shāh 'Ālam or else, like the Marāthas, they would have been content with the collection of *chawth*. The correspondence between Shāh 'Ālam and Jassa Singh shows that the Emperor had accepted the Sikhs as his protectors.³⁹

Shāh 'Ālam's Return to Delhi

However, the laurels of restoring Shāh 'Ālam to his throne were won by the Marāthas who, by 1770, had become strong enough to reassert their authority over Delhi. Early in 1770 a Marātha army of about 75,000, led by Rām Chandra Ganesh, the Peshwa plenipotentiary, advanced to the north of the Chambal. They made peace with Najib al-Dawla and encouraged him to seize Jāt possessions in the middle of the Doāb around Jewar

36 C. P. S., II, 12b-14a; Wendell, pp. 106-8; Nūr al-Dīn; Rene Madec, *Memoire*, translated by J. N. Sarkār, *Bengal Past and Present*, 1936, pp. 61-66, 1937, 1-11.

37 C. P. C., II, 1101.

38 C. P. C., II, 849.

39 Nūr al-Dīn, ff. 118a-120b.

and Dībā'i. The Marāthas defeated the Jāt *rāja* at Dig. Najib al-Dawla and the Marātha chiefs visited each other's camps and agreed to forget their past differences, although neither of the parties was sincere and each was determined to outwit the other.⁴⁰

'Imād al-Mulk, dreaming a vain dream of becoming *wazīr* under the protection of the Nawwāb of Farrukhābād, called at the Marātha camp in Agra. His scheme to raise some other Mughal prince to the throne in place of Shāh 'Ālam with the help of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān and Nawwāb Shujā' al-Dawla, petered out. The Rohellas surrendered at Etāwa and Shikohābād to the Marāthas. Najib al-Dawla's relations with the Marātha chiefs were also strained and he decided to return to his capital Najibābād. He died on his way home at Hāpur on 31 October 1770.

Although he had carved out his kingdom with the help of a foreign Afghān power, he was not disloyal to the Mughal emperor. He did not play the role of king-maker like the Sayyid brothers and 'Imād al-Mulk. He was a brave soldier, a shrewd statesman and a flexible and experienced administrator.

The responsibility for his kingdom fell upon his inexperienced son, Dābitā Khān. Shāh 'Ālam sent him the robe of investiture, assigned him his father's post of *mīr bakhshī* and urged him to pay the customary fees of succession and to settle the account for the *khālisa*⁴¹ lands controlled by his father for several years. Dābitā assumed the robes of *mīr bakhshī* but refused to pay the dues.

Disappointed with Dābitā, Shāh 'Ālam opened negotiations with the Marāthas who expelled the Rohellas from Delhi Fort on 10 February 1771. Shāh 'Ālam's representative agreed to pay the Marāthas' heavy fees and to assign them Meerut, seven other *mahāls*, and Kora (Jahānābād and Karā-Mānikpūr) to them for escorting him to Delhi when he left British protection at Allahabad. Shāh 'Ālam also ratified a formal treaty with them. On 1 Shawwāl 1185/6 January 1772, the Emperor entered Delhi for the first time since his exile from his capital on 20 May 1758.⁴² Warren Hastings, who had been appointed governor of Bengal at the end of 1771, now deprived the Emperor of the districts of Kora and Allahabad and transferred them to Shujā' al-Dawla in return for fifty lacs of rupees and a monthly subsidy of Rs. 210,000 for the maintenance of a garrison of the Company's troops to protect Awadh. The treaty of Banāras ratifying the above arrangements was signed on 7 September 1773. This made Awadh a buffer state between Bengal and the Marāthas. In 1771, Nawwāb

40 Nūr al-Dīn, ff. 120b-123a; *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 76a-77a. According to Nūr al-Dīn, Najib al-Dawla died at Najibābād, f. 123a.

41 Land and revenue reserved for the imperial treasury was known as *khālisa*.

42 *'Ibrat-nāma*, ff. 70b-71a; S. M., III, pp. 933-34.

Ahmad Khān Bangash died, and to all intents and purposes, Farrukhābād became an Awadh dependency. Until the end of the eighteenth century the English concentrated mainly on Southern India; and Shāh 'Ālam, the Sikhs, Awadh and the Rohellas were allowed to stew in their own juice.

Mīrzā Najaf—The Last Hope of the Mughals

Shāh 'Ālam's return filled both the Muslims and Hindus with hopes for a more peaceful and better future. These were in vain, only the Mughal culture and values, as we shall see were revived again. Two leaders began to compete for domination over the Emperor. One of them, Mīrzā Najaf Khān (Dhū'lfaqār al-Dawla Amīr al-Umarā' Bahādur Ghālibjang), was an Īrānī immigrant. His ancestors were the custodians of Imām Ridā's shrine at Mashhad; Mīrzā Najaf himself was born in 1737 at Isfahān. At an early age he migrated to India where his sister was married to Safdar-jang's eldest brother, Mīrzā Muhsin. Muhammad Qulī Khān, the imperial keeper of Allahabad Fort, was his kinsman. Mīrzā Najaf started his career under him but, when the fort was captured by Shujā' al-Dawla in April 1759, he fled and entered Nawwāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān's service. He accompanied the Nawwāb on his expedition to collect tribute from the Bundelkhand chiefs and subsequently decided to enter their employ. After the English victory at Baksar he left Bundelkhand and joined the English in January 1765. With the help of Mīrzā's local knowledge, the English seized Allahabad Fort in a few weeks. Clive granted him a pension of 2 lacs of rupees out of the 28 lacs promised to the Emperor. Next year Shāh 'Ālam, on the recommendation of the English, appointed him *fawjdār* of Kora. In February 1770, he was dismissed by Shāh 'Ālam on a false charge of failing to collect standard revenues. However, when Shāh 'Ālam started his march to Delhi, he re-employed Mīrzā and paid Rs. 50,000 to equip his Contingent.⁴³

Mīrzā Najaf was indebted to the English for his training in the European system of warfare. He recruited 10,000 sepoy trained by them and acquired a large amount of artillery. The French observer, Comte de Modave, was highly impressed by Mīrzā Najaf's composure and tranquillity. Mīrzā Najaf regarded the court intrigues against him as petty tricks by weak-minded people and his attitude to his defeated enemies was high-minded and liberal. Comparing him with Najib al-Dawla, J. N. Sarkār says :

“At the zenith of his career, Najib-ud-Daulah was for ten years the regent of the Mughal Empire, his position and power undisputed by any court rival or Muslim potentate in India. His strength lay in the fact of his being the head of a Ruhela clan and the recognised leader of the Afghan race in general throughout Hindustan, while at the same time he

43 *'Ibrat-nāma*, ff. 50a-55b.

was up to 1767 backed, sometimes by the presence but more often by the prestige and name of his unconquerable patron, the Durrani Shah. In India itself he was the Sunni champion besides being the head of the Afghan race. Even without Durrani backing, he was manifestly the greatest Indian general of his age after the death of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-mulk. At the same time his possession of fertile and comparatively undisturbed *jagirs* in the Doāb and upper Rohilkhand, which were carefully managed by his able and faithful land-stewards, ensured for him a large and steady income, so that at the time of his death he was the richest Muslim ruler of North India.

“Najaf Khan, on the other hand, possessed some social advantages which birth had denied to Najib-ud-Daulah. That Ruhela had started life in India as a poor friendless man, entering service in the capacity of a foot soldier. From this small beginning he had risen by sheer merit and unfailing opportunism to the virtual headship of the Empire. But Najaf Khan was a Mirza, boasting of the royal blood of Persia, and closely connected with the house of the Oudh Nawabs by marriage. All this, however, counted for nothing in practical effect as steps to his rise to greatness. He had no racial backing in India ; even the Persian Shuja, his kinsman and brother of the faith, was his personal enemy while Najaf Khan's creed made him utterly friendless at the Court of Delhi, where the Shia faction created by Amir Khan and Muhammad Ishaq Khan had been crushed after the failure of Safdar Jang's ⁴⁴ rising against his master in 1753.”⁴⁵

Shāh 'Ālam's coronation anniversary was attended by many loyal chiefs and princes but the *mīr bakhshī*, Najib al-Dawla's son, Dābitā Khān, neither attended the ceremony nor settled the dues. Mirzā Najaf was forced to perform the unpleasant duty of collecting them in order to settle the arrears in army pay and to re-organise the administration. He knew that Dābitā's father had been the favourite of the orthodox Sunni 'ulamā' of Delhi, such as Shāh Walī-Allāh,⁴⁶ and that a war against the Rohellas would alienate him from the Sunni population. However, he did not shirk his responsibilities.

A combined imperial and Marātha army penetrated into the Doāb; Shāh 'Ālam himself followed in the rear. Dābitā chose to follow the strategy his father had employed in defeating the Marātha invader Dattājī Sindia in 1759 at Shukrtāl⁴⁷ but Mirzā Najaf's counter-plans were more effective. At the end of February 1772, Mirzā Najaf gained a decisive

44 S. W. T., pp. 149-57.

45 J. N. Sarkār, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, Calcutta 1964, III edition, pp. 28-32.

46 S. W. T., pp. 307-8.

47 S. W. T., pp. 169-70.

victory and the Emperor was full of gratitude. The Marāthas besieged Najib al-Dawla's stronghold, Paththargarh, near Najibābād, and permitted the Afghān garrison to vacate it. Many important but defenceless Afghān families sought asylum in the imperial camp, but the Tūrānīs and thieves in the camp robbed and dishonoured them. Mirzā Najaf rushed to their rescue and transferred them to a safe place north of Muzaffarnagar. The Marāthas forcibly appropriated several lacs of rupees, while the imperialists obtained a very insignificant share. Even the Emperor scolded the Marāthas for their faithlessness. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān and the Rohella chiefs were too scared to give Dābitā Khān shelter but Shujā' al-Dawla, who had left his capital and reached Shāhābād, helped him. The Marāthas demanded forty lacs of rupees as a war indemnity from the Rohellas who had no money with which to pay. Shujā' al-Dawla pacified the Marāthas by standing himself as security. The exultant Marāthas pressed Shāh 'Ālam to march towards Allahabad and collect tribute for Bihār and Bengal from the English. The Emperor and Mirzā Najaf, who knew their military weakness, refused to embark upon such a foolhardy venture. The Marātha leaders then disagreed over their respective shares in the booty. Internecine war among the imperialist forces seemed imminent but good sense prevailed and, at the end of May, the imperial forces and the Marātha troops returned from Rohelkhand. They found that important Rohella towns such as Aonla, Bareilly and Rāmpūr had been set on fire by the fleeing Rohellas themselves, but the Marāthas ransacked them again. Only the Sayyids of Amroha were able to save their town by paying Rs. 60,000 to the Marāthas through Mirzā Najaf. By the end of July 1772 the army had returned to Delhi. Neither the Emperor's own financial problems, nor those of the Marāthas, were solved. To invade Awadh or the English in order to collect tribute would be suicidal. However, Shāh 'Ālam assigned many *khālisa* districts to Mirzā Najaf to raise a strong army.⁴⁸ The Emperor succeeded in seducing the French mercenary, Rene Madec, from the Jāt *Rāja's* service by bribing him with a *mansab* of 6,000 *dhāt* and *sawār* and the title of *Nawwāb Shams al-Dawla Bahādur Qā'imjang*. The French adventurer accepted the bribe in order to bring Delhi under French control. Madec's arrival in Delhi with 3,000 men and eight field-guns in the middle of November 1772 coincided with the Marātha attack on Delhi. The Marāthas had also concluded an alliance with Dābitā Khān and the Jāts. Madec and Mirzā Najaf's sepoys fought valiantly against the Marāthas near Purāna Qal'a in the middle of December but were defeated.⁴⁹

Early in January 1773 the Emperor concluded a peace treaty with the Marāthas, by which he agreed to dismiss Mirzā Najaf's newly recruited

48 *'Ibrat-nāma*, ff. 67a-70b; *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 78b-79b.

49 *Sarkār*, II, pp. 45-53.

troops and Madec's battalion. The Marāthas reduced their demand from Rs. 25 lacs, which the Emperor in 1771 had agreed to pay, to Rs. 9 lacs. The Marāthas also prevailed upon the Emperor to expel Mirzā Najaf. Finding no other way out of the impasse, Mirzā Najaf Khān submitted to the Marāthas and served them with his contingent for a daily payment of Rs. 3,000. The Marātha aim was to take Kora and Allahabad which had been granted to them by Shāh 'Ālam. A strong Marātha contingent reached Rāmghāt near Sambhal and Murādābād. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān asked Nawwāb Shujā' al-Dawla to help him against the Marāthas and promised to pay him Rs. 40 lacs. In compliance with the terms of the treaty of Banāras, the English troops marched against the Marāthas in collaboration with the Awadh forces. At the end of March 1773, the English and Awadh troops defeated the Marāthas, whose hopes of seizing Rohelkhand were completely foiled. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, evaded paying the stipulated sum, however, whereupon the English and Awadh troops marched into Rohelkhand. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān was defeated and killed in the battle of Mirānpūr Katra in the Shāhjahānpūr district on 17 April 1774, and Rohelkhand was annexed to Awadh. Thousands of Rohella villages which refused to surrender were burnt and Rohella monuments were destroyed. About 20,000 Rohellas were expelled beyond the Ganges. The Rāmpūr state of Fayd-Allāh Khān, which had not fought against Awadh and the English, was spared. The Marāthas came to terms with Shujā' al-Dawla and the English and dismissed Mirzā Najaf at 'Aligarh on their return march to Deccan. Mirzā Najaf paid a visit to the English general at Anūpshahr and returned to Delhi on 20 May 1773.

There, the Emperor received Mirzā Najaf cordially and, at his recommendation, appointed 'Abd al-Ahad, a Kashmīrī intriguer, as deputy *wazīr*. Formerly 'Abd al-Ahad had been a servant of Najib al-Dawla and then of Dābitā Khān. After one year's employment he became Mirzā Najaf's protégé, but, after obtaining the post of deputy *wazīr*, he became the Emperor's favourite. Meanwhile, Mirzā Najaf raised a competent army and gathered some efficient and energetic lieutenants such as Najaf Quli Khān, Afrāsiyāb Khān and Muhammad Beg Hamadānī around him.⁵⁰

Mirzā Najaf took full advantage of the involvement of the Marātha leaders in the wars of succession following Peshwa Narāyan Rāo's death on 30 August 1773, from 1773 to 1781. Mirzā Najaf's swift advance crushed the Jāt power. In early September 1773, his troops defeated the Jāt governor of 'Aligarh, Chandū Gūjar. At the end of September Mirzā Najaf, with his French soldiers and trained troops, penetrated into Jāt

50 Nawwāb Muhammad Mustajāb Khān, *Gulistān-i Rahmat*; 'Aligarh, Subhān-Allāh Collection ff. 182a-187b; 'Ibrat-nāma, ff. 82b-86b; C. P. C., IV, 122; *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 83a-84b.

territory. He subdued the Jāt forts of Ballabgarh and Farrukhnagar and defeated a strong Jāt force before Barsāna at the end of October. He then marched against Agra and, after a heavy bombardment of the fort, captured it in the middle of February 1774.

Mirzā Najaf's victories over the Jāts were impressive but, instead of relieving the Emperor from penury, the heavy military expenses increased his financial difficulties. This gave 'Abd al-Ahad the opportunity to try to convince the Emperor that Mirzā Najaf and Shujā' al-Dawla were planning to overthrow him and assume the Sayyid brothers' role of king-maker. 'Abd al-Ahad had brought Dābitā to Court, and had written to the Sikhs and Marāthas asking them to attend the Court where plans could be made for them to regain their lost dominions. From 12 June 1774 to 21 April 1775, Mirzā Najaf stayed in Delhi to foil these court intrigues.⁵¹

Early in 1775, Mirzā Najaf commissioned Afrāsiyāb Khān and Najaf Qulī Khān to march against the Jāt strongholds of Doāb and Mewāt. Afrāsiyāb took Jewar and Rāmgarh. The name of Rāmgarh was changed to 'Aligarh, after 'Alī, the first Shi'ī Imām and the fourth Caliph; unlike other ephemeral name-changes, this one became permanent. Najaf Qulī and his Rohella ally, Mullā Rahīmdād, succeeded in forcing Kāma, a Jaipūr possession, to capitulate. Undeterred by the underhand court intrigues in Delhi aimed at replacing him by Dābitā Khān, in November 1775, Mirzā Najaf recalled Afrāsiyāb from Doāb and besieged the Jāt fort of Dig, thought to be impregnable to cannon-fire. Ultimately the Jāt commandant Ranjīt Singh evacuated Dig and fled. The unruly Mughal soldiers plundered the fort, but the arms, ammunition and buried treasures unearthed at Dig were not even sufficient to pay their wages.

Afrāsiyāb now reduced the refractory Jāt and Gūjar *zamīndārs* to submission. Previously only Sūrajmal had obtained control over them. The Rāja of Mursān, in 'Aligarh, put up a spirited resistance but the guns of Afrāsiyāb and Mirzā Najaf, who had also arrived, broke down the walls of his fort and the Rāja surrendered.⁵²

Meanwhile 'Abd al-Ahad had failed to use the ambitious Dābitā to overthrow Mirzā Najaf and became his inveterate enemy. In October 1755, 'Abd al-Ahad appointed his own brother, Abu'l Qāsim Khān as *fawjdār* of Sahāranpūr in Dābitā's territory in order to collect the revenue from the *khālīs*. By that time Dābitā's army had dispersed, so he hired a Sikh force to combat this. Near Muzaffarnagar a battle took place between Abu'l Qāsim Khān and Dābitā and the Sikhs on 11 March 1776.

51 *Ibrat-nāma*, ff. 90a-100b; C. P. C., IV, 1152, 1241, 1267, 1277, 1291; Muhammad Sālih Qudrat, *Najaf-nāma*, I. O., D. P., 1277.

52 Sarkār, *Bengal Past and Present*, 1936, pp. 114-26; C. P. C., IV 1886, V, 306-70; *Ibrat-nāma*, ff. 101a-110b; *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 90b-91b.

Qāsim was no match for the hit-and-run tactics of the Sikhs, and was killed in the battle. 'Abd al-Ahad made peace with Dābitā who still paid no revenue. On 12 February 1777, Mirzā Najaf returned to Delhi. Dābitā was pressed to clear the dues but he adamantly refused to pay and in September a fierce battle was fought between the imperialists led by Afrāsiyāb and Mirzā Najaf and Dābitā's army near the Ghawthgarh Fort built by Najib al-Dawla. Dābitā's forces were defeated and his son, Ghulām Qādir, was taken captive. Mirzā Najaf then besieged Ghawthgarh and the garrison surrendered. Dābitā Khān's family and some eminent Rohella leaders were taken captive and sent to the Agra fort. The Emperor left for Delhi on 11 October and arrived there on 20 November 1777.⁵³

After his defeat, Dābitā, escorted by the Sikhs, reached Karnāl in a destitute condition. They swept through the upper Doāb. The Emperor's enemies rallied round Dābitā but the stiff resistance of Afrāsiyāb and Najaf Qulī drove the Sikhs as far back as Karnāl. The imperialists pushed forward and forced the Sikh leaders to come to terms. They undertook to refrain from invading Mirzā Najaf's *jāgir*. Dābitā now sought Mughal protection and saw Mirzā Najaf and his lieutenant in Agra. Mirzā generously restored Sahāranpūr and Ghawthgarh to him and released the Rohella family from captivity. On 20 September 1778 Dābitā married his daughter to Mirzā Najaf. Sarkār says :

"This settlement finely illustrates the farsighted statesmanship of Mirza Najaf. He set up Zabita Khan as a buffer against the Sikhs in the upper Doāb and also as his own *protégé* and partisan for counteracting the intrigues of Abul Ahad at Court, so that while he himself was fighting the Jats and the Rajputs west of the Jamuna, his trans-Jamuna possessions in the middle Doab would be safe and he would be free from any anxiety about that quarter. The peace was completed by Zabita Khan's visit to the Court, where the Emperor pardoned him and gave him a robe of honour and a letter patent for the district of Saharanpuri (30 January 1779)."⁵⁴

Mirzā Najaf's victories had subdued the Jāts but they were not crushed. When the Jāts heard of Mirzā Najaf's pre-occupation with Ghawthgarh, they again rebelled. Leaving Delhi on 25 November 1777, Mirzā Najaf set off towards Agra. He crushed the rebellion there, seized Kumbgarh but then restored the Bharatpūr region to the fallen foe (the Jāts).

53 W. Francklin, *The History of Shah Alum*, New Delhi, III reprint 1979, pp. 77-80; G. Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of India*, London 1978, I, pp. 282-84; *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 91b-93b.

54 Sarkār, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, III, pp. 110-11.

'Abd al-Ahad persuaded the Emperor to march towards Alwar where Mirzā Najaf was campaigning to seize the throne from the new Rājput Raja of Jaipūr. However, 'Abd al-Ahad did not in the end gain the upper hand. Early in June 1779, 'Abd al-Ahad marched towards Karnāl to expel Mirzā Najaf's administrators from the *khālisa* land and to make a new deal with the Sikhs. Some Sikh leaders became his allies. He laid siege to Patiāla but had to retreat when a strong Sikh army arrived to help the Rāja of Patiāla. The Sikh army chased 'Abd al-Ahad as far as Pānīpat causing heavy troop losses and the unsuccessful expedition returned on 5 November 1779. The Emperor was deeply upset at the loss and, at his invitation, Mirzā Najaf rushed to Delhi, energetically won over 'Abd al-Ahad's followers and caused him to be dismissed and stripped of his power.⁵⁵

On 16 November, Mirzā Najaf was made the *wakil-i mutlaq*⁵⁶ and from that time until his death he sank into drink and debauchery; in August 1781 he developed consumption. The administration broke down and the collection of revenue stopped. Both the Emperor's financial distress and the Mirzā's miserable pecuniary condition were extreme. None of his lieutenants came to his assistance. Although they were successful in their own territories, all the funds they collected went to maintain their respective armies.

In March 1780, Mahbūb 'Alī Khān of Awadh, who had exhibited considerable promise in the Rāmghāt expedition of 1773 against the Marāthas, joined Mirzā Najaf. He was allowed to raise an army with the tribute he collected and a large number of soldiers swarmed around him. In six months he had conquered a considerable area of Jaipūr but could not take the fort. At the end of June 1781, Mahbūb, sorely disappointed, left for Mecca.⁵⁷

Mirzā Najaf's grand-nephew, Mirzā Muhammad Shafī', successfully avenged the imperialist defeat at Patiāla in 1779. Proceeding from Barnāwa in February 1780, he crushed the refractory villages which had supported the Sikh invasions. Dābitā was ordered to collaborate with Shafī'. By this time the cis-Satlaj Sikh leaders, disunited and involved in tribal feuds, had approached the imperial court for assistance. Mirzā Najaf ordered Shafī' to make decisions at his own discretion. However, Shafī' was not diplomatic in negotiating with the Sikh leaders and Dābitā Khān. He annoyed the Sikhs who seized Sahāranpūr, whereupon Shafī' attacked them forthwith. He defeated them and drove them across the

55 British Museum Or 25,021, ff. 246b-270b; *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 97b-110b; 'Ibrat-nāma, ff. 111a-112b; C. P. S., V, 1509, 1568.

56 The position of the *Wakil-i Mutlaq* was not always filled. He was theoretically next to the Emperor but did not hold any specific portfolio.

57 British Museum Ms. Or, 25,020, ff. 50-345, Or. 25,021, ff. 1-25, 271-84; 'Ibrat-nāma, ff. 115b-117a.

Jamunā. Shafi' chased them as far as Ambāla but the Court's failure to despatch money or reinforcements halted his progress. Dābitā, who had returned to Delhi, refused to collaborate with Shafi'. However, he accepted the duty of negotiating with the Sikh leaders independently. In return for the right to control and impose *rakhi* on the land in their possession, the Sikhs offered not to plunder the *khālisa* villages. Mirzā Shafi' returned and remained at the imperial base in Kunjpura, near Delhi, until Mirzā Najaf's death. His surplus troops and Dābitā Khān's six auxiliary forces and retainers were commissioned to restore peace around Sahāranpūr and collect the revenue from the upper Doāb.⁵⁸ This was the last grand plan of the dying Mirzā Najaf. On 6 April 1782 he died⁵⁹ and the rays of hope for the recovery of the Mughal glory that had begun to shine were dissipated in the cloud of growing anarchy.

Shāh 'Ālam under Marātha protection

The period between April 1782 and 1784 is marked by a scramble for supremacy between Mirzā Najaf's lieutenants. Afrāsiyāb, whom the Mirzā had nominated his successor was a Hindu grocer's son who had been converted and trained by the Mirzā. Shāh 'Ālam appointed him his master's successor on his promise to pay Rs. 5 lacs as succession fee. Mirzā Shafi' challenged Afrāsiyāb's rise to power and organised a *coup* on 10 September, 1782 which gave him control of Delhi. The Emperor then replaced Afrāsiyāb, who was unable to pay the promised succession fee, with Shafi'. In October Shafi' was overthrown but a month later was reappointed regent. In January 1783, Shafi' succeeded in restoring order in Agra but his rival, Muhammad Beg Hamadāni, who enjoyed the support of the Mughaliya leaders and troops, hatched various plots to depose him. Shafi' opened negotiations with the Marātha chief, Mahādji Sindia, who had proved most successful in diplomatic matters. At the end of June 1783, Sindia visited Shafi', whereupon Hamadāni declared Shafi' a traitor and killed him on 23 September 1783.⁶⁰ Afrāsiyāb again accepted the post of regent, promising an enormous sum as succession fee, but he was still unable to pay. The Sikhs renewed their raids into the Doāb. Hamadāni's rebellion was uncrushed. At the end of October 1784, Afrāsiyāb also met Mahādji Sindia in his camp at Rūpbāns near Fathpūr-Sikri. On 2 November 1784, before they could make any bargains, Afrāsiyāb was killed by Shafi's brother. Sindia defeated Hamadāni's forces and obtained his complete submission. Shāh 'Ālam thereupon made Sindia his regent and called on him near Kanwāh in 1784. Ironically it was at

58 'Ibrat-nāma, ff. 115a.

59 *Ibid.*, f. 121b. *Tahmās-nāma*, ff. 112a-b.

60 'Ibrat-nāma, ff. 122a-31a; B. M., 25,021, ff. 30a-b, 39a-88b.

Kanwāh that Bābur, defeating Rānā Sāngā in 1527, had laid the foundation of the Mughal empire. On 1 December 1784 Shāh 'Ālam appointed the Peshwa his deputy (*nā'ib-i munīb*) and the *bakhshī al-mamālik*. Sindia was made the Peshwa's permanent regent and *de-facto* administrator.⁶¹

Between January and March 1785, Mahādji Sindia regained control over Dig and Agra. In the middle of November 'Aligarh was conquered.⁶² The Sikhs promised to refrain from levying *rakhtī* on the imperial *khālisa* in return for a *jāgīr* of Rs. 10 lacs from the Rājput Rāja of Jaipūr. This agreement was designed to ensure the safety of the districts from Delhi to Pānipat. In January 1786, Mahādji Sindia himself invaded Jaipūr in order to collect the tribute which the Rāja of Jaipūr had allowed to fall far in arrears; he did not pay even a fraction of what Sindia had demanded. After minor skirmishes a pitched battle was fought between Mahādji Sindia and the Rājputs near Lālsot, not far from Jaipūr. Early in August 1787, Mahādji Sindia retreated. Meanwhile Agra had been seized by Ismā'il Beg Hamadāni, the nephew of Muhammad Beg Hamadāni (an energetic lieutenant of Mīrzā Najaf). The territories which Mahādji Sindia had conquered in the Doāb were also lost. Ajmīr was seized by the Rāja of Jaipūr. With no money and little prospect of success, Mahādji Sindia retreated to his stronghold of Gwalior at the end of December 1788.⁶³

The debacle suffered by Sindia at Lālsot kindled in Ghulām Qādir, who had succeeded his father Dābitā Khān on 21 January 1785, the hope of gaining the position of *bakhshī al-mamālik* at the imperial court which had been held by his father and grandfather. In the middle of August 1787 he reached Delhi. Mahādji Sindia's agents fled. On 5 September Ghulām Qādir gained control of Delhi. The helpless Emperor made him the *bakhshī al-mamālik* and gave him the vainglorious title of "*Amīr al-umarā' Rawshan al-Dawla Bahādur*" (Commander of commanders, the light of the realm).⁶⁴ However, the Emperor's secret plots aimed at extirpating the Rohella menace made the drunkard Ghulām Qādir violently angry. He crossed back into the Doāb and seized the *khālisa* land from Meerut to Sahāranpūr. Shāh 'Ālam wrote asking the Sikhs and Mahādji Sindia for help. The latter, defeated by Ismā'il Beg, the Mughaliya chief, crossed the Chambal. Ismā'il Beg now invited Ghulām Qādir Rohella to join him in a united bid to expel the remaining Marāthas and eradicate the Jāt power. Their combined forces first tried to take Bharatpūr but, finding it stoutly defended by the Jāts, they turned to the Jāt fort of Kumbher and

61 Sarkār, III, pp. 196-198; C. P. C., VI, 1550.

62 'Ibrat-nāma, ff. 147a-63a.

63 Sarkār, III, pp. 247-76.

64 'Ibrat-nāma, ff. 180a-206a.

seized it. Before the Jāt forces could give them battle, Ismā'il Beg marched against Dig. The garrison there repulsed them, however, and the Jāt army from Bharatpūr, which had hurried to their rescue, combined with Mahādji Sindia's Deccan Horse and other Jāts to make short work of the army of Ismā'il Beg and Ghulām Qādir. Ismā'il Beg retreated towards Agra but the Marātha-Jāt army decisively crushed the Mughaliya force of Ismā'il Beg near Agra. In the middle of June 1788, Ismā'il Beg fled in a miserable condition.⁶⁵ Ghulām Qādir refused to help him and marched towards Delhi via 'Aligarh and Shāhdara. The Emperor wrote asking Mahādji Sindia to rush to his aid, but the Rohellas forestalled the Marāthas and entered Delhi Fort with the help of some traitors in Shāh 'Ālam's service. Ghulām Qādir ruled Delhi between 18 July and 20 October 1788. He deposed Shāh 'Ālam and blinded him on 10 August. The princes and their children were brutally beaten, the princesses were raped, flogged and starved to death. The Rohellas dug up every corner in the fort and palaces where they thought gold might have been buried. The obsessive need to avenge the wrong done to his father and family by the Mughal Emperor made Ghulām Qādir an insane savage.

Mahādji Sindia could not send immediate relief but the Marātha forces reached Delhi Fort on 2 October, and eight days later Ghulām Qādir fled. The blind Shāh 'Ālam was restored to the throne. Ghulām Qādir was hotly pursued and taken captive on 19 December. He was sent to Mahādji Sindia's camp at Mathurā and, at the request of Shāh 'Ālam, his eye-balls were extracted and his nose and ears were cut off on 3 March 1789 and sent to the Emperor. Then his hands and feet were amputated and his dead body was hung on a tree.⁶⁶

Mahādji Sindia was welcomed to Delhi Fort as the deliverer from Ghulām Qādir's atrocities. The revenue from thirty-two *mahāls*⁶⁷, assigned as the *khālisa* for the Emperor's expenses and the upkeep of the Court was too precarious and meagre to maintain the Emperor's enormous household of queens, princes and princesses. At the beginning of 1792. Mahādji left for Pūna making Shāh Nizām al-Dīn, known as Shāhji or Hadratji, a Qādiri sūfī saint in Delhi, his deputy. The Emperor had been deeply impressed with Nizām al-Dīn's spiritual power but Nizām al-Dīn cut off the Emperor's allowance, reducing the palace inmates and servants to the verge of starvation, while he himself amassed considerable wealth. On 12 February 1794, it was announced that Mahādji Sindia had died of fever in a suburb of Pūna called Wanaoli. By this time Shāh 'Ālam had developed an understanding with Mahādji Sindia and each appreciated

65 'Ibrat-nāma, ff. 208a-13b.

66 'Ibrat-nāma, ff. 214a-26b.

67 Group of villages for revenue administration.

the other, as the events recorded in the *Waqā'i' 'Ālam Shāh* by Prem Kishore Firāqi suggest.

Internecine warfare among the Marātha leaders, both in the Deccan and the north, shook the foundations of that organisation. The Sikhs broke their treaty with the Marāthas and between 1793 and 1795 raided the Doāb several times. Cuillier Perron (previously Pierre-Francoise Cuillier) who had risen to power under de Boigne, Mahādji's protégé, was commissioned to streamline the Delhi administration and to halt the Sikh depredations. The Emperor, at the request of Dawlat Rāo Sindia, Mahādji Sindia's grand-nephew and successor, gave Perron a pompous Persian title and a *mansab* of 7,000. The income from his *jāgīr* was Rs. 27 lacs. In 1799, Perron made 'Aligarh his headquarters, and, by 1801, had not only halted the cis-Satlaj Sikh leaders but obtained control over Agra, Ajmir, Delhi, 'Aligarh, Khurja, Sahāranpūr and Firūzābād, towns earlier pacified by Mahādji Sindia.⁶⁸

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's Successors

Shāh 'Ālam received no offers of pecuniary assistance. He therefore sent petitions to the Afghān, Zamān Shāh (1793-1800). After Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's death in October 1773, his son, Tīmūr Shāh (1773-93), who had served as governor of Lahore and Multān, succeeded him. In 1779 he had regained Multān, which the Sikhs had occupied earlier that year, and had fought in Sind. He had also suppressed the uprisings in Peshāwar and Kashmir.⁶⁹ Tīmūr Shāh did not interfere with the Sikhs across the Indus but his son, Zamān Shāh, who succeeded him after his death in May 1793, was tempted to duplicate his grandfather's exploits in the Panjāb. Meanwhile, the unity of the Sikh *misls* had broken down and most of them were totally ineffective.

Zamān Shāh first consolidated his authority by securing his throne from rivals and from Āgha Muhammad, the Shāh of Īrān (1779-1797). Early in December 1796, he crossed the Indus and seized Lahore. The Sikhs evacuated their towns and retired to the hills. However, Zamān Shāh's brother in Hirāt rebelled and compelled him to leave Lahore immediately, making Ahmad Khān Bārakza'i governor. The English were greatly alarmed and recruited the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th regiments of Bengal Lancers in order to meet the invader. However, at the end of October 1798, Zamān Shāh again passed through Peshāwar and seized Lahore from the Sikhs without much resistance. Nizām al-Dīn Khān of Qasūr could be chosen as governor of Lahore but both he and Zamān Shāh were

68 J. N. Sarkār, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, IV, Calcutta 1935, pp. 146-47, 202-4, 242, 245-47.

69 G. P. Tate, *The Kingdom of Afghanistan*, Delhi 1973, reprinted, pp. 88-93.

suspicious of each other. Several other Sikh leaders offered to fill this position and eventually Zamān Shāh gave the post to the Sikh leader of Mājha, Ranjit Singh (b. 2 November 1780). He then wrote in answer to Shāh 'Ālam promising to return soon to restore Islamic domination over northern India. Meanwhile Zamān Shāh had hurriedly returned homewards, reaching Kābul at the end of January 1799, where he was defeated and blinded by his rebellious brother at the end of July 1801. Mahmūd of Hirāt was then proclaimed king at Kābul. Shujā' al-Mulk, also Mahmūd's brother and his rival, seized Peshāwar.⁷⁰

Mahārāja Ranjit Singh

Before long Ranjit Singh threw off the Afghān yoke, and made the Rāja of Jammū his tributary chief. On 1 January 1806, he entered into an alliance with the English promising to establish an intimate connection between them.⁷¹ On 25 April 1809 he signed the Treaty of Amritsar with the English confirming "perpetual friendship" between the two powers. The English recognised Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's supremacy over the Panjāb north of the river Satlaj. In return the Mahārāja promised to commit no "encroachments on the possessions of the cis-Satlaj chiefs."⁷² Consequently Mahārāja Ranjit Singh relinquished his hopes of eastern expansion, took the Kāngra territories and on 13 July 1813 seized Attak from the Afghāns.⁷³ Between 1812 and 1815, the Afghān king, Shāh Shujā' al-Mulk lived under Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's protection and was forced to surrender the celebrated Koh-i nūr⁷⁴ diamond to the Mahārāja on 13 June 1813. The disillusioned Shāh Shujā' finally left Lahore in April 1815 and sought English protection. Ranjit Singh's kingdom expanded rapidly. In 1818 he seized Multān and in July 1819 became the ruler of Kashmir. In 1820 Rāwalpindī was conquered and in 1823 Yār Muhammad Khān, the Afghāns' governor of Peshāwar, also accepted the Mahārāja's suzerainty. The Mahārāja's enterprising Sikh general, Hari Singh Nalwa captured Peshāwar on 6 May 1834 and it became part of the Sikh kingdom. The English, however, foiled the Mahārāja's ambition to take Sind⁷⁶ from

70 *The Kingdom of Afghanistan*, pp. 94-116.

71 Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, Nābha 1977, pp. 70-71.

72 *Ibid*, pp. 84-86.

73 *Ibid*, pp. 88-90.

74 This world-famous diamond, $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1''$ has a very old history. It adorned the Peacock throne of Shāhjahān. Nādir Shāh took it to Īrān but after his death, Ahmad Shāh Durrāni seized it. Ranjit Singh's successors surrendered it to the British Indian Government and it passed to Queen Victoria and now adorns the crown of England.

75 Hasrat, pp. 116-18.

76 *Ibid*, pp. 128-33, 361-64.

its Muslim Amīrs before his death on 27 June 1839. He summed up his own achievements in the following words :

“My kingdom is a great kingdom ; it was small, it is now large ; it was scattered, broken and divided ; it is now consolidated ; it must increase in prosperity, and descend undivided to my posterity. The maxims of Taimur have guided me ; what he professed and ordered I have done. By counsel and providence, combined with valour, I have conquered ; and by generosity, discipline, and policy, I have regulated and consolidated my government. I have rewarded the bold, and encouraged merit wherever it was to be found ; on the field of battle, I exalted the valiant ; with my troops I have shared all dangers, all fatigues. Both on the field and in the cabinet I shut partiality from my soul, and closed my eyes to personal comfort ; with the robe of empire, I put on the mantle of care ; I fed *faqirs* and holy men, and gained their prayers ; the guilty as the innocent I spared ; and those whose hands were raised against myself have met my clemency ; Sri Purakhji (God) has therefore been merciful to his servant, and increased his power, so that his territory now extends to the borders of China and the limits of the Afghans, with all Multan, and rich possessions beyond the Sutlej.”⁷⁷

Awadh and the English

The decline of Awadh started after the death of the third Nawwāb Shujā' al-Dawla at Faydābād in 1775. He had realised his expansionist ambitions and governed the country efficiently. With his death the era of the rule of the dynamic *nawwābs* came to an end. The English took the opportunity to make Awadh financially bankrupt and difficult for its rulers to govern.

The Calcutta Council of the East India Company argued that with Shujā' al-Dawla's death, any treaties made with him came to an end. His son and successor was Āsaf al-Dawla (1775-97). Under the treaty of Faydābād, signed in 1775, the subsidy for the use of the Company's troops was raised from Rs. 210,000 to Rs. 260,000 *per mensem* and the new Nawwāb was forced to cede Rāja Chait Singh's *zamīndārī* of Banāras, Jawnpūr and Ghāzīpūr to the Company in full sovereignty. Encouraged by the party hostile to Warren Hastings Bahū Begum, Shujā' al-Dawla's widow, took possession of her deceased husband's enormous *jāgīrs* which yielded a rent of Rs. 36 lacs. Although she produced a will made by her husband substantiating her action, her claims were illegal both under general Islamic and Mughal traditions. On the British Resident's representations, the Begum gave Āsaf al-Dawla Rs. 30 lacs, half of which was to be paid to the Company,

⁷⁷ H. M. L. Lawrence, *Adventures of an officer in the Punjab*. London 1846, I, pp. 64-65.

plus the promise of another twenty-six lacs, for which she had security in land. In return the Nawwāb agreed to renounce further claims upon her.

Āsaf al-Dawla transferred his capital to Lucknow and the Begum and her dependants stayed at Faydābād. The Nawwāb was unable to meet the growing demands by the English for more money to meet the heavy expenses of their war in the Deccan. Hastings imposed a heavy quota for money and troops on Chait Singh and, in December 1782, he forced Bahū Begum and Āsaf al-Dawla's grandmother to surrender the treasure valued at Rs. 7,600,000. Bahū Begum's *jāgirs* were also resumed, but these were later relinquished and Bahū Begum retained them until her death in 1815. Hastings also extorted the whole of his annual income, amounting to Rs. 1,500,000, from Nawwāb Fayd-Allāh Khān of Rāmpūr. In 1882 Bristow, the British Resident, wrote:

"Despotism is the principle upon which every measure is founded, and the people in the interior parts of the country are ruled at the discretion of the Amil or Faujdar (chief district officer) for the time being; they exercise, within the limits of their jurisdiction, the powers of life and death, and decisions in civil and other cases, in the same extent as the Sovereign at the capital. The forms prescribed by the ancient institutions of the Mughal Empire are unattended to, and the will of the provincial magistrate is the sole law of the people; the total relaxation of the Wazir's authority, his inattention and dislike to business, leave the Amils in possession of this dangerous power.... I can hardly quote an instance, since the Wazir's accession to the *masnad* (throne), of an Amil having been punished for oppression, though the complaints of the people and the state of the country are notorious proofs of the violences daily committed; it has even become unsafe for travellers to pass except in large bodies; murders, thefts, and other enormities shocking to humanity are committed in open day."⁷⁸

The *ijāra* (revenue farming) was introduced to stabilize the declining revenue collection, but it made the peasants life miserable. Āsaf al-Dawla's minister, Haydar Beg who died in 1795, was Hasting's creature. The Governor-General even controlled the appointment of the Nawwāb's chief minister. Unable to stop the administration from collapsing, despairingly the Nawwāb gave himself over to dissipation.⁷⁹

After Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla's death in 1797, his son Nawwāb Wazir 'Alī was recognised as his successor. Wazir 'Alī's anti-British leanings

78 H. C. Irwin, *The Garden of India*, I, Lucknow 1973, reprint I, p. 82.

79 *Ibid*, pp. 75-86; H. S., III, pp. 940-55; I. S., pp. 120-45. Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Haydar Husaynī, *Sawānīhāt-i salāṭīn-i Awadh*, (*Qaysar al-tawārīkh*), Lucknow 1896, I, pp. 88-119.

made the strong pro-British element in the Awadh administration hostile to him. The Governor, Sir John Shore, (1793-98) himself came to Lucknow and dismissed Wazīr 'Alī on the pretext that he was not Āsaf al-Dawla's son, for Āsaf al-Dawla's widow had deposed that the Nawwāb was sexually impotent. Wazīr 'Alī was sent to Banāras where, in desperation, he killed the Political Agent, Cherry, and instigated a rebellion, asking Zamān Shāh and the Marāthas for help. Assembling a hurriedly recruited army around him, Wazīr 'Alī recognised Mirzā Muzaffar Bakht, a grandson of Shāh 'Ālam, as Emperor, and was made *wazīr* by him. A few days later the English and Awadh troops defeated him. Wazīr 'Alī fled. Many years later he was taken captive and imprisoned in Calcutta where he died in 1817.⁸⁰

After Wazīr 'Alī's dismissal, Āsaf al-Dawla's younger brother, Sa'ādat 'Alī, was made Nawwāb. In the early years of his reign the news of Zamān Shāh's invasion prompted the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) to force the Nawwāb to replace the greater part of his Awadh troops with an English force. The total amount of the subsidy to the Company was raised to Rs. 13,000,000 per annum. The treaty dated 10 November 1801, deprived Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī of Rohelkhand, Farrukhābād, Mainpurī, Etāwa, Kānpūr, Fatehgarh, Allahabad, A'zamgarh, Basti and Gorakhpūr. According to this treaty, charges were no longer to be made for the protection of Awadh; thus all the territories acquired by Nawwāb Shujā' al-Dawla were taken away within twenty years of his death.

Although Sa'ādat 'Alī had lost about half of his dominions, he devoted the remaining years of his life to streamlining the administration and strengthening the Awadh government. However, the English sided with the recalcitrant *zamīndārs* against him and accused the Nawwāb of "collecting taxes at the point of the bayonet". Sa'ādat 'Alī abandoned the system of allotting the revenue circles to the highest bidder for a fixed sum (*ijāra*) and ordered his *chakladārs* (revenue collectors) to account for their collection without binding them to pay any fixed amount (*amānī*). The prosperity of the villages returned and, according to Col. McAndrew, "At his death Sa'ādat 'Alī left behind him the name of the friend of the *ryot* and a full treasury." Sa'ādat 'Alī died in 1814; his treasury was estimated variously to contain "three to fourteen million sterling."⁸¹

Sa'ādat 'Alī was succeeded by his second son, Ghāzī al-Dīn Haydar (1814-1827). He dismissed his father's able minister, Hakīm Mahdī, who was alienated from the Resident, Colonel Baillie, and replaced him by his favourite, Āghā Mīr. The *ijāra* system was reintroduced and Sa'ādat

80 Muhammad Husayn bin Muhammad 'Alī Bihbihānī, *Wazīr 'Alī*, Public Library Panjāb, Lahore, No. 297, 9925, ff. 3-12; *Qaysar al-tawārīkh*, I, pp. 129-42; *The Garden of India*, I, pp. 87-88; I. S., pp. 167-71.

81 *Ibid*, I, pp. 91-96; I. S., pp. 172-74; *Qaysar al-tawārīkh*, I, pp. 148-205.

'Ali's administrative framework collapsed under the rapacity and callousness of Āghā Mir. At the suggestion of the Governor-General, Lord Hastings (1813-23), Ghāzi al-Dīn declared himself independent of Delhi in 1819, and assumed the vainglorious title *Abu'l Muzaffar Mu'izz al-Dīn Shāh-i Zamān Ghāzi al-Dīn Haydar*. He and his four successors, Nāsir al-Dīn Haydar (1827-37), Muhammad 'Alī Shāh (1837-42), Amjad 'Alī Shāh (1842-47) and Wājid 'Alī Shāh (1847-56) were kings in name only. The English interfered in their administration and the recalcitrance of the *zamīndārs* closed the doors to any effective rule.

The Deccan and the English

However, the real threat to English imperialistic ambitions came from the state of Mysore, which had been reorganised by Haydar 'Alī and Tipū. With the accession of Nizām 'Alī Khān, the fourth son of Nizām al-Mulk Āsafjāh on 6 July 1762, the instability in Haydarābād ended. Before ascending the throne he had profited from the Marāṭha debacle at Pānīpat by recovering the Āsafjāhī territory which had been ceded to the Marāṭhas in 1760. His instinct for self-preservation made him friendly with the English and he became instrumental in the fall of both Mysore and the Marāṭhas.

The state of Mysore, bounded on the northeast by Bombay, on the east by Āndhra, on the south-east by Madras and on the south-west by Kerāla, was a very ancient Hindu kingdom. In 1759, Haydar 'Alī (b. 1721) started his career as an ordinary soldier in Mysore. He became the principal power behind the throne of the Hindu Rāja who conferred on him the title, Fath Haydar Bahādur. Between 1761 and 1766, he conquered Sira, Bidnūr, Sundā and the Malābār. The hostility of the Nizām of Haydarābād, the Marāṭhas and the English did not deter him. Though practically illiterate, he exhibited far-sighted statesmanship by making short-term alliances with the Nizām and the Marāṭhas ; and on the battlefield he fought with indomitable will and courage. These qualities were demonstrated during the first Mysore War (1767-1769) and the second Mysore War (1780-1784). He established a strong centralized administration on the Mughal pattern, which, after his death on 7 December 1782, was further strengthened by his son and successor, Tipū. Tipū unhesitatingly introduced some useful features from the European civil administration and military organisation. Sir Thomas Munro (1761-1827) and Edward Moor (1771-1848), who had first-hand knowledge of Tipū's administration, wrote commending its efficiency, impartiality and justice, although Munro described Tipū's government as "the most simple and despotic monarchy in the world".⁸² Tipū concluded the second Mysore War in

82 Quoted in Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, Calcutta 1971, 2nd edition, p. 332.

1784 by signing the treaty of Mangalore with the British government on the basis of the mutual restoration of conquests.

The new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793), was convinced that Tipū was "a prince of uncommon ability and of boundless ambition, who had acquired a degree of power in extent of territory, in wealth, and in forces that threatened the Company's possessions in the Carnatic and those of all his other neighbours with imminent danger."⁸³ In 1787 Tipū sent envoys to both France and Constantinople asking for help but his emissaries were unsuccessful. Tipū's invasion of Travancore, an English ally, at the end of December 1789, gave the English a pretext to crush his power. Cornwallis entered into a "Triple Alliance" with the Marāthas and the Nizām of Haydarābād, the allies agreeing to divide the spoils equally. The third Mysore War which broke out in 1790, lasted until 1792. The Marāthas and the Nizām's troops fought very efficiently. In February 1792, Cornwallis besieged Tipū's capital Seringāpatam and seized some mountain strongholds. In March 1792, Tipū surrendered and signed the Treaty of Seringāpatam. He was forced to cede about one half of his dominion to the victorious allies and to give two of his sons as hostages. He also paid an indemnity of more than Rs. 30,000,000. The English gained possession of those of Tipū's territories which controlled the approach to the sea and the passes through which lay the tableland of southern India. The Marāthas received the territory between Wārdha and the Krishnā. The Nizām of Haydarābād gained the region lying between the Krishnā and Pennar rivers.

The truce ended shortly after the arrival of Lord Wellesley as Governor-General in May 1798. Tipū sent envoys to Turkey, Īrān and France, and to Zamān Shāh, suggesting they co-operate with him to drive the English out of India. All the missions failed, and Tipū had to fall back on his own resources. Wellesley now set about compelling the Indian princes to enter into a "Subsidiary Alliance" with the English, according to which, they were to maintain a contingent of English troops within their states, accept an English Resident in their capital, and enter into friendly relations with foreign powers only through the English. No prince would be allowed to declare war or negotiate any treaties without English consent. Tipū rejected the "Subsidiary Alliance". Wellesley entered into a separate tripartite alliance with the Nizām of Haydarābād and the Marātha Peshwa on the basis of equal distribution of the spoils of war, following upon which Tipū was defeated in two pitched battles. Seringāpatam, where he took shelter, was captured on 4 May 1799. Tipū died gallantly defending his freedom. A scion of the Hindu Rāja of Mysore's family was made ruler of the central part of the state; Kanāra, Coimbatore, Daraporam and Serin-

gāpatam were annexed by the English. The territory to the north-east of his dominion (Gooty), Gurramkonda and part of Chiteldurg, including its fort, was given to the Nizām of Haydarābād. The Marāthas did not accept the share offered to them.⁸⁴

The Nizām of Haydarābād now agreed to accept the "Subsidiary Alliance" and the eighth Marātha Peshwa, Bāji Rāo II (1796-1818), also signed it at the end of December 1802. Other Marātha chiefs, however, refused to obey him but Lord Wellesley was prepared to meet the Marātha leaders' challenge. In the Deccan, the Governor-General's brother, Arthur Wellesley and, in northern India, General Lake, began their attacks on all the Marātha control centres. Arthur Wellesley seized Ahmadnagar, Assaye, north of Awrangābād, Burhānpūr, Asirgarh and Agraon, about fifty miles east of Burhānpūr. Lake left his headquarters at Kānpūr on 7 August 1803 and headed towards 'Aligarh, stormed the fort and defeated Perron. On 11 September he overcame the Marāthas' French mercenaries near the Delhi ramparts. Shāh 'Ālam, who had been assured protection by Lord Wellesley in a letter dated 27 July 1803,⁸⁵ sent a letter of congratulation to General Lake and on 16 September 1803, Lake called on the Emperor in his palace. According to Wellesley, the victory was "the happy instrument of your Majesty's restoration to a state of dignity and tranquillity under the power of the British Crown".⁸⁶

The Emperor's personal allowance was fixed at Rs. 60,000 *per mensem* and the whole grant at eleven and a half lacs of rupees a year. In contrast, Mahādji Sindia had granted Rs. 17,000 *per mensem* to the Emperor and Rs. 45,000 *per mensem* for his household. Spear writes:

"Within the walls of the Red Fort the King retained his ruling powers. The inhabitants of the Fort bazaar were his direct subjects, and the members of the imperial family or *salatin*⁸⁷ who lived within, enjoyed diplomatic immunity. The etiquette of the Court was maintained, the sonorous titles and language of the Great Mughuls continued, and the Resident attended the Durbar in the *Diwan-i-Khas* (hall of special audience) regularly as a suitor. He dismounted like any other courtier at the *Naqar Khana* (place for beating the drum) and was conducted on foot through the Lal Purdah (red curtain) to the imperial presence where he stood respectfully like the rest. If throughout India the Mughul

84 Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta, *An advanced history of India*, London 1960, p. 699.

85 India Office, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 492, Wellesley to Shāh 'Ālam, 27 July 1803, pp. 251-52.

86 *Ibid.*, Wellesley to Shāh 'Ālam, 8 October 1803, pp. 251-52.

87 *Infra*, pp. 49-50.

was henceforth to be regarded as a pensioner, within the palace walls he was still to enjoy the powers and dignities of a sovereign."⁸⁸

On 19th November 1806, Shāh 'Alām died and was succeeded by his son Akbar II (1806-1837). In the wake of the revolution of 1857-58, his successor, Sirāj al-Dīn Bahādur Shāh Zafar (1837-1858) aged eighty-two years, was taken captive on 20 September 1857, and put on trial for engineering the revolt. He was too old to make any decisions but he was found guilty and exiled to Rangoon where he died in 1862.

After Shāh 'Alām's restoration to the throne, Lake concluded a treaty with the Jāt Rāja of Bharatpūr and seized Agra on 17 October 1803. Raghuji Bhonsla II⁸⁹ and Dawlat Rāo Sindia⁹⁰, the two leading Marāṭha chiefs, surrendered and treaties were signed with them in 1803 and 1804. They were left in control of minor territories in Nāgpūr and Gwalior respectively. After the defeat of Sindia and Bhonsla, Yashwant Rāo Holkar of south-west Mālwa and Indore, who, because of his enmity towards Sindia had taken no part in the Marāṭha war against the English, entered into secret correspondence with the Rājput *rājas* and Sikh chiefs about making a united attack on the English. Sindia divulged the secret to the English. In March 1804, Holkar ravaged Pushkar and Ajmīr, and plundered Jaipūr whose rāja had already entered into a subsidiary alliance. In April 1804, the English declared war on Holkar. The Marāṭha chief, however, defeated the English force sent against him. Holkar's forces marched towards Delhi but his commanders' attack on Delhi was repulsed and he himself was defeated at Dīg on 14 November 1804. Four days later Holkar's army took shelter in Bharatpūr Fort and Lake's efforts to storm the fort were unsuccessful. Holkar's forays did not result in much damage to the English and the Rāja of Bharatpūr made peace with the English, receiving liberal terms because of Wellesley's recall in July 1805. Holkar marched to Amritsar in order to obtain help from Mahārāja Ranjit Singh. Lake frustrated him however and, on 24 December 1805, Holkar signed a treaty with the English on the banks of the Beās. He was allowed to retain his territories south of the Chambal; Tonk and Rāmpura, north of the Būndī hills, were also restored to him. Shortly afterwards, in 1807, Holkar became insane and continued in that state until he died on 27 October 1811.⁹¹

88 Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughul*, Cambridge 1951, p. 388.

89 He was the founder of the Bhonsla family of Nāgpūr.

90 The grand-nephew of Mahādī Sindia, whose ambitions were deeply resented by the Peshwa.

91 V. G. Dighe, *Provincial Maratha Dynasties*; R. C. Majumdar, *The Marāṭha supremacy*, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1977, VIII, pp. 273-78; R. M. Saxena, *Maratha Relations with the Major States of Rajputana*, New Delhi 1973, pp. 179-194.

Amīr Khān

Holkar's indefatigable supporter was Amīr Khān, the last in the list of Afghān soldiers of fortune and adventurers who, in the wake of the decline of the Mughal empire, carved out independent principalities. Their dynasties were short-lived. Amīr Khān was an Afghān. His ancestors had migrated from Buner Valley in the north-west frontiers of India to Sambhal in Murādābād district during the reign of Muhammad Shāh and had served under the Rohelkhand chiefs.⁹² Amīr Khān was born in 1768. In 1787 he left home with some adventurous young Afghān men and by turn served in the armies of Mirzā Najaf, the Marāthas and the Rājput chiefs. In 1799 he joined Holkar. By that time he was recognised as an invincible warrior. His army of Afghān soldiers had swelled enormously. Holkar made him an equal partner and the two marched against their enemies both jointly and separately. In 1803, Amīr Khān defeated Sindia's⁹³ army although it now included the Pindārī⁹⁴ chiefs, Karīm Khān and Chitū Khān. Holkar and Amīr Khān defeated the army of the Marātha Peshwa and Sindia near Pūna. He also fought against Lake's army when it laid siege to Bharatpūr. According to *Amīr-nāma*, Wellesley sent him a Rs. 60 lacs *hundī* (bill of exchange) and promised to grant him a large *jāgīr* in order to induce him to desert Holkar but Amīr Khān refused.⁹⁵ It was Amīr Khān who had advised Holkar to proceed to Amritsar and seek help from the Sikh chiefs. Amīr Khān planned to seek assistance from Shujā' al-Mulk in the event of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh and the Sikhs failing to help. Near Amritsar, Mahārāja Ranjit Singh accorded Amīr Khān and Holkar a warm welcome. They stayed there for a month and a half. Mahārāja Ranjit Singh told Holkar that he would help them only if they marched against the Afghān *Ẓamīndār* of Qasūr who had not yet submitted to his rule. Holkar agreed. Meanwhile the Qasūr *Ẓamīndār* persuaded Amīr Khān, as his brother Muslim to help him against the Sikh ruler. Holkar tried to stop Amīr Khān, who marched with his own

92 Basāwan La'l Shādān, *Amīr-nāma*, 'Ālīgarh University Ms. 'Abd al-Salām Collections, ff. 1b-5a.

93 *Ibid*, f. 46b.

94 Pindārīs were highway robbers and are mentioned even in the sixteenth century Persian histories of India. From the second half of the eighteenth century the Marātha armies began to employ them as auxiliary forces. They enjoyed the protection of Sindia and Holkar. In 1794, Sindia granted them some settlements in Mālwa near the Narbada. They avoided pitched battles, fought guerrilla wars and mercilessly plundered the military camps and merchant caravans. In February 1818, their leader, Karīm Khān, surrendered to Malcolm. Chitū could not be captured and was believed to have eventually been devoured by a tiger in the jungle. John Malcolm, *A memoir of Central India including Malwa*, London 1832, I, pp. 426-62.

95 *Amīr-nāma*, f. 58b.

forces towards Qasūr. At Holkar's request, Ranjit Singh gave up his idea of fighting the Qasūr *Zamindār* for the time being. The Sikhs, who had no doubt about the failure of the Sikh, Marātha and Afghān alliance against the English, refused to join Holkar and Amīr Khān in their war against Lake and they too had to make peace with the English.⁹⁶

Between 1806 and 1817 Amīr Khān's large Afghān army, although it frequently mutinied, made him a terror in Jaipūr, Jodhpūr, Būndi and other Rājput states. He often changed sides in the local Rājput *rājas'* feuds on the promise of a higher payment. He also poured oil on the fire of their dissension. Sindia's Marātha army joined in plundering the states and ten years of continuous troop movements made Rājasthān barren.⁹⁷ In 1809, in combination with the Pindāris, Amīr Khān attempted to seize Berār in the Nizām of Haydarābād's domain. The English forces forestalled him however. Shujā' al-Mulk also wrote to Amīr Khān for help, promising to cede Multān to him. The widow of Nasīr Khān Balūch of Sistān asked him to suppress her rebel chiefs and become the heir apparent. By 1817, Amīr Khān's army consisted of 8,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry and 200 guns. The same year the English made a bid to destroy both Amīr Khān's power and the predatory Pindāri band and succeeded in persuading Amīr Khān to settle down to a peaceful life. Tonk and the surrounding villages near Jaipūr, which had been in his possession since he joined forces with Holkar, were recognised as his state under British paramountcy. He was required to disband his army, to relinquish his connection with the Pindāris and other raiders and to avoid all military aggression. A treaty agreeing to this was signed on 15 November 1817.⁹⁸ Ghafūr Khān, Amīr Khān's formidable ally, was given the small territory of Jāora.

Thus, between 1818 and 1823, all the major states of Rājasthān and Central India had signed treaties accepting English paramountcy. Their particular rights and duties in these territories were clearly defined. The annexation of Sind and then the Panjāb, Awadh and some other states by the English was completed by 1856.

Shāh 'Ālam and His Court

Shāh 'Ālam frequently recalled with nostalgia the comforts of Allahabad. In a conversation on 29 June 1794, he remarked that although he had left Allahabad without their permission, the English paid more to his princes in Banāras and Lucknow than the Marāthas allowed him for his household expenses in Delhi. He had hoped that after Mahādji Sindia's return from

96 *Amīr-nāma*, ff. 82a-82b; Hasrat, *Life and times of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 69-71.

97 *Maratha Relations with the Major States of Rajputana*, pp. 212-72; K. S. Gupta, *Mewar and Maratha Relations*, New Delhi 1971, pp. 160, 179, 180-85-88, 193, 196, 197; *Amīr-nāma*, ff. 27b-142a.

98 C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements*, IV, p. 94; *Memoir of Central India*, I, pp. 325-48.

Pūna his pecuniary circumstances would improve, and Mahādji's death was a bitter disappointment to him. Lawlessness increased and the future looked bleak to him.⁹⁹ On 25 November 1802, he told his heir-apparent, Mirzā Akbar Shāh, that from the day he had arrived in Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) he was a ruler in name only. He was merely a high-class prisoner and his sons should not consider themselves more than that. The Emperor would not even allow the heir apparent to leave the Fort for a whole day to visit Panja Hadrat Murtadā¹⁰⁰ 'Alī and the tomb of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.¹⁰¹ Shāh 'Ālam feared that such a visit might alarm Perron into being persuaded that the Prince intended to enter into intrigues with the hill *zamīndārs* and flee Delhi.¹⁰²

The Tek Chand's diary of events at Shāh 'Ālam's court in the Khudā Bakhsh (Patna library), shows that the English did not fail to present gifts on behalf of the Governor-General to the Emperor. Shāh 'Ālam considered the *Sāhibān-i 'Ālishān* (exalted *sāhibs* or Englishmen) his most loyal subjects.¹⁰³ Lake was given the bombastic title of *Samsām al-Dawla Ashjā' al-mulk* (Sword of the Empire, Bravest Leader of the Country) and David Ochteriony was known as *Nasīr al-Dawla*¹⁰⁴ (Defender of the Empire).

Shāh 'Ālam referred to Tipū as *maqūr* (destined to be vanquished) and the Emperor prayed for the victory of the friendly *Sāhibān-i 'Ālishān*.¹⁰⁵ The Emperor considered Mīr Nizām 'Alī Khān of Haydarābād an important leader, and he prayed God to protect him. He was aware of Tipū's efforts to prevent Nizām 'Alī joining the English and was pleased when Tipū's overtures were ignored by Mīr Nizām 'Alī. Shāh 'Ālam condemned Tipū not only for fighting against the friendly *Sāhibān-i 'Ālishān*, but because his ancestors were upstarts and self-made men, unlike those of Nizām 'Alī, who had been scions of the Mughal royal house.¹⁰⁶ Shāh 'Ālam was deeply

99 *Rūznāmcha-i Shāh 'Ālam*, Khudā Bakhsh Library Patna, f. 124b.

100 Dargāh Panja Hadrat 'Alī is about two miles from the Delhi Fort. It is near Kashmīrī Darwāza. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz says that in the reign of Awrangzīb some Shī'ī noblemen decided to establish a separate Shī'ī cemetery. Like the Prophet's footprint, whose authenticity is doubtful, the outline of a palm was carved on a stone and people were told that it was the print of 'Alī's palm.

When Awrangzīb heard this, he ordered that the house where the stone was placed be destroyed. After Awrangzīb's reign, the dead bodies of the Shī'īs were buried there. Later some ladies of the imperial palace and noblemen built houses there. By the time Mīrzā Najaf Khān arrived in Delhi, the area had become a very popular place of pilgrimage. *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, Meerut 1314/1897, p. 108.

101 The famous sūfī, who died on 14 Rabī' I, 633/27 November 1235 and was buried in Mahrawlī about 12 miles from the Delhi Fort.

102 R. N., ff. 448b-49a.

103 *Ibid*, f. 514a.

104 *Ibid*, ff. 533b, 534b.

105 *Ibid*, f. 38b.

106 *Ibid*, f. 106a, 317a, 324b.

impressed by the English treatment of rebels. For example, they had imprisoned Wazīr 'Alī Khān ¹⁰⁷ in Calcutta and provided him with material comforts, whereas, other contemporary chiefs would not have spared his life and would have left him without food and water in the meantime.¹⁰⁸

On 30 May 1794, news of the feuds between the Marātha chiefs was reported to Shāh 'Ālam, upon which he commented that, like the chiefs in northern India, the Marāthas would also be destroyed.¹⁰⁹ On 2 August, 1802, the Emperor remarked that past Sikh chiefs had been very brave but that their descendants had succumbed to a life of ease and comfort. He considered their future was also dark.¹¹⁰

Although the Emperor had no control over the administration, the sufferings and distress of his subjects always upset him. For example on 5 November 1792, he was informed that the Rāja of Patiāla had confiscated the merchandise belonging to some Jaipūr traders worth Rs. 60,000 and also that of some Amritsar merchants valued at Rs. 15,000. The Emperor remarked regretfully that in all circumstances it was the people who suffered.¹¹¹ Then on 8 March 1797, he was told that Zamān Shāh's rapacity and callousness in Lahore was equalled only by that of the Sikhs. The Emperor remarked that brutality did not pay whoever might commit it.¹¹² On 16 January 1802, the Emperor observed that it was well known that he was totally against any form of cruelty. He had been informed that over-taxation of the artisans and weavers by Muhammad Jān, the superintendent of the octroi and Delhi *kotwālī* (police station) had forced them to migrate from Delhi. The Emperor asked his officers to persuade Muhammad Jān to refrain from this cruel treatment by reminding him that during Ghulām Qādir's spoliation of Delhi, he, (the Emperor) had sacrificed himself in an attempt to save his subjects from Ghulām Qādir's atrocities.¹¹³

The personal poverty of the Emperor did not, however, undermine his interest in the cultural and social rapprochement in the tradition of Akbar, which had received only a temporary setback in Awrangzib's reign. The Emperor still celebrated all important Hindu and Muslim festivals. On *dasehra* day, the *kārkhāna*¹¹⁴ superintendents displayed before

107 *Supra*, pp. 35-36.

108 R. N., f. 405a.

109 *Ibid*, f. 117a.

110 *Ibid*, f. 485a.

111 *Ibid*, f. 47a.

112 *Ibid*, f. 220a.

113 *Ibid*, f. 468a.

114 *Ibid*; the royal departments, which were responsible for supplying the Emperor's household with provisions, equipment and stores. The *kārkhānas* also manufactured articles for the imperial palace.

the Emperor their furniture, elephants and horses. They offered him congratulations and received gifts from him. Turbans, gowns and Banārsi *dupattas* (scarves) were given to the princes.¹¹⁵ The heir-apparent, Mirzā Akbar, would put on gauntlets and fly the falcon brought specially for the occasion.¹¹⁶ *Holi* days were always very colourful events. The *rākhi* festival was also celebrated. *Rākhis* (wrist bands) made of silk thread were tied around the wrists of the Emperor, princes and princesses.¹¹⁷ On *diwāli*, the Emperor took a bath and distributed pieces of his garments amongst his chamberlains and gifts were also given to the astrologers. The Emperor took his seat in the *diwān-i khāss* and trays of sweets and clay toys were presented before him and the heir apparent.¹¹⁸ Needless to say the money gifts on such occasions did not exceed a couple of rupees but the traditional spirit of the festivals was not abandoned.

The *'id al-fitr* and *'id al-adhha* festivals were also enthusiastically observed. For example on an *'id* day which fell on 1 April 1797, the Emperor, accompanied by the heir apparent, thirty-five princes and two little princesses, went to the Jāmi' mosque and performed congregational prayers. The imām (person who leads the congregational prayers) was given four pieces of *khil'at* (robe of honour) and a dagger. He also received an *ashrafi* (gold coin) as a personal gift from the Emperor; Mirzā Akbar and the other princes, according to their ranks, offered one or two rupees. Ten guns were fired. At the Fort gateway two noblemen offered presents of Re. 1 each. The Emperor took his seat on the throne. On behalf of the Governor-General and the *Nawwāb Wazīr al-Mamālik* (of Awadh) 101 *ashrafis* respectively were presented. A sealed purse containing 101 *ashrafis* was delivered on behalf of Mahārāja Dawlat Rāo Sindia. 21 *ashrafis* were offered in the name of Warren Hastings' military secretary, John Palmer, to Prince Akbar. The Queen and princes also gave some rupees as their *nadhr* (offerings).¹¹⁹ Verses composed by the Emperor show that on the *'id al-adhha* festival he sacrificed camels¹²⁰; the sacrifice of cows had been given up.

Two festivals related to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī were very important. One commemorated his death on 11 Rabi' II, and the other was the anniversary of his *menhdi*.¹²¹ On the occasion of the former, the *sūfīs* assembled in the fort and recited prayers. The Emperor himself attended

115 R. N., f. 135b.

116 *Ibid*, f. 495b.

117 *Ibid*, f. 394b.

118 *Ibid*, f. 527a.

119 *Ibid*, f. 222a.

120 Imti'āz 'Alī 'Arshī (ed), *Nādirāt-i Shāhī*, Rāmpūr 1944, pp. 77, 79, 82, 88.

121 Myrtle; the leaves of this plant yield a red colour. This anniversary is an Indian festival.

the function. On 15 September 1801, one of the princesses was on her deathbed, so the Emperor appointed Hāfiz 'Abd al-Rahmān to represent him.¹²² The *menhdi* festival, on the eve of the 'urs (death anniversary) of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir, was marked by bright illuminations.¹²³ The exact hour of *nawrūz*¹²⁴ (21 March 1200) was fixed by the astronomers. The Emperor, dressed in saffron garments, took his seat on the throne. The courtiers, princes and princesses made offerings of rupees. The *Nawwāb Wazīr al-Mamālik* and the Governor-General sent 100 *ashrafis* each.¹²⁵

Muharram was also celebrated. On 27 May 1793, the Emperor ordered that the one thousand rupees expended by Prince Mirzā Sikandar Shukoh on the building of an *imāmbārā*¹²⁶ be paid. On 28 October 1793, the Emperor said to Mirzā Akbar Shāh that although in previous years, he, together with twenty princes and 260 men and women from the imperial family had visited the palace of Nawwāb Sāhiba Mahal¹²⁷ as part of the ceremonies connected with *Muharram*, it was no longer appropriate and should be stopped. The Emperor added that until the previous year, the Nawwāb Sāhiba Mahal and Mirzā Sikandar Shukoh had arranged for five or six *ta'ziyas* (a paper replica of Imām Husayn's tomb) to be constructed for the occasion. It is reported that in 1793 about 100 *ta'ziyas* and 50 *mimbars* (pulpits) had been prepared. At that speed, the inmates of the

122 R. N., f. 458a.

123 R. N., f. 486b.

124 New year's day in the Persian calendar, the day on which the sun enters Aries.

125 R. N., f. 366a.

126 A building erected for holding the assemblies mourning the martyrdom of Imām Hasan, Imām Husayn and martyrs of Karbalā. A stage in the *imāmbāras* is erected to display *ta'ziyas* (representations of the shrines of Imām Husayn and the other martyrs of Karbalā) and standards.

127 R. N., f. 81a. Begum Sāhiba Mahal, the widow of Emperor Muhammad Shāh, was the mother of Hadrat Begum. At the age of sixteen in February 1756, Hadrat Begum had become so famous for her matchless beauty that Emperor 'Ālamgīr II, who was then about sixty, used undue pressure and threats to force Sāhiba Mahal and the girl's guardian, Malika-i Zamānī, to give him Hadrat Begum's hand in marriage. Sāhiba Mahal and Malika-i Zamānī outwardly agreed, but Hadrat Begum threatened to commit suicide if she were forced to marry, as she had decided to lead an unmarried life. The Emperor was thus baffled in his attempt but, ignoring the fact that Malika-i Zamānī was the principal wife of Muhammad Shāh and a daughter of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, he placed her and Sāhiba Mahal under house arrest. (*Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, British Museum Ms., Or. 180, ff. 67a-67b). Emperor 'Ālamgīr II did not succeed in marrying Hadrat Begum but Ahmad Shāh Durrānī returning to Afghānistān from Delhi in 1757, forcibly married the girl and decided to take her with him to his country. Malika-i Zamānī and Sāhiba Mahal protested that they could not live without her and so the imperious Durrānī took them too with him. (*Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, f. 113b). After Hadrat Begum's death in 1187/1773-74, Sāhiba Mahal and Malika-i Zamānī returned to Delhi from Qandahār with Hadrat Begum's coffin.

palace would renounce their ancestral faith and embrace Shī'ism.¹²⁸ On 24 June 1798, it was reported to the Emperor that Prince Mīrzā Akbar Shāh, thirty-three princes, some begums, princesses and other inmates of the imperial palace, had visited Nawwāb Sāhiba Mahal's palace to pay their respects to the *ta'ziyas*. The Emperor ordered that the party return from her palace before evening so as not to involve her in heavy expenses for entertainment.¹²⁹ On 14 May 1801, the Emperor paid Rs. 125 to Mīrzā Akbar Shāh and Rs. 700 to the begums for *Muharram* expenses. Mourning dresses were also prepared for *Muharram*.¹³⁰

The Emperor himself wrote poetry both in Persian and in Hindi/ Urdu while at Allahabad and Delhi. On his way from Agra to Delhi in 1784, he wrote the following *doha*¹³¹ (Hindi couplet) :

“*Mulk māl sab khoi kar pare tumhāre bas*
Mādhō aīsī kījō, āway tumko jas”¹³²

His Hindi poetry takes the form of a great number of Hindi *tālas* (rhyme patterns in music). They deal largely with the Hindu and Muslim customs and festivals observed in the palace. He also patronized poets and rewarded them to the extent his diminished income allowed. The death of Khwāja Mīr Dard¹³³ on 24 Safar 1199/6 January 1785, was conveyed to him through a newsletter sent to his camp while he was returning to Delhi. His heart was filled with sorrow and he instantaneously recited the following verse by Hātifi (d. 927/1521):

“He departed, we also follow him,
All are faced with this situation.”¹³⁴

Mīr Taqī Mīr (d. 1225/1810)¹³⁵ and Mīrzā Muhammad Rafī' Sawdā (d. 1195/1781) had already migrated from Delhi to Lucknow. Their disciples were the Emperor's personal companions. The most prominent among Mīr Dard's disciples were Thanā'-Allāh Khān Firāq and Hakīm Qudrat-Allāh Khān Qāsim ; among Mīr Taqī Mīr's disciples were Shāh Hidāyat and Miyān Shikebā ; and among Mīrzā Sawdā's disciples, Mīrzā

128 R. N., f. 90a.

129 *Ibid*, f. 277b.

130 *Ibid*, f. 277b.

131 Kunwar Prem Kishore Firāqī, *Waqā'i' 'Ālam-Shāhī*, Rāmpūr, p. 37.

132 “Having lost my kingdom and wealth, I am now in your hands. Do Mādhō (Mahādji) as you like.”

133 S. W. T., p. 357.

134 *Waqā'i' 'Ālam-Shāhī*, p. 106.

135 S. W. T., pp. 17, 189-90, 306, 341.

'Azim Beg 'Azim. On one occasion Inshā'-Allāh Khān¹³⁶ arrived from Lucknow. Shāh 'Ālam admitted him to Court at once and was so enamoured of his company that he would not allow him to leave for a second. The unscrupulous Inshā' invented innumerable pretexts for extracting money from the Emperor.

When the Emperor lost his eyesight, poetry and music were his only sources of comfort. Shāh 'Ālam would often compose a hemistich and ask one of the poets to complete the verse. The Emperor's wishes were complied with ; often a complete *ghazal*¹³⁷ was composed rhyming with his hemistich. Shāh 'Ālam admired the verses of his Court poets and they admired his. The delightful company of the poets and musicians drove pain and suffering from the Emperor's mind.¹³⁸

The legal status of Shāh 'Ālam and his successor was of paramount importance to both Hindu and Muslim chieftains. W. Hamilton in his *Description of Hindostan* published in 1820, wrote :

"But notwithstanding its (Delhi's) decayed condition an impression is still prevalent all over India, that the power which has possession of Delhi and the king's person is the virtual ruler of Hindostan ; and under this idea many independent states have repeatedly applied to be received as subjects and tributaries, and complained of the refusal as a dereliction of duty on the part of the British government. For a great many years past applications of this nature have been most pressingly urged by the Rajas of Jodhpoor, Jeypoor, Bikanere, Jesselmere, Assam, Cachar and Arracan ; the Nabobs of Mooltan and Behawulpoor, and by the numerous petty states so long harassed by the depredations of Sindia, Holcar, Ameer Khan and other plunderers. From the same cause also, although the Delhi Sovereign had been long deprived of all real power and dominion, before political events brought him connected with the British government, almost every state, and every class of people in India, still continue to reverence his nominal authority. The current coin of every established power is still struck in his name, and the princes of the highest rank still bear the titles, and display the insignia, which they or their ancestors derived from this source and the Delhi Emperor, amidst all his vicissitudes, is still considered the only legitimate fountain of similar honours. In conformity with this notion it is usual, when a Hindoo prince succeeds to his deceased father, to solicit the Mogul to honour him with a *teeka*, as a mark of investiture, or at least of royal approbation ; which ceremony consists in having the forehead

136 *Infra*, p. 60.

137 Song or elegy of love.

138 Muhammad Husayn Āzād, *Āb-i Hayāt*, Allahabad 1962, pp. 261-67.

anointed with a preparation of bruised sandal wood. Although this injunction had long ceased to be a necessary token of confirmation of the successor's right, it was still considered so gratifying a mark of distinction, that in 1807, Man Singh, the powerful Raja of Joudpoor, petitioned the British government with much anxiety to interfere with the King to obtain it for him. The British government, however, refused to interfere, the right of conferring the mark of distinction being considered an obsolete act of sovereignty, the revival of which would be particularly objectionable. It was feared, moreover, that their interposition would be considered as a recognition of the pretensions of Raja Man Singh, then disputed by a competitor, and as a departure from the neutrality which had always been observed. The Raja was accordingly apprized of this determination; the inutility of the act, as a mark of confirmation was represented, as well as the folly of making an unmeaning reference of the validity of his title to a power which neither claimed nor exercised a right to grant or withhold it."¹³⁹

The Princely Intrigues

The extinction of political power did not put an end to princely intrigues to gain the throne. The practice started by Mu'izz al-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh (1124/1712-1713) of imprisoning all the claimants to the throne for their whole lives, continued until the reign of Shāh 'Ālam. A considerable number of talented princes who could have strengthened the empire died in prison. During captivity some of them acquired a good education, but, in order to escape, not only did they enter into intrigues with the political chiefs but they also fell victim to charlatans, pseudo sūfis, *jogis* and astrologers who fleeced them by foretelling a bright future.¹⁴⁰

Shāh 'Ālam's eldest son Mīrẓā Jawān Bakht was entitled Jahāndār Shāh. He was born in about 1749 and grew up to become a good scholar, poet and soldier. In 1761, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī had made him the Emperor's deputy in Delhi. The Prince had considerable success in handling political matters and in co-operating with Najib al-Dawla. However, his efforts to make his father's rule effective failed. In 1784 court intrigues forced him to flee to Lucknow. Āsaf al-Dawla and Warren Hastings, who was also at that time in Lucknow, warmly welcomed the Prince. The Nawwāb sat behind the Prince in a *howdah*, carrying a fly-whisk, in pursuance of his obligation as the Emperor's Prime Minister. Jawān Bakht's wife, Jewnā Begum, and his family had been left in Delhi and her efforts to join him resulted in her being cheated out of all her wealth by a sūfī *pir* famous for performing miracles, who promised to transport her to Lucknow

139 W. Hamilton, *Description of Hindostan*, London 1820, I, pp. 422-23.

140 *Wāqī'āt-i Azfarī*, pp. 19-30.

through supernatural means. The Prince meanwhile had fallen in love with a dancing girl. The Nawwāb also loved her, but on the Governor-General's recommendation he sent her to the Prince's palace. After some months the Prince went to Banāras and, as advised by Warren Hastings, the Nawwāb fixed his salary at Rs. 25,000. The Prince died while attempting to raise an army to take revenge on Ghulām Qādir.¹⁴¹

During Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla's reign, Mīrzā Sulaymān Shukoh, Prince Akbar's brother, also arrived in Lucknow. The Nawwāb initially was not much interested in him but, at Lord Cornwallis' recommendation he was given a pension of Rs. 6,000 per mensem.¹⁴²

When the Emperor was blinded many princes tried to have him dethroned, for, according to the classical laws of the caliphate a blind person could not rule. Muhammad Zahir al-Dīn Mīrzā 'Alī Bakht, whose *nom-de-plume* was Azfarī, played an important role in protecting the Emperor from Ghulām Qādir and was promised his freedom. After Ghulām Qādir's death, the Emperor reneged his promise but Azfarī managed to escape from prison.¹⁴³ He received a warm welcome in Jai-pūr, Jodhpūr and Udaipūr. From Rājasthān he returned to Rāmpūr and, reaching Lucknow, was hospitably received by Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla. In 1797-98 he left for Madras where he died in 1818. *Wāqī'āt-i Azfarī*, the account of his wanderings, reflects the respect paid to Shāh 'Ālam by contemporary *rājas* and chiefs. It throws an important light on some contemporary events and geographical facts.

The Zamīndārs

The political upheavals of the second half of the eighteenth century destroyed the *mansabdārī* and *jāgīrdārī* systems which Akbar and his successors had evolved. The Rājput *rājas* or chieftains, known as *zamīndār rājas* in Akbar's reign or simply *rājas* in that of his successors, ceased to consider the ownership of the ancestral territory, *watan* or *watan jāgīr*, dependant on their performing their duties as *mansabdārs*. They considered they possessed sovereign power over them. The Mughal emperor was paramount in name only. The Rājput *rājas* paid tribute to the Emperor only when they were forced to do so by powerful regents.

The *zamīndārs* from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century were generally the successors of the Hindu *chawdhris*, *muqaddams*, *deshmukhs*, *deshpāndes* and *desā'is* of the Sultanate period and of the Muslim leaders who had originally been the *iqta'dārs*, or *madad-i ma'āsh* holders. Their land title was superior to that of the ordinary cultivators (*rīza ra'iyat*). The

141 *Qaysar al-tawārīkh*, I, pp. 109-12; *Wāqī'āt-i Azfarī*, pp. 31-33.

142 *Qaysar al-tawārīkh*, I, pp. 111, 19.

143 *Wāqī'āt-i Azfarī*, pp. 38-45.

Mughal government allowed them perquisites and paid commission too for the maintenance of law and order. Even before 1761, the number of Afghān, Balūch, Sayyid and Shaykh *zamindārs* around Delhi had greatly increased. The family and local histories of the Sayyid and Shaykh *zamindārs* show that they were descended from the *madad-i ma'āsh* holders who had been granted the right to temporarily utilize the revenue from certain territories in return for the duties specified in the *farmāns* granted by the Delhi sultāns or the Mughal emperors. The ancestors of some Muslim *zamindārs* had been 'āmils (tax collectors) and petty *mansabdārs*. The Rohella and Bangash Afghāns appointed their own 'āmils and granted *madad-i ma'āsh* land to the Afghān holy men. All these revenue grants were generally temporary and subject to the performance of the duties assigned to their holders, but growing anarchy prompted their owners to establish a permanent interest in their land. Their military strength and ability to convince the Mughal court of their loyalty through one of the dominant factions won the title-deed for them without much difficulty. The Afghān invasions and the recurring Sikh raids seriously eroded their prestige and destroyed their property but failed to uproot the strong *zamindārs*; only the weaker ones, with little local support were eliminated. The *zamindārs* also developed a close relationship with the local peasant community, and the Afghān, Balūch, Shaykh or Sayyid *zamindārs* had no problem in enlisting the co-operation of the Jāt, Gūjar or Rājput peasantry. Many *zamindārs*, though of different religious or caste groups, had also developed a remarkable solidarity. For example Khayr al-Dīn Ilāhābādī says:

"Haryāna, in the Mewāt region, is an astonishingly difficult place. Hundreds of *kos* of land around it are waterless. Its old towns such as Hansi and Hisār contain the lofty mansions of the *zamindārs*. 300 to 500 cubit-deep wells are dug there. Only the *kharif* (rain) crops such as millet and some varieties of bean are grown there. The *rabi'* (winter crop) yields only barley; wheat is very scarce. The *zamindārs* are either Muslims or Hindu Jāts. Both of these are rebellious, aggressive and unruly. They have no respect for people's property. From the time of Muhammad Shāh, they have refused obedience to any governor of the region although all attempted to force them to pay revenue... In Bhiwāni, which is their most prosperous town, the bankers and merchants own property worth several hundred thousand rupees. It is an *entrepôt* for goods from Kashmīr, Kābul, Qandahār and other parts of India."¹⁴⁴

The Rohella, Bangash and Awadh governments also replaced a considerable number of old *zamindārs* with their own protégés; thus a large number of Muslim *zamindārs* in Awadh and Rohelkhand were created by their rulers. Although the English tended to exaggerate Awadh mismanagement,

Bishop Heber, who travelled through Awadh in October-November 1824, gives a more favourable account of the Awadh administration:

"From Lucknow to Sandee, where I am now writing, the country is as populous and well cultivated as most of the Company's provinces. The truth perhaps is, that for more than a year back, since the aid of British troops has been withheld, affairs have been in some respects growing better. The zamindars have in a few instances carried their point, the Aumeens have been either driven away entirely, or been forced to a moderate compromise, and the chief actual sufferers at the present moment are the king, who gets little or nothing even of his undoubted dues, and the traveller, who, unless he has such a guard as I have, had better sleep in a safe skin on the other side of the Ganges. It should be observed, however, that I have as yet seen no sign of those mud-forts, stockades, and fortresses on which the Zamindars and peasantry are said to rely for safety; that the common people north of Lucknow are, I think, not so universally loaded with arms as those to the southward, and that though I have heard a good deal all the way of the distressed state of the country, as well as its anarchy and lawlessness, except in the single instance I have mentioned, where the treasure was attacked, I have seen no signs of either, or had any reason to suppose that the king's visit does not pass current, or that our Aumeen would have the least difficulty in enforcing it in our favour even without the small payment which I give, and which is evidently accepted as a gratuity. I cannot but suspect, therefore, that the misfortunes and anarchy of Oude are somewhat overrated, though it is certain that so fine a land will take a long time in ruining, and that very many years of oppression will be required to depopulate a country which produces on the same soil, and with no aid but irrigation, crops of wheat and pulse every year."¹⁴⁵

Bishop Heber was, however, very critical of Shujā' al-Dawla's administration of Rohelkhand. He writes,

"The Conquest of Rohilcund by the English, and the death of its chief in battle, its consequent cession to the Nawab of Oude, and the horrible manner in which Shujah ud Dowlah oppressed and misgoverned it, form one of the worst chapters of English history in India. We have since made the Rohillas some amends by taking them away from Oude and governing them ourselves; but, by all which I could learn from the society this day, concerning the present state of the province of Bareilly,

¹⁴⁵ R. Heber, *Narrative of a journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, London 1861, I, pp. 224-25.

the people appear by no means to have forgotten or forgiven their first injuries. The Mussulman chiefs, who are numerous, are very angry at being without employment under Government, or hope of rising in the state or army, and are continually breaking out into acts of insubordination and violence, which are little known in the other provinces of the Company's empire, but are favoured here by the neighbourhood of Oude and the existence of a large forest along the whole eastern, southern and northern frontiers."¹⁴⁶

Urban Development

Both the Afghān and Awadh rulers founded many new towns and grain markets. In c. 1754, Najib al-Dawla founded Najibābād. Forster says:

"Najeb-ud-Dowlah, who built this town, saw that its situation would facilitate the commerce of Kashmire, which having been diverted from its former channel of Lahore and Delhi, by the inroads of the Sicques, Mahrattas, and Afghans, took a course through the mountains at the head of the Punjab, and was introduced into the Rohilla country through the Lall Dong pass. This inducement, with the desire of establishing a mart for the Hindoos of the adjacent mountains, probably influenced the choice of this spot ; which otherwise is not favourable for the site of a capital town, being low, and surrounded with swampy grounds."¹⁴⁷

About a mile from Najibābād, the fort of Paththargarh was built by Najib-al-Dawla. Thirty-five miles south-east of Sahāranpūr, he founded the town of Ghawthgarh. Shukrtāl was established near an area of ravines and ridges about 17 miles east of Muzaffarnagar also by Najib al-Dawla. The fortifications and the town he built served both military and commercial purposes.

Lucknow is an ancient town and was the capital of Awadh from the early years of the reign of Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla to the end of the reign of its last ruler Wājid 'Alī Shāh (1847-1856). Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla's insatiable passion for constructing imposing monuments is reflected there in the Rūmī Darwāza (Turkish Gateway), the Barā Imāmbāra and the mosque. Other monuments erected in his reign include the Dawlat Khāna, the Hasan Bāgh, the Bibiāpūr Kothī, the Chinhat Kothī, the 'Aysh Bāgh, the Chārbāgh and the Residency. General Claude Martin, a French officer in his service, built the Martiniere College and generously endowed

146 *Narrative of a journey*, I, pp. 236-37.

147 G. Forster, "A Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of India, Kashmire, Afghanistan and Persia and into Russia, by the Caspian Sea", *Forster Travels*, London 1798, I, p. 190.

it. The consequent construction work and the general luxury and voluptuousness for which the Nawwāb was the model, made the parsimonious Hindu money-lenders and merchants very rich. Before starting their day's work they never forgot to say :

"jis ko na de Mawla
tis ko de Āsaf ad-Dawla"¹⁴⁸

The suffix "*ganj*" (grain market) in the names of the centres founded in Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla's reign such as Amāniganj, Fatehganj, Wazirganj, Dawlatganj, Begamganj, Nawwābganj, Tikaitganj, Tirminiganj, Hasan-ganj, Bhawāniganj, Bālakganj, Nawāzganj, Tahsinganj, Khudāganj, 'Aliganj, Mahbūbganj, and Khiyāliganj, reflect both the enormous increase in the number of towns and the flourishing commercial activity. Nakhkhās was the hub of the commercial Lucknow. The regular supply of grain from the villages to the towns in Awadh was improved by establishing new *ganjs* which in a very short time developed into important towns. Many *mandīs* (grain markets), the counterparts of the *ganjs* were built, both in Lucknow and in other parts of Awadh. These developments were accompanied by the construction of new *sarā'is* (inns) to accommodate travellers and merchants.

Some of these *ganjs* were important from a military point of view and were fortified. The *zamindārs* found them a threat to their power and naturally tried to destroy them. The story of Nawalganj 35 kilometres east of Lucknow in the *Hadiqat al-aqālīm* is a case in point. It was built by Rāja Nawal Rāy, who was killed by Afghāns in August 1750 in the battle of Khudāganj.¹⁴⁹ Attractive buildings were erected and spacious gardens planted in Nawalganj. Its four outer walls were built of burnt bricks and surrounded by moats several metres wide. Bridges over the moat gave access to the gateways in the four walls. The city was linked with the highway. About three kilometres to the west the Rāja built a stone bridge over the river Sa'ī to make the old town of Mohān more accessible. He offered lucrative inducements to the *najibs* and *sharīfs*¹⁵⁰ (men of noble birth and character) to settle in Nawalganj. At the Rāja's request, Murtadā Husayn, the author of the *Hadiqat al-aqālīm*, also built a spacious mansion with a garden and a well within the town. The Rāja constructed a fortress inside the town and his clansmen erected their houses near it. Soon there was no space left within the four walls of Nawalganj and people

148 Who from the Lord does not receive,
Receives from Āsaf al-Dawla.

149 S. W. T., p. 155.

150 *Infra*, pp. 175-79.

began to build their houses on the road towards Mohān. About five kilometres east of Nawalganj, the Rāja built another town named Khushhāl-ganj after his son Khushhāl Rāy. After the death of Rāja Nawal Rāy, the *zamindārs* in the neighbourhood of Nawalganj destroyed it. Only artisans remained there. Shujā' al-Dawla, who had been hostile to Nawal Rāy, respected none but his own father, Nawwāb Safdarjang, then destroyed the four outer walls of Nawalganj, and founded a new town called Wazīrganj in the middle of Nawalganj and Lucknow, using the bricks from the four walls of Nawalganj to build the outer walls of his new town. He also transferred the population of Nawalganj to Wazīrganj. During his reign, Āsaf al-Dawla destroyed Wazīrganj in its turn and the walls of Nawalganj were rebuilt under the supervision of his *diwān* (revenue minister) Rāja Jhā'u La'l. By 1782, however, the character of the town had changed. Muslim *najibs* and *sharifs* no longer settled there. Of Murtadā Husayn's mansion only the well survived. Its inhabitants were artisans and merchants.¹⁵¹

Nawwāb Sa'adat 'Alī Khān introduced European elements into his monuments and from his time the grandeur of the Lucknow architecture began to decline. However, he too established new *ganjs* in Lucknow and other parts of his kingdom. He concentrated mainly on Sa'adatganj but Rakābganj, Jangaliganj, Maqbūlganj, Mawlawiganj and Golāganj were also centres of commercial activity. Rastogī Mohalla, founded in his reign, reflects the growing importance of the Rastogis (money lenders) in the Awadh economy. Ghāzī al-Dīn Haydar founded Bādshāhganj to commemorate his assumption of the title of "king". Mahdiganj was also founded in his reign by his minister, Hakīm Mahdī 'Alī Khān. The palaces of Āgha Mīr Mu'tamad al-Dawla, Ghāzī al-Dīn's minister, became the nucleus of a group of houses belonging to the Lucknow aristocracy. The later Nawwābs were also dedicated to establishing new *ganjs*, *mandis*, *sarā'is*, palaces and religious monuments.

The anarchical conditions and Sikh depredations did not completely destroy the overland trade to Kashmīr, Kābul or Central Asia. Early in 1783, Forster found a small caravanserai in Najībābād. In the cook's shop of the small caravanserai where Forster stayed, dressed Kebab and stewed beef were served to him. A caravan of about one hundred mules, laden with raw silk, cotton cloth and calico for the Jammū market, had already moved out to the outskirts of the town. A banker who controlled caravan movements introduced Forster to the merchants. He told them falsely that he was a Turk going to Kashmīr to purchase shawls.¹⁵² Forster does

151 Murtadā Husayn, *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, Lucknow 1881, pp. 155-56.

152 Forster *Travels*, p. 191.

not give the reasons for this deception. The caravan then travelled to Jammū through Srinagar in Garhwāl. He writes:

“The proprietors of goods, chiefly residents of Benares, Lucknow, and Farruckabad, had appointed agents to accompany the *kafilah* (caravan) who are not the ultimate vendors of the merchandise, but contract to deliver it, and pay the different duties at some destined mart. To shelter the packages from the inclemency of the weather, a small complement of tents is provided, as it rarely happens that a *kafilah* halts at any inhabited place. A plentiful supply of water, and a plain for the accommodation of the cattle, is all that is sought for. The carriers say also, that a plain more effectually secures them against theft.”¹⁵³

Forster makes the following comments on the decline of Indian arts and crafts:

“The native princes, and chiefs of a various description, the retainers of numerous dependants, afforded a constant employment to a vast number of ingenious manufacturers who supplied their masters with gold and silver stuffs, curiously flowered, plain muslins, a diversity of beautiful silks, and other articles of Asiatic luxury ; the use of which, wealth, and a propensity to a voluptuous life naturally excited. These Mahometan, or Hindoo chiefs, have either been removed, or being no longer possessed of their former resources, have fallen into poverty and decay ; and the artisans, who had been supported in their professions by these wealthy and powerful masters, were, on their expulsion, obliged, from a want of subsistence, to quit their professions, or the country. Hence, many branches of rare manufacture evidently declined ; and some of the most precious are now no longer known. The distracted and impoverished condition of the Moghul and Persian empires, hath contributed considerably, to lessen the great demand, which was made by those states, for the produce of Bengal, when Delhi and Ispahan enjoyed reigns of grandeur and vigour. When it is considered, that the Moghul court, whether in its splendour or wealth, exceeded that of all other nations ; that the numerous governors, interspersed through the provinces, adopted the manners of sovereign princes and all their more luxurious articles of dress were fabricated in Bengal ; we must conclude, that the discontinuation of such a traffic has produced strong effects. In describing this commercial event, which has brought an evident change in the quality of the trade of Bengal, I am not authorized, by any specific knowledge, to say, that a general injury has been felt by the

country ; perhaps, the losses which have been sustained are counterpoised by the augmentation of the cargoes, though of a different species, which are now transported, annually, to Europe.”¹⁵⁴

Economic Decline of the Muslims

Nowhere in India was the decline of Muslim material prosperity as distressing as it was in Bengal. In “*The Indian Musalmans*”, W. W. Hunter¹⁵⁵ gives a graphic picture. He says that the army and the administration of revenue were the two principal sources of Muslim affluence but that the Permanent Settlement “elevated the Hindu collector, who up to that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of landholders, gave them a proprietary right in the soil, and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Musalmans under their own Rule.”¹⁵⁵

On the grounds of political expediency, the doors leading to a military career were completely shut upon Muslims. So far as their monopoly of judicial, political and civil employment was concerned, Hunter makes the following comments:

“Yet for sometime after the country passed under our care, the Musalmans retained all the functions of Government in their own hands. Musalman Collectors, as we have seen, gathered the Land-Tax ; Musalman *Faujdars* and *Ghatwals* officered the Police. A great Musalman Department, with its headquarters in the Nizam’s palace at Murshidabad, and a network of officials spreading over every District in the Province, administered the Criminal Law. Musalman jailors took bribes from, or starved at their discretion, the whole prison population of Bengal. Kazis or Muhammadan Doctors of Law sat in the Civil and Domestic Courts. Even when we attempted to do justice by means of trained English officers, the Muhammadan Law Doctors sat with them as their authoritative advisers on points of law. The Code of Islam remained the law of the land, and the whole ministerial and subordinate offices of Government continued as the property of the Musalmans. They alone could speak the official language, and they alone could read the official records written in the Persian current hand. The Cornwallis Code broke this monopoly less violently in the Judicial than in the Revenue departments, but for the first fifty years of the Company’s Rule the Musalmans had the lion’s share of State patronage. During its second half century of power the tide turned, at first slowly, but with a constantly accelerating pace, as the imperative duty of conducting public business in the vernacular of the people, and not in the foreign

154 *Forster Travels*, pp. 4-5.

155 W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, London 1872.

patois of its former Muhammadan conquerors, became recognised. Then the Hindus poured into, and have since completely filled, every grade of official life. Even in the District Collectorates of Lower Bengal, where it is still possible to give appointments in the old-fashioned friendly way, there are very few young Musalman officials. The Muhammadans who yet remain in them are white-bearded men and they have no successors. Even ten years ago, the Musalmans invariably managed to transmit the post of Nazir, or Chief of the Revenue Bailiffs, to men of their own creed ; but now one or two unpopular appointments about the jail are the most the former masters of India can hope for. The staff of Clerks attached to the various offices, the responsible posts in the Courts, and even the higher offices in the Police, are recruited from the pushing Hindu youth of the Government School."¹⁵⁶

In 1828 the English "Legislature and the Executive combined to make one great effort" to destroy the Muslim *madad-i ma'āsh* holders. Hunter says:

"At an outlay of 800,000 upon Resumption Proceedings, an additional revenue of 300,000 a year was permanently gained by the state, representing a capital at five per cent of six millions sterling. A large part of this sum was derived from lands held by Musalmans or Muhammadan foundations. The panic and hatred which ensued have stamped themselves for ever on the rural record. Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Musalmans, which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death-blow. The scholastic classes of the Muhammadans emerged from the eighteen years of harrying, absolutely ruined. Any impartial student will arrive at the conviction, that while the Resumption Laws only enforced rights which we had again and again most emphatically reserved, yet that the Resumption Proceedings were harsh in the extreme and opposed to the general sense of the Indian people. Prescription cannot create rights in the face of express enactments, but seventy-five years of unbroken possession give rise to strong claims of the tenderness of a Government. Our Resumption Officers know no pity. They calmly enforced the law. The panic of those days is still remembered, and it has left to us a bitter legacy of hatred. Since then the profession of a man of Learning, a dignified and lucrative calling under Native Rulers, has ceased to exist in Bengal."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ *The Indian Musalmans*, pp. 166-67.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.

Muslim Intellectual Life

Both literary and historical works show that from the reign of Āsaf al-Dawla to the annexation of Awadh by the East India Company, the Nawwāb's court and nobility were wasteful, sensual and voluptuous. They devoted their energy to frivolous activities such as kite-flying, pigeon-flying and watching birds and animals fighting. A band of professional Kashmiri entertainers, who wore their hair in plaits like women, were attracted to the Lucknow scene of wastefulness and extravagance. They were expert in mimicry, conjuring, buffoonery, music and dancing. They received enormous sums for performing at the festivities organised by the wealthy Muslims and Hindus.

Although Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla's celebrations for his son Wazīr 'Alī's wedding were very wasteful¹⁵⁸ he could not hope to equal Emperor Muhammad Shāh's extravagance when he arranged the Nawwāb's mother Bahū Begum's marriage in Delhi.¹⁵⁹ The Hindus also attempted to surpass the Muslims in ostentation. Jugal Kishore, the grand-father of Prem Kishore Firāqī, who was an officer at Mahābatjang's court in Murshidābād in 1745, earned Rs. 24,000 per month. He spent Rs. 7,000 on his servants' wages and Rs. 5,000 on his household expenses. His extravagant spending on the wedding of his son Anand Kishore made it frequently compared by Delhi residents with that on Bahū Begum's wedding. The whole of Delhi was invited and Jugal Kishore himself approached those who were unlike to respond to his general invitation, telling them that their (the invitee's) nephew's wedding would not be a success without them.¹⁶⁰

However, this idle levity did not completely undermine Muslim intellectual activity in Awadh and other towns. The most remarkable developments were initiated in the field of Urdu poetry by Khwāja Mīr Dard, Mīr Taqī Mīr, Mirzā Muhammad Rafī' Sawdā and Mīr Hasan (d. 1201/1786). A new era of ingenuity and perspicacity had arrived. Dard spent all his life in Delhi, but, at the height of fame, Mīr Hasan, who had been born there, first migrated to Faydābād (Fyzabad) and then to Lucknow. A large number of poets left for Lucknow, Murshidābād and Haydarābād or found patrons elsewhere. Only a few remained to brave the stormy and agonizing life in Delhi and Agra. The most prominent among them was Walī Muhammad (d. 1246/1830), known by his *nom-de-plume*, "Nazir". He was born in Delhi but moved to Agra with his father and settled there. He declined Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān's invitation to come to Lucknow. Except for a short stay at Mathurā, where he served as a schoolmaster, and a visit to Farrukhābād, he continued to

158 *Qaysar*, I, p. 112.

159 S. W. T., p. 147.

160 Mīr Qudrat-Allāh Qādirī Dihlawī, *Majmū'a-i Naghz*, Lahore 1933, II, p. 48.

live in Agra and was known as "Nazir Akbarābādī" (Nazir of Akbarābād, or Agra). He was very amicable, ingratiating and friendly and mixed with all classes with ease and sympathy. He possessed a deep insight into all aspects of the cultural and social environment. His unconventional similes, wit and humour made him popular with everyone. His moralising was not laboured and was spontaneously understood. No subject was trivial or commonplace to him. He loved to describe animals such as a young squirrel or a bear cub and wrote about them with the same ease as he did on more subtle themes such as generosity or ephemeral wealth.

Sayyid Inshā' Allāh Khān Inshā' (d. 1233/1817) concentrated on refining Urdu and produced a book on its grammar and syntax. Inshā's father first moved from Delhi to Murshidābād where Inshā' was born. He lived for some time at the phantom court of Shāh 'Ālam at Delhi but finally settled in Lucknow. His earlier patron was Prince Sulaymān Shukoh but later he became the *alter ego* of Nawwāb Sa'ādat Ali Khān. His loquacity, inexhaustible fund of witty anecdotes and amusing verses kept the Nawwāb in a state of continuous hilarity. Towards the end of his life this very art became a curse; the Nawwāb considered his satire misconceived and dismissed him. The great poet ended his life in misery and poverty.¹⁶¹

Besides perspicacious and brilliant poetry, Inshā' wrote a novel entitled *Rāni Kītkī* in pure and lucid Hindi. The work is free from both Persian and Sanskrit words and idioms. He also wrote a *qasida* (an ode) on George III's Jubilee in 1810.

Equally outstanding was Shaykh Ghulām Hamadāni, whose *nom-de-plume* was "Mushafi" (1164/1750-1240-1824). He came originally from Amroha in Murādābād and studied at Delhi. By the age of thirty-one he was an eminent poet. Migrating to Lucknow, he entered Mirzā Sulaymān Shukoh's service. He was a prolific writer of poetry and his Persian biographical dictionary of Urdu poets, is a very important contribution to knowledge. The number of his pupils was quite large and included some who became leading poets of later generations. Mushafi and Inshā' were at loggerheads. Both wrote verses abusing the other. Sulaymān Shukoh and Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Ali also took an interest in their repartee. Their disciples were involved in the quarrel and even the ordinary people were delighted to hear their slanderous comments.

Qalandar Bakhsh Jur'at (d. 1225/1810) wrote *ghazals* describing sexual passion and emotive desire. Mir Muhammad Taqī Mir advised him to stop writing such erotic *ghazals* but they pandered to the degenerate taste of the Court, noblemen and common people and Jur'at had no desire to write more serious verse.

161 *Āb-i hayāt*, pp. 259-99.

The licentiousness and profligacy of Awadh society resulted in a form of poetry called *rekhti* becoming very popular. In *ghazals* men express their passion for their beloved but in a *rekhti* a girl describes her passion in an idiom peculiar to harem life. Inshā' wrote *rekhti* but the master at composing them was Sa'ādat Yār Khān Rangin (1169/1755-1250/1834). His father was an officer in Nādir Shāh's army but, like many other officers, he settled down to civil life and obtained a high *mansab*. Rangin was himself a soldier but for some time lived as a merchant and acquired great wealth from the sale of horses. He spent the greater part of his last years in the company of courtesans and dancing girls. He was a prolific versifier and an important collection of his poems is devoted to *rekhti*. In these lines he expresses his thought in the idiom of a sexually delinquent and dissolute girl. Rangin's successor in *rekhti* was Mīr Yār 'Alī Khān (d. 1250 or 51/1834 or 35) whose *nom-de-plume* was "Jān Sāhib". To the great merriment of his audience Jān Sāhib attended poetical assemblies in colourful female garments and imitated a woman's voice and gestures.

The Shi'i faith of the Nawwābs and a considerable section of the nobility saved them from perpetually wallowing in dissipation and sensuality. In the first two months of the *Hijra* year and the first eight days of the third month, the tragedy of Karbalā was commemorated by holding assemblies. Elegies on Imām Husayn and the other martyrs of Karbalā were recited. The greatest composer of elegies (*marthiyas*) was Mīr Babar 'Alī Anīs (1217/1802-1291/1874). His great-grandfather, Mīr Hasan, and his father, Mīr Khaliq, were all gifted and popular poets. Mīr Anīs portrayed emotions with artistry and an elegant sensitivity which made him a great poet in his own right. His knowledge of the methods of warfare in Imām Husayn's days was insufficient and he had not travelled to the regions whose flora, fauna and geography he depicted, but his gift for vividly describing even the most insignificant object made his verses evocative and lucid. His rival, Mīrzā Salāmat 'Alī Dabir (1218/1803-1292/1875), who had migrated from Delhi to Lucknow as a boy, also composed very effective *marthiyas*. However his scholarly style, his choice of Qur'ānic verses and *ahādith* as subjects and the deliberate selection of high-sounding Arabic words have made his *marthiyas* artificial and laboured. Although both Anīs and Dabir were very idealistic, and never exhibited enmity towards each other, their pupils and supporters divided not only the intellectuals, but the common people also, into rival Anīsīte and Dabirīte groups.

In the nineteenth century the number of poets and men of talent who succumbed to the temptation of a higher salary and position in the princely courts decreased and many gifted people stayed in Delhi. Their presence and the pacification of Delhi by the English resulted in a revival of the Mughal social and cultural interests. The most prominent among the poets who remained there were Hakīm Mu'min (1215/1800-1268/

1851), Shaykh Ibrāhīm Dhawq and Mirzā Asad Allāh Khān Ghālib. Ghālib (1212/1797-1285/1869) was a master of both prose and poetry and was as brilliant in Persian as in Urdu. His verses were too subtle for the non-intellectuals but they enjoyed them nevertheless. His poetry was philosophical, mystical, sensitive and witty.

The early Deccanī prose works consist of didactic religious and *sūfi* tracts. In 1798, Muhammad Husayn 'Atā Khān Tahsin of Etāwa translated the story of four dervishes (*Qissa-i chahār dervish*) ascribed to Amir Khusraw (651/1253-725/1325) into very ornate prose and dedicated it to Nawwāb Shujā' al-Dawla. Inshā' Allāh's contributions to Hindi-Urdu prose have already been mentioned. As we shall see Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's brothers translated the Qur'ān into Hindawi/Urdu, while Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd and his disciples wrote short religious tracts in Urdu. However, the real developments in Urdu took place at Fort William College, Calcutta. This was founded by Lord Wellesley in July 1800, with the intention of making it a very large institution, to teach Islamic and Hindu classical and local languages, law and commerce. John Gilchrist (1759-1841), the professor of Hindustānī,¹⁶² was the author of works on Hindustānī grammar and language and had compiled a philological dictionary. His deep interest in the College's publications programme attracted about twenty talented scholars, mostly from Delhi and Lucknow. They were known as *munshis*. Even the most outstanding Urdu poet, Mir Taqī Mir, applied for one of these positions, but Jonathan Scott rejected him because of his advanced age. When the Lucknow intellectuals learned of this they were disillusioned and sarcastically asserted that Calcutta preferred tough coolies to outstanding poets.¹⁶³

The college *munshis* wrote many important Urdu works; the most remarkable of which was Mīr Amman's *Bāgh wa bahār* completed in 1801. It retells the story of four dervishes in elegant and lucid prose. Mīr Amman occupied the same position with regard to the refinement of Urdu prose as Mīr Taqī possessed in Urdu poetry. A translation of the Qur'ān was also completed by the College *munshis*. Its preface, dated 22 December 1804, was written by Kāzīm 'Alī Jawān. Some Arabic scholars were also associated with the translation and it was edited by Jawān. It would seem that this project was initiated by John Gilchrist who intended to publish it privately. Fifty-six pages had been printed before he left for Edinburgh in February 1805. However, the Governor-General did not approve of this scheme and the printed pages were destroyed.¹⁶⁴ An important work was thus lost, possibly for fear of orthodox opposition.

162 It is wrongly believed that Gilchrist was made the principal of the College. C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, Varanasi 1971, reprint, p. 165.

163 Mīrzā 'Alī Lutf, *Gulshan-i Hind*, Lahore 1905, p. 152.

164 Muhammad 'Atiq Siddiqī, *Gilchrist aur uska ahd*, 'Aligarh 1960, pp. 310-11.

It is remarkable that the authors who dedicated their books to Lord Wellesley used the same eulogistic and bombastic language which their predecessors had employed for the Emperors Jahāngir and Shāhjahān, yet the murder of Tipū and the imprisonment of his family was known to them. For example Mir Amman wrote,

“To the essence of praiseworthy qualities among the exalted princes, principal adviser to the Emperor of England whose Court Resembles that of the seventh heaven, the Marquess of Wellesley, Governor-General, the valiant. May his virtues never vanish ; who is the patron and protector of the *madrasa* (College).”¹⁶⁵

Many Muslim intellectuals, who had previously served in the courts of Muslim princes rose to eminence under the patronage of the English. The most outstanding was 'Allāma Tafaddul Husayn Khān Kashmīrī. He received his early education in Delhi and finalised his studies in Banāras under Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn¹⁶⁶ (1103/1692-1180/1766). He enjoyed his position as *munshī* (scribe) under Warren Hastings' Military Secretary, John Palmer. In Calcutta he mastered Greek and Latin, and also learned English. He translated some important works from these languages into Arabic and wrote original treatises on algebra and astronomy. He led a very busy life. Early in the morning he taught classes in mathematics before performing his official duties. In the afternoon he lectured in Imāmiyya (Ithnā' 'Ashariyya) fiqh (jurisprudence). Before sunset he taught Hanafī fiqh to students. After night prayers he immersed himself in study and research and slept for a very short time after morning prayers. Before he went to sleep his musicians played for him. No physician could persuade him to take more rest. Ignoring the advice of the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, Āsaf al-Dawla appointed Tafaddul Husayn his *nā'ib* (chief minister) in 1797. Even then, Tafaddul Husayn continued his study and research and led the simple life of a Mulla. He was accessible also to the common people. He refused to accept Nawwāb Sa'adat 'Alī's invitation to work as his minister and retired to Calcutta. Early in 1214/1799, he suffered a stroke which left him permanently disabled. While returning to Lucknow, he died between Calcutta and Murshidābād on 18 Shawwāl 1215/3 March 1801.¹⁶⁷ Mirzā Abū Tālib, who will be discussed below wrote an elegy mourning his death and presented it to Lady Bedford on 2 May 1802 in London. Here are a few verses:

165 *Gilchrist awr uska ahd*, facsimile.

166 S. W. T., pp. 187-89.

167 *Nujūm al-samā'*, pp. 323-27, I. S., pp. 155-59.

"Alas! he's fled; who the Heavens expanse,
 With truer ken than the Pelusian Sage
 Survey'd or than that other, Grecian born,
 Tho' Egypt's boast, unopen'd, unexplain'd,
 Again obscure, the Almagestum lies.
 Alas! the zest of Learning's cup is gone;
 Whose taste ne'er cloy'd, tho' deep the draughts;
 Whose flavour yet upon the palate hangs
 Nectareous, nor Reason's thirst assuag'd.
 But yes!—rent is the garment of the morn;
 And all dishevell'd floats the hair of night;
 All bath'd in tears of dew the stars look down
 With mournful eyes, in lamentation deep;
 For he, their sage belov'd is dead; who first
 To Islam's followers explain'd their laws,
 Their distances, their orbits, and their times,
 As great Copernicus once half divin'd,
 And greater Newton proved; but, useless now,
 Their works we turn with idle hand, and scan
 with vacant eye, our own first master gone."¹⁶⁸

Nawwāb Sayyid Ghulām Husayn Khan Tabātabā'i (d. about 1230/1815) the author of *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn* also became a protégé of the English. In 1178/1764-65, Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro urged him to persuade the *qal'adār* (superintendent of the fort) at Rohtās to surrender it to the English. The *qal'adār* accepted Ghulām Husayn's advice. In 1179/1765, William Fullarton suggested to Sage, the manager of a Banāras factory, that he offer the Nawwāb a position. Colonel Goddard also helped him. Warren Hastings was impressed with Ghulām Husayn's literary talents but was not as helpful as the Nawwāb had hoped. Captain Jonathan Scott, the Persian secretary to Warren Hastings, was patron to several Persian scholars. Murtadā Husayn (d. about 1795) wrote the *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*¹⁶⁹ under Scott's patronage. He included a translation of Scott's *European Geography* in his *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*.

After 1773, Khayr al-Dīn Muhammad Ilāhābādī (d. 1827) entered the service of the East India Company. He was attached to the staff of Captain Bruce, who in 1780 seized Gwalior. Khayr al-Dīn assisted James Anderson, the British resident in Sindia's camp, in the negotiations with the

168 C. Steward, *Travels of Mirza Abu Talib Khan*, London 1814, III, second edition, p. 250.

169 Medieval Muslim Geographers divided the world into seven *iqālīm*s or climatic regions.

Marāthas. As already mentioned he is the author of more than a dozen works.

In the East India Company were patrons of mathematics and astronomy. 'Abd al-Rahmān of Gorakhpūr, who travelled through Afghānistān in 1808-9, with Mounstuart Elphinstone, and his secretary, W. Frazer, was a mathematician and a man of independent religious views. He was nicknamed *dahriyya* (materialist). In the miscellany, *Shigraḥ bayān*, 'Abd al-Rahmān animatedly discusses the need for translating standard European works on astronomy, geography and mathematics into Persian. According to him, Simpson's works on Euclid's elements deserved preference over Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī's study.¹⁷⁰

Although Ghulām Husayn bin Fath Muhammad Karbalā'ī Jawnpūri did not enjoy the patronage of East India Company officers, he was in touch with many English scholars. His *magnum opus* was the *Jāmi'-i Bahādur-Khāni*, completed in 1833 and divided into a preface and six sections: 1, geometry; 2, optics; 3, arithmetic; 4, mensuration; 5, astronomy; 6, astronomical tables and almanacs, and a conclusion. The work consisting of 720 large pages was published in Calcutta in 1835. Two years later J. Tytler, who had translated Robert Hooper's *Anatomist's vade mecum* (*Anīs al-musharriḥin*; Calcutta 1830), contributed a paper on *Jāmi' Bahādur-Khāni* of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. According to the preface to the work, the author "had devoted himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, not only as far as they are contained in the Arabian and Brahmanical writings, but also as far as he could gain from the interpretation of European books, as given him by European friends, he himself being ignorant of English; that he had, under the patronage of Khān Bahādur (of Bihār) compiled a system of these sciences from all these sources."¹⁷¹

Some of the English officers encouraged Muslim intellectuals to travel through Afghānistān and Transoxiana and collect information about people and places there. Muhammad 'Abd-Allāh, who appeared to have travelled with caravans belonging to Tārtār merchants, was rewarded with the possession of his ancestral property on his return to Calcutta. After 1770 he wrote a book describing the stages on various routes:

1. from Bukhārā through Orenburg and Qāzān to Moscow and Petersburg;
2. from Moscow to Qāshghar,

170 The celebrated philosopher, astronomer and Shī'ī scholar, Nasir al-Dīn Muhammad Tūsī was born at Tūs (Eastern Irān) in 597/1201 and died at Baghdād in 672/1274.

171 John Tytler, "Analysis and Specimens of Persian Work on Mathematics and Astronomy", *J. R. A. S.*, 1837. 254.

3. from Moscow to Macariev,
4. from Bukhārā through Qoqan (Khoqand) etc., to Peking and thence through Tibet and Kashmīr to Bengal.
5. from Bukhārā to Hirāt and Mashhad.¹⁷²

Lt. Col. Francis Wilford, a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1787 to 1822, who had contributed an article on mythology to *Asiatick Researches*, was the patron of Mirzā Mughal Beg bin Muhammad Beg. The Mirzā visited Derajāt, Afghānistān, Kābul, Peshāwar and Qāshghar and wrote a Persian work *Sayr al-balād*. He started it in 1205/1790 and finished in 1214/1799. The first three chapters of the book discuss the regions around Delhi, in the Doāb and the Panjāb. The fourth chapter, dealing with regions west of the Indus, was translated by Major H. G. Raverty. The translation is entitled *Notes on Afghānistān* and covers parts of Baluchistān, geographically, ethnographically and historically, and is extracted from the writings of little-known Afghān and Tājik historians, geographers and genealogists; the histories of the Ghūrīs, the Turk, the sovereigns of the Delhi kingdom, and the Mughal sovereigns of the house of Timūr. Mughal Beg also wrote a treatise entitled the *Risāla-i Mister Wilford*. It contains extracts and notes from Captain Wilford's *Routes in Afghānistān, Bukhārā etc.*¹⁷³

In 1812, William Moorcroft, veterinary surgeon and traveller (1770-1825) sent Mir 'Izzat-Allāh on a preliminary tour of the Trans-Himalayan countries, which the latter revisited in 1819-24 as Moorcroft's secretary and interpreter. Mir 'Izzat's book, entitled *Masir-i 'Izzat-Allāh*, describes his tour of 1812-13 from Delhi via Attak, Kashmīr, Tibet, Yārqand, Qāshghar, Qoqan and Samarqand to Bukhārā, and back via Balkh. Khulm, Bāmiyān, Kābul and Peshāwar to Attak.

Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, British Resident at Delhi in 1811-19 and 1825-7, encouraged Mirzā Sangin Beg bin 'Alī Akbar Beg to write an account of the buildings and inscriptions in Delhi.

Unique in its own right is *Masir-i Tālibi fi bilād-i Afranji* by Mirzā Abū Tālib Tabrizi Isfahānī, also known as Abū Tālib Landānī (of London). Mirzā Abū Tālib was born in 1166/1752-3 at Lucknow, lived at Murshidābād from his thirteenth to twentieth year, and moved back to Lucknow after Āsaf al-Dawla's accession. He served Āsaf al-Dawla's vizier for about one year but was then pensioned off. He was also employed by Col. A. Hannay at Gorakhpūr and by N. Middleton, the British Resident. In 1787-8 he moved to Calcutta. In 1213/1798, he left for Europe with Captain D. Richardson, returning to India in 1218/1803.

172 Br. M., Or. 1119.

173 India Office, I. O. 3731.

He completed his *Masir-i Tālibi* a year later and died at Lucknow in 1220/1805-6.

In London, Mirzā Abū Tālib was known as "the Persian prince". He called on the King of England and Queen Charlotte, visited members of the British nobility and met the British orientalists. The debates he witnessed in the House of Commons did not impress him; the most noisy members were Pitt and Fox. English law appeared ambiguous to him. In his work, Abū Tālib discussed both the virtues and the defects of Englishmen. The common people had no interest in religion and the nation at large was blindly confident of its good fortune. The British were greedy, licentious and extravagant and governed by self-interest. Their orientalists were vain about their command of foreign languages. Englishmen had no respect for the customs of other nations, and Abū Tālib defended Muslim customs without inhibition. He says:

"In London, I was frequently attacked on the apparent unreasonableness and childishness of some of the Mohammedan customs; but as, from my knowledge of the English character, I was convinced it would be folly to argue the point philosophically with them, I contented myself with parrying the subject. Thus, when they attempted to turn into ridicule the ceremonies used by the pilgrims on their arrival at Mecca, I asked them, why they supposed the ceremony of baptism, by a clergyman, requisite for the salvation of a child, who could not possibly be sensible what he was about? When they reproached us for eating with our hands; I replied 'There is by this mode no danger of cutting yourself or your neighbours; and it is an old and a true proverb 'the nearer the bone, the sweeter the meat' but, exclusive of these advantages, a man's own hands are surely cleaner than the *feet of a baker's boy*; for it is well known, that half the bread in London is kneaded by the feet.' By this mode of argument, I completely silenced all my adversaries, and frequently turned the laugh against them, when they expected to have refuted me and made me appear ridiculous."¹⁷⁴

Abū Tālib was, however, deeply impressed by the English printing industry and newspapers. He observed with great interest the various uses to which the science of mechanics was applied in England and visited mills, foundries and waterworks. The education and perseverance of the English and the courtesy of their shopkeepers, left an indelible mark of appreciation on his mind.¹⁷⁵ He was able to note that English lawgivers

174 *Travels of Mirza Abu Talib Khan*, II, pp. 155-56.

175 *Ibid*, II, p. 18.

had placed women under many salutary restraints, which prevented them from making an improper use of their liberty.¹⁷⁶

The English educational system and its public schools were judged by Abū Tālib an asset to character-building, making its products "honourable, courageous and capable of enduring hardship." In France, Napoleon Bonaparte was at the apogee of his power but Abū Tālib hardly mentions his achievements. Visiting Italy and Turkey, he reached Baghdād and made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Imām Husayn at Karbalā and that of Imām 'Alī at Najaf. In April 1802, while he was in Karbalā, it was plundered by a force of 25,000 Wāhhābīs and its inhabitants were massacred. The day was carefully chosen, as a large number of townspeople had gone to visit Najaf. When the Wāhhābīs retired, other Arabs in the neighbourhood of Karbalā stole the heavy articles which the Wāhhābīs had been unable to remove, and Arab robbers, dressed as Wāhhābīs, continued to raid the town.¹⁷⁷ Abū Tālib reported on this and also collected information about the Wāhhābī doctrine and history.¹⁷⁸ From Basra he went to Bombay and then to Calcutta, ending his journey on 4 August 1803. In the preface to his memoirs he wrote:

"I have named this work *Musier Taleby fy Bulad Affrenjy—The Travels of Taleb in the Regions of Europe*; but, when I reflect on the want of energy and the indolent disposition of my countrymen, and the many erroneous customs which exist in all Mahommedan countries and among all ranks of Mussulmans, I am fearful that my exertions will be thrown away. The great and the rich, intoxicated with pride and luxury, and puffed up with the vanity of their possessions, consider universal science as comprehended in the circle of their own scanty acquirements and limited knowledge; while the poor and common people, from the want of leisure, and overpowered by the difficulty of procuring a livelihood, have not time to attend to their personal concerns, much less to form desires for the acquirement of information on new discoveries and inventions; although such a passion has been implanted by nature in every human breast, as an honour and an ornament to the species. I therefore despair of their reaping any fruit from my labours; being convinced that they will consider this book of no greater value than the volumes of Tales and Romances which they peruse merely to pass away their time, or are attracted thereto by the easiness of the style. It may consequently be concluded, that as they will find no pleasure in reading a work which contains a

176 *Travels of Mirza Abu Talib Khan*, II, p. 28.

177 *Ibid*, III, pp. 165-68.

178 *Ibid*, III, pp. 168-77.

number of foreign names, treats on uncommon subjects, and alludes to other matters which cannot be understood at the first glance, but require a little time for consideration, they will, under pretence of zeal for their religion, entirely abstain and refrain from perusing it.”¹⁷⁹

The ‘Ulamā’ and the Sūfī Leaders

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 27 Jumāda II, 1199/7 May 1785) was remarkably successful in adding a new dimension to sūfī leadership in the Panjāb where the dominant orders had hitherto been the Suhrāwardiyya, Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya.

The *khalīfa* (spiritual successor) whom the Mawlānā sent to the Panjāb was Khwāja Nūr Muhammad of Muhār, who was born on 14 Ramadān 1142/2 April 1730, in Chawtalā near Bhāwalpūr. His ancestors were Jāt farmers who lived from herding cattle and highway robbery but seem to have embraced Islam in the seventeenth century. He received his early education in neighbouring villages; later he went to Delhi. Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn initiated him into the Chishtiyya order in 1165/1751-2 and ordered him to make Muhār, near Bhāwalpūr in the Panjāb, the new centre of Chishtiyya teachings. On 3 Dhu’l-hijja 1205/3 August 1791, Shāh Nūr Muhammad died, but his magnetic personality had transformed the region from Bhāwalpūr to Pāk Pattan into an important Chishtiyya centre.¹⁸⁰ Of Khwāja Nūr Muhammad’s *khalīfas*, Shaykh Nūr Muhammad Nārūwāla (d. 6 Jumāda I, 1204/22 January 1790), Khwāja Muhammad ‘Āqil (d. 8 Rajab 1229/26 June 1814) of Muhār, Hāfiz Muhammad Jamāl Multāni (d. 5 Jumāda I, 1226/28 May 1811) and Shāh Muhammad Sulaymān (d. 7 Safar 1267/12 December 1850) of Tawnsa in the Derā Ghāzi Khān district were very well-known. Hāfiz Jamāl Multāni was a good archer and personally fought many times against the Sikh invaders of Multān.¹⁸¹

Shāh Muhammad Sulaymān established many schools around Tawnsa and was deeply devoted to teaching even non-sūfī subjects. Shāh Muhammad Sulaymān tried to reform both the ‘ulamā’ and the sūfis. His teachings were aimed at cleansing and revivifying the contemporary degenerate society. According to him, the Sikhs were able to conquer Lahore only because Muslim society had become corrupt and demoralised. He advised sūfis to refrain from cursing their rulers, irrespective of whether they were Muslims or infidels, tyrants or just men. The righteous were ruled by just Muslim rulers, the corrupt were governed by infidels and

179 *Travels of Mirza Abu Talib Khan*, I, pp. 5-6.

180 Najm al-Dīn Nāgawri, *Manāqib al-mahbūbayin*, Rāmpūr 1289/1872, pp. 80-95.

181 *Ibid*, pp. 127-37.

tyrants.¹⁸² He urged his followers to be at peace with both Hindus and Muslims.¹⁸³ However, he was deeply hostile to people who adhered to vicious faiths (the Shī'is) and asked his followers to forgo their company irrespective of the worldly loss it caused.¹⁸⁴ He considered the English were misleading the Muslims. Hence he urged one of his disciples to fight them.¹⁸⁵ Like other Chishtiyya guides, Shāh Muhammad Sulaymān was also opposed to seeking employment under rulers and noblemen. Shāh Shujā' of Afghānistān was his devotee, but Shujā's dependence on his Shī'i supporters deeply disappointed him. Shujā's rival, Dūst Muhammad Khān, also asked Shāh Sulaymān to pray to God for his success.¹⁸⁶ The rulers of the south Panjāb states were Shāh Sulaymān's devoted followers but he never hesitated to reprimand them when necessary.

In Sind, Makhdūm Ibrāhīm Thattawī was an outstanding 'ālim. In 1794, he wrote treatises about Jodhpūr and Sind. One of these attempts to prove that Jodhpūr was a *dār al-harb*¹⁸⁷ (country at war). The Makhdūm states that not only Hindus but Muslims also worshipped idols in their shops and bazaars. The call to prayers was forbidden in Jodhpūr. Animals could not be slaughtered openly according to Islamic rules. Muslims who killed birds and animals at home were persecuted. An 'ālim who complained to the local magistrate was murdered by the Hindus. The Hindus had insulted the Muslims by appointing an illiterate Muslim as the *qādi* and calling him Qādi Gangā Rām. Muslims could neither perform public circumcision nor attend congregational prayers. Islamic proselytization was completely banned. Over the previous two hundred years the Jodhpūr mosques had been desecrated and some had been reduced to rubble.

Makhdūm Ibrāhīm Thattawī's work concerning Sind, which was ruled by Muslim Amirs and was his homeland, says that the contemporary Hindus did not deserve to be called *dhimmīs* (protected subjects). In Sind wine was openly fermented and gambling was prevalent, while prostitutes and eunuchs paid tax on their trade to the government and were protected. Idols were worshipped in the shops. The Hindu temples were prosperous but the mosques were deserted. No Muslim *qādi* could oppose judgments delivered by Hindu headmen. Makhdūm Ibrāhīm goes on to say that although Thatta was ruled by Mīr Fath 'Alī Khān Tālpūr, the predominance of heresy there had compelled him (the author) to migrate to Karāchī, where the situation was comparatively better but still deplor-

182 Imām al-Dīn, *Nāfi' al-sālikīn*, Lahore 1285/1868-69, pp. 33-40.

183 *Ibid*, p. 16.

184 *Ibid*, p. 162.

185 *Ibid*, p. 167.

186 Mawlawī Ilāhī Bakhsh Balūchī, *Khātām-i Sulaymānī*, Lahore 1325/1907, pp. 94-97.

187 *Infra*, pp. 225-37.

able. When Fath 'Alī Khān succeeded Mir Nāsir Khān, Thatta customs became prevalent in Karāchi. Hindu village headmen, the author says expelled a Muslim butcher from his house and no Muslim could save him. In contrast, conditions in Multān and Lahore, which were ruled by Sikhs, were reasonable. In Lahore the Sikh government had not abolished the post of *qādī*. Muslim soldiers in Sikh armies who performed congregational prayers were respected and those who neglected them were dismissed. To the Sikhs, the latter were neither Muslims nor non-Muslims. The author was also impressed with the rule of Mahādji Sindia in Delhi, who respected Islam and implemented the *qādī's* judgments. Makhdūm Ibrāhīm Thattawi eventually left Karāchi and died in Kach. Some 'ulamā' opposed his treatises and he wrote another book spiritedly defending his views on Sind and Jodhpūr.¹⁸⁸

The most important centre for the dissemination of Islamic learning was Firangī Mahal.¹⁸⁹ The disciples of its founder, Mullā Nizām al-Dīn (d. 9 Jumāda I, 1161/7 May 1748), popularized the curriculum devised by their teacher, known as *Dars-i Nizāmī*, throughout the country. Among Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's disciples was Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn Sihālāwī (d. 13 Muharram 1175/14 August 1761), who wrote commentaries on about half a dozen works on *hikmat* (metaphysics) and *kalām* (dialectics).¹⁹⁰ His disciples, who founded many important schools of Islamic learning, included Mullā Muhammad Barakat Ilāhābādī, and Mullā Muhammad 'Ālam Sandilāwī. The latter's disciple, Mullā 'Abd al-Wājid Khayrābādī, taught Mawlānā Fadl-i Imām Khayrābādī¹⁹¹ who made Khayrābād famous for its teaching of metaphysics.

Najīb al-Dawla founded a school at Darānagar near Amroha. There Mullā Muhammad Barakat Ilāhābādī, Mullā Hasan and Mawlawī Muhammad Salīm, the disciples of Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn, were offered high salaries.¹⁹² In Najībābād 900 'alīms lived under the patronage of Najīb al-Dawla who gave them allowances ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 5 per month.¹⁹³ Apparently many of them had been trained at the Firangī Mahal. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān's court was also visited by Firangī Mahal scholars and many of them settled in Rāmpūr and founded schools there. All the schools in Awadh towns were headed by the Firangī Mahal trainees. Mullā Hasan Firangī Mahli and Mullā Qutb al-Dīn Muhammad, two eminent disciples of Kamāl al-Dīn, taught in Delhi. Mīrān Kamāl

188 Mawlānā 'Abd al-Rashīd Nu'mānī, "Āj se pawne do saw baras pahle kā Hindustān", *al Rahīm*, June 1966, pp. 48-52.

189 S. W. T., pp. 386-92.

190 Rahmān 'Alī, *Tadhkirā-i 'Ulamā'-i Hind*, Lucknow 1914, pp. 273-74.

191 *Infra*, Chapter Seven.

192 Muhammad Ridā Ansārī, *Bānī-i dars-i Nizāmī*, Lucknow 1973, pp. 91-92.

193 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, p. 81.

al-Dīn, one of Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's favourite disciples, made Bengal and Bihār important centres for the *Dars-i Nizāmī*.¹⁹⁴

Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī (*Bahr al-'Ulūm*) was the son of Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's second wife, and was about seventeen years old when his father died. Brought up by a doting father in an atmosphere of love and affection, 'Abd al-'Alī, like all the youth of the Lucknow aristocracy, was given to fun and frivolity. However, he was able to finish his formal education under his father's care. Before long he discovered that being the son of Mullā Nizām al-Dīn was no instant passport to success in life, so he embarked upon specializing in different branches of learning. The affection and care of his father's eminent disciples helped to remedy his deficiencies and soon he became an eminent scholar.¹⁹⁵

'Abd al-'Alī also commenced training students, but in about 1172/1758-9, he had to migrate to Shāhjahānpūr where he sought employment under Hāfiz Rahmat Khān. The circumstances that led to his move from Lucknow are described by his eldest son, Mullā 'Abd al-'Alā, in the *Risāla-i Qutbiyya* thus :

"Sayyid Nūr al-Hasan Bilgrāmi, formerly a Shi'a was staying in the house of Mawlawī Muhibb-Allāh in the Firangi Mahal. He was sick and could not go to pay respects to the *rawda* (*ta'ziya*). At the Sayyid's request the *rawda* was taken to Muhibb-Allāh's house. 'Abd al-'Alī was reciting *fātiha*¹⁹⁶ over some syrup dedicated to Imāms Hasan and Husayn. He saw the *rawda* and, not wishing to interrupt his *fātiha*, he gestured with his hand in order to stop the *rawda* bearer for the road ended there. The Mullā thought that possibly they had lost their way. Some bigoted students understood that the Mullā had ordered them to destroy that *bid'at* (innovation, here meaning the *rawda*). They immediately destroyed the *rawda*. When the Mawlānā finished his *fātiha*, he was very angry with the students."

The news of this incident spread like wildfire. People were told that Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī was hostile to the Imāms. The mob marched to attack the Mullā. Qādi Ghulām Mustafā, the Shi'i leader, who was the Mullā's enemy, both from a religious and a worldly point of view, led the mob to teach him a lesson. When Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī was informed of these events, he also collected his supporters and prepared for battle. Qādi Ghulām Mustafā, fearing that he would not win the encounter, sent messages to make peace. The Mullā, desiring peace between Muslims,

194 *Bānī-i dars-i Nizāmī*, pp. 93-103.

195 *Ibid*, pp. 103-111, 144-50.

196 Ceremonial recitation of the first chapter of the Qur'ān.

accepted the offer. The Mullā's supporters warned him that the peace was only designed to mark time while the Shī'is hatched a plot to assassinate him. His relatives advised him to leave Lucknow for a short time and return after passions had cooled down. The Mullā's supporters urged him to stay but the Mullā left Lucknow, without informing them, for Shāh-jahānpūr where he lived until Hāfiz Rahmat Khān's death in 1188/1174.¹⁹⁷ From Shāhjahānpūr he accepted Nawwāb Fayd-Allāh's invitation to live in Rāmpūr but the Nawwāb was unable to support the growing number of the Mullā's students. Munshī Sadr al-Dīn, the Governor-General's chief *munshī*, succeeded in persuading the Mullā to migrate to Muhār in Bardawān district (Bengal). The students swarmed to the Bardawān seminary and Munshī Sadr al-Dīn extended considerable patronage to them. One of them, Sūfī Shāh 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. 1245/1830), arrived in Bardawān in 1199/1784-5 and completed his specialization in a year. He says that the students who completed their education in Bardawān were awarded a robe of honour and Rs. 200 by the Munshī. They were also offered employment by the English. Soon the Munshī's largesse fell short of the needs of the Mullā's students. At the request of Nawwāb Muhammad 'Alī of Arkāt, who originally came from Gopāma'ū in Hardo'i near Lucknow, the Mullā went to Madras, arriving on 24 Dhu'l-hijja 1205/24 August 1791. His son, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Rabb, and a large number of students accompanied him. The Mullā's salary was fixed at Rs. 1,000 per mensem. An extensive seminary was built where students from all parts of India thronged to obtain education. After the death of Nawwāb Wālājāh in 1210/1795, his son Nawwāb 'Umdat al-Umarā' succeeded him. He gave Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī Bahr al-'Ulūm the title "*Malik al-'ulamā'*". In 1216/1801, the Nawwāb died.

The English disqualified his son Nawwāb Tāj al-Umarā' 'Alī Husayn Khān from the succession on the charge that he had intrigued with Tīpū. They made the deceased Nawwāb's other son, 'Abd al-'Alī Khān his successor. Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī issued a *fatwa* saying that the English decision was legally invalid but no attention was paid to it. 'Abd al-'Alī Khān was given the title "*Azīm al-Dawla*", but his powers as a ruler were curtailed and he was paid a fixed salary. Mawlawī Muhammad Ghawth, Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī's talented disciple and author of *Nathr al-marjān fī rasm Nāzīm al-Qur'ān* was appointed the Nawwāb's Prime Minister and given the title "*Sharaf al-Mulk*". A new office, (Karnatak Stipends Paymaster's Office) was founded to pay emoluments to state servants and those whose applications for assistance were granted. Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī made no request. After his death on 13 Rajab 1225/14 August 1810, the applications of his son, grandsons and son-in-law for stipends were granted

197 *Bānī-i dars-i Nizāmī*, pp. 150-56.

and Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī's former salary was divided between them. Mawlawī 'Alā' al-Dīn Ahmad, Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī's son-in-law, was made principal of the seminary.¹⁹⁸

Mullā 'Abd al-'Alī was the author of commentaries on more than a dozen advanced books on metaphysics, dialectics and rhetoric. His *Arkān Arba'a*, dealing with the principles of fiqh (jurisprudence) is said to have deeply impressed Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and, in his letter to the Mullā, he addressed him as Bahr al-'Ulūm (Ocean of Learning). Mawlānā 'Ināyat-Allāh Firangī Mahlī marvels at the fact that the title given by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz to the Mullā became more well-known than the royal titles bestowed on him.¹⁹⁹ However, there is no evidence that Nawwāb Wālājāh plagiarized the title already bestowed by the Shāh. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's admiration for *Arkān Arba'a* was an exceptional case. The Shāh and his successors did not take much interest in the Firangī Mahal curriculum as a whole. To them these scholars were concerned mainly with the teachings of philosophers such as Abū Bakr Muhammad bin Zakariyya al-Rāzī (Rhazes) and Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā (Avicenna).

198 *Bānī-i dars-i Nizāmī*, pp. 111-24.

199 *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

CHAPTER TWO

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, his Brothers and their Disciples

After his return to Delhi from Medina in Rajab 1145/December 1732, Shāh Walī-Allāh trained one or two specialists in various branches of knowledge to take over the routine teaching duties at his father's seminary. This enabled him to plunge himself into the task of writing scholarly works on all aspects of religious knowledge.¹ Before his death in Muharram 1176/August 1762, not only had Shāh Walī-Allāh written an enormous corpus of *sūfī* and religious literature, but he had also trained a team of dedicated scholars who were an asset to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz when he took over the seminary at the age of only sixteen years.

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz was not however the eldest son of Shāh Walī-Allāh. His eldest son, Mawlawī Muhammad, was born by Shāh Walī-Allāh's first wife who was his maternal uncle's daughter. He was always full of ecstatic dreams and was not interested in shouldering the responsibility for running the seminary. Mawlawī Muhammad had two sons and they lived in Budhāna (Muzaffarnagar in Uttar Pradesh) and died there. They were buried in the Budhāna mosque.

After the death of Mawlawī Muhammad's mother, Shāh Walī-Allāh married Bibi Irāda, the daughter of Sayyid Thanā'-Allāh of Sonipat. Their eldest son, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, was born on 25 Ramadān 1159/11 October 1746. His name, whose Arabic letters yield the date of his birth, was Ghulām Halīm.² Like his father, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz was precocious and endowed with a uniquely retentive memory. Shāh Walī-Allāh insisted that his son receive a systematic education and directed it along the lines he had suggested in his *Risāla-i dānishmandī* and the *Wasiyat-nāma*.³ Finding that students wasted much of their time and energy in learning

1 Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Dihlawī, *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, p. 40; S. W. T., p. 220.

2 Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahīm Diyā', *Maqālāt-i Tarīqat* in Muhammad 'Adud al-Dīn Khān's article *Maqālāt-i Tarīqat*: Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Muhaddith Dihlawī ke hālāt; *Ma'ārif*, Vol. XCVI, No. 4, pp. 187-88.

3 S. W. T., pp. 383-5.

Arabic grammar, he composed a work on the etymological parts of Arabic grammar in verse entitled the *Sarf-i mīr*⁴ on the pattern of a similar work written by the celebrated Mawlānā Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī⁵ (b. 23 Sha'bān 817/7 November 1414, d. 18 Muharram 898/9 November 1492), remedying some of the deficiencies in his predecessor's work.

Shāh Walī-Allāh did not ignore the importance of learning Persian with a good literary style which was generally taught by lady tutors who also acted as nurses. They were known as Mughlānis. One of them Lādli Khānam, a favourite of Shāh Walī-Allāh, was very affectionate to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and his younger brothers. She used to recite Persian stories to them. The Shāh was indebted to her for his mastery of idiomatic and stylistic Persian speech.⁵

Shāh Walī-Allāh also made it a rule not to eat his meals without Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz being present. This made it obligatory for the young Shāh to arrive punctually at his father's mealtime. The conversation on these occasions was both informal and scholarly, helping the young Shāh to sharpen his intellectual sensitivity.⁶ Starting his education by memorizing the Qur'ān, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz dedicated himself to intellectual pursuits at an early age.

By the time Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz was well into his education, his father's seminary was at the height of its fame. We may presume that after mastering three or four tracts on Arabic *sarf* (the etymological parts of Arabic grammar) he was taught some history. As soon as he was proficient in Arabic, he was taught the *Muwatta* and the translation of the Qur'ān. Then he studied the famous Qur'ānic exegetical works, hadīth, fiqh, sūfism and kalām. Shāh Walī-Allāh's distinguished disciples such as Shaykh Muhammad bin 'Ubayd-Allāh bin Muhammad Siddiqī Phultī, Khwāja Muhammad Amin Kashmīrī and Bābā Fadl Kashmīrī also helped Shāh Walī-Allāh teach his son. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's future father-in-law, Mawlawī Nūr-Allāh Budhānawī, taught Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz fiqh. When Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz was fifteen years old, his *dastār-bandī* or graduation ceremony took place. Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn Chishtī⁷ tied the turban over Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's head and Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān⁸ also attended the ceremony to bless the young scholar. Shāh Walī-Allāh also initiated his son into the Naqshbandiyya *silsila* of Khwāja Khwurd⁹ and other *silsilas* such as Chishtiyya and Suhrawardiyya for which he

4 Delhi n. d.

5 *Malfūzāt*, p. 56.

6 *Ibid*, pp. 3-4.

7 S. W. T., pp. 373-78.

8 S. W. T., pp. 317-43.

9 S. W. T., pp. 207-12.

was authorised. Shāh Walī-Allāh not only aroused Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's interest in Persian and Arabic works but also encouraged him to learn Urdu. In accordance with his father's instructions the Shāh went to Khwāja Mīr Dard's (d. 24 Safar 1199/6 January 1785) assemblies and quietly listened to his Urdu speeches, memorising the idioms Khwāja used. Shāh Walī-Allāh advised his children that the principles of language should be learnt like those of hadīth and fiqh. It is said that Shāh Walī-Allāh told his children that as Khwāja Mīr Dard, the pioneer and the *mujtahid* (scholar qualified to make independent judgments) of Urdu, was approaching the end of his life, his company should be deemed invaluable.¹⁰ Although nothing written by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz in Urdu survives, the Qur'ānic translation made by his two brothers and other treatises written by distinguished scholars from his seminary exhibit the Shāh's unending interest in Urdu.

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote the *naskh*¹¹ and *shikast*¹² of the Arabic and Persian script beautifully. He learnt archery from Khalīfa Muhammad Shākir, horse-riding from Malik Bīrha, one of Emperor Muhammad Shāh's horse-breakers, and was an expert swimmer.¹³ In short he embodied all the characteristics of the *futūwwa*¹⁴ (chivalric), *sūfī* and scholastic traditions.

As a Naqshbandiyya and also as an 'ālim, Shāh Walī-Allāh did not himself listen to *samā'* (literally 'audition' or *sūfī* music) but Khwāja Khwurd, to whose *sūfī silsila* Shāh Walī-Allāh belonged, listened to *samā'*. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's father-in-law, a distinguished disciple of Shāh Walī-Allāh, was devoted to both vocal and instrumental music, and it would seem that his training made 'Abd al-'Aziz a gifted connoisseur of vocal music. An anecdote from his *Malfūzāt* shows the depth of his musical knowledge.

"A *qawwāl* (musician) called on to request Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz to suggest a name for his newly born baby. The Shāh proposed Salām-Allāh or Salāmat-Allāh. Afterwards the Shāh requested the *qawwāl* to sing something in *dhanāsiri rāga*.¹⁵ He recited something in the *madrāsa* (seminary) and then started another *rāga*. The Shāh requested him

10 S. W. T., pp. 343-58 ; Sayyid Nāsir Nadhīr Firāq, *La'l Qala' kī ik jhalak*, Delhi n. d., 4th ed., pp. 60-61 ; S. W. T., pp. 344-57.

11 The bold erect writing in which the Qur'ān is usually inscribed. Modern Arabic print is generally called *naskh*.

12 Literally "hanging *naskh*", the cursive writing preferred for Persian since c. 1500. The letters are not always in one line, and horizontal strokes are sometimes exaggerated.

13 'Adud al-Dīn, *Maqālāt-i tarīqat*, pp. 189-90.

14 E. I², II, pp. 961-69 ; S. W. T., p. 205 ; H. S. I., I, pp. 293-95.

15 *Rāgas* are a series of notes on which a melody is based, *dhanāsiri* is a kind of *rāga*.

to repeat the earlier *rāga*. The *qawwāl* recited for some time and again started another *rāga*. The Shāh said the original one was the best, for in it *majāz* (divine love in allegory) was predominant. The *qawwāl* replied that someone had bewitched his voice and asked the Shāh to cure him. The Shāh asked him to return and then he would help him. The *qawwāl* next requested the Shāh's permission to recite some Arabic verses. The Shāh said it is not *madrasa* (seminary teaching) for which nothing but Arabic should be used. For music Hindi is better. The *qawwāl* again resumed his music. After an hour or two the Shāh, addressing a disciple, said that the music had cured his headache, and the scarf which had been tied around his head to relieve the pain was undone."¹⁶

After Shāh Walī-Allāh's death, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz became the seminary's principal, though the scholars trained by his father continued to perform their duties. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz also took a keen interest in his younger brothers' education and did not allow his father's death to interfere with their progress.

Of these, Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn was born in 1163/1749-50 and Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir in 1167/1753-54. No records of Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī's birth are available. He was probably born around 1169/1755. At the time of Shāh Walī-Allāh's death, Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn's education had made considerable headway. He was studying the commentary on *Sharh hidāyat al-hikma* by Mu'in al-Dīn al-Maybudhī (d. 908/1502)¹⁷ and seems to have received considerable grounding in Qur'ānic exegesis, hadith and fiqh. 'Abd al-Qādir was studying *Sarfi-i mir* and 'Abd al-Ghanī was memorizing the Qur'ān.¹⁸ Although Shāh Walī-Allāh's distinguished disciples helped Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz in tutoring his brothers, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, like his father, encouraged them to become versatile. Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn helped Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, whose health was rapidly deteriorating, to run Shāh Walī-Allāh's seminary¹⁹ but Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir taught independently in the Akbarābādī *masjid*.²⁰ Students who could not be accommodated by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz were transferred to Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir's care.

16 *Malfūzāt*, p. 65.

17 An advanced religio-philosophical work.

18 Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's letter to Shāh Abū Sa'id Hasani of Rae Bareli, *al-Rahīm*, Haydarābād (Sind) August 1965, pp. 209-13.

19 It was situated near Fayd Bāzār in the neighbourhood of the Jāmi' Masjid, Delhi. After 1857 it was completely destroyed but until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the locality was known as the *Mohalla Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Kā Madrasa*. Bashīr al-Dīn Ahmad Dihlawī, *Wāqī'āt-i dār al-hukūmat-i Dihlī*, Agra 1919, II, pp. 173-74.

20 Masjid Akbarābādī was built by I'zāz al-Nisā' known as Akbarābādī Mahal in 1060/1650 in Fayd Bāzār. *Wāqī'āt-i dār al-hukūmat-i Dihlī*, II, pp. 140-41.

Shāh Wali-Allāh considered only the Marāthas and Jāts as potent threats to Muslim domination. He could not anticipate that in the wake of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's invasions, the Sikhs in the Panjāb whom Sayf al-Dawla 'Abd al-Samad Khān²¹ had crushed, would descend like an avalanche, devastating Delhi and the towns and villages as far north as Sahāranpūr. Shāh Wali-Allāh had noted the European presence in the South but the English victory at Plassey did not upset him much. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, however, in his early thirties, saw British power extending towards both northern and southern India, but more catastrophic to him were the Sikh invasions. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's letters and poems, and the letters written to him by his relations and disciples, reflect his deep concern over the decline of Muslim political power. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's uncle, Shāh Ahl-Allāh, wrote to him :

"The news of Shujā' al-Dawla's defeat by the British²² is very shocking. We can only pray to God. These are days of distress and calamity. We, the poor Muslims, have been reduced to the position of the reptiles of the earth and are being crushed by every adventurer. We cannot migrate to any other place, our salvation lies in praying to Allāh. Be it as it may. Your letter about the Sikhs has filled me with great anxiety, for their wickedness is disastrous. They are our immediate neighbours and, as has happened many times, they will invade us suddenly. At present they are, as compared with others, violently hostile to the Muslims, particularly to their 'ulamā' and sūfis."²³

In a letter in Arabic verse to Shāh Ahl-Allāh, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote :

"May God revenge the atrocities of the Sikhs and the Marāthas,
A painful revenge and very soon.
They (both) have killed a large number of people,
And have committed atrocities even against the illiterate shepherds.
Yearly they sack our towns and villages,
In broad daylight and at night they plunder the places where our
people live.
There is no shelter for anyone seeking refuge,
There is no one who for fear of God will render justice and redress
for such wrongs."

21 S. W. T., pp. 133-34.

22 The defeat of Shujā' al-Dawla at the battle of Baksar on 22 October 1764 is meant; *supra*, p. 14.

23 *al-Rahīm*, July-August 1968, pp. 111, 112.

In another letter the Shāh wrote to Shāh Ahl-Allāh :

"Winter has come and the heart is distressed,
Because of the Sikhs, and the heart's concern is not without cause.
May God sweep them away from this country,
They are our greatest enemies, they are like bands of demons,
My own fate and those of others I entrust to God ;
I hope He will protect us."

In a third letter he wrote :

"Once more I have to tell you that our territories have been laid waste,
By the ruthless and the monstrous,
You might be aware of the atrocities,
Committed by the Sikhs in Tūshām (in Hisār).
They have devastated all inhabited areas, then left them,
They are busy conquering forts and fortifications.
They have murdered a large mass of people,
They have slain a group of people.
They are insatiable for wealth,
Our innumerable orphans have been enslaved by them.
They pour the cup of death down the throat of everyone
who tries to obstruct their road.
Every woman who has suckled babes
Has now forgotten each one to whom she has given milk (they are dead) and even those who no longer feed on mother's milk (all have been killed)." ²⁴

In an Arabic letter to his father-in-law, Shāh Nūr-Allāh Budhānawī, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote that, after successfully invading the Jāt territories, a band of Sikhs passed through their town which had no defender other than Allāh. They wished to enter the town and, according to their habit, intended to plunder it but Allāh foiled their ambitions. Afdal Khān and other leaders from the town came out to fight them and the Sikhs fled away. Allāh saved the believers from slaughter. Allāh alone is omnipotent. Although enemies marching through helpless Muslim towns caused alarm, Allāh's assistance wiped away anxieties. They hoped that Allāh would not give the Sikhs domination.²⁵ However, the Shāh had

24 Manāzīr Ahsan Gīlānī, *Tadhkira-i Hadrat Shāh Walī-Allāh*, Lyaalpūr, Pākistān, 1965, pp. 35-36.

25 *al-Rahīm*, May 1968, pp. 900-901.

temporarily to migrate from Delhi to Murādābād. He wrote to Shāh Abū Sa'id Hasani :

"The incursions of Sikhs, Marāthas and Jāts into Muslim territories, and their plundering of Muslim property and rape of Muslim women have made the heart and soul uneasy. Consequently this humble self has also migrated to Murādābād with his family. The entire doāb has been devastated by the hoofs of these wicked people's horses. Praise be to God ! The life, property and honour of this humble self, his elder brother and the people of Phulet village remain uncathed."²⁶

Fixing the date of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's migration is difficult because of his indiscriminate condemnation of Sikhs, Marāthas and Jāts. However it would seem that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz migrated from Delhi around 1773. It was between 1187/1773 and 1188/1774 that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's father-in-law Shāh Nūr-Allāh, and Shāh Walī-Allāh's principal disciples, Muhammad 'Ashiq Phulti and Khwāja Muhammad Amin Kashmīri died.²⁷ The Shāh, finding himself lonely and insecure, had no alternative but to leave Delhi. However, by the summer of 1775 Mirza Najaf restored peace to Delhi and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, his brother and family seem to have returned.

The legends relate some fantastic stories about Mīrzā Najaf's persecution of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. Those referred to below have been uncritically reproduced by historians such as Ishtiāq Husain Qureshi and K. A. Nizāmi and also by traditional scholars such as Mawlānā Manāzir Ahsan Gilāni and Mawlānā Muhammad Miyān. The most popular is the legend described by Amīr Shāh Khān in the *Amīr al-Riwāyāt*. He says :

"In those days the Rawāfids (Shi'is) were predominant. Delhi was ruled by Najaf 'Alī Khān who had Shāh Walī-Allāh's wrist broken to stop him writing. He martyred Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān and expelled Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn from his dominions. Both walked from Delhi to Shāhdara with the female members of the family. Later Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn succeeded in obtaining carriages for the females who went to Phulet. However, Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz could obtain neither carriages nor horses. Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn went to Lucknow on foot and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz walked to Jawnpūr. Both were ordered to travel sepa-

26 *al-Rahīm*, August 1965, pp. 207-208.

27 *al-Rahīm*, August 1965, pp. 218-19.

rately and to use no conveyance. The Rawāfids tried twice to poison Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. Once a paste of lizards was rubbed on him infecting him with leprosy. During his Jawnpūr journey the Shāh was struck by sunstroke which made him fiery-tempered. He had lost his eyesight in his youth."²⁸

Ishtiāq Husain Qureshi, reproducing the story of how Shāh Walī-Allāh "had been the victim of Shi'ah persecution", adds in a footnote: "the evidence, however, is inconclusive."²⁹ He fails to note that the legend is in fact absurd because Shāh Walī-Allāh died in 1176/1762, while Mirzā Najaf Khān entered Delhi with the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam in 1772. As for Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, he has written about his serious illness and blindness in different contexts and does not ascribe them to any persecution. In a letter to Fāriḡ Shāh he says :

"The old chronic stomach trouble is serious. The eyesight has almost disappeared. Toothache prevents me from eating, drinking, and talking too much."³⁰

'Abd al-Qādir, a near contemporary of the Shāh, wrote that blindness had made Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz incapable of writing anything himself. "He dictated (his thoughts) fluently to others". According to Qārī 'Abd al-Rahmān Panipatī, a disciple of Shāh Ishāq, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz lost his eyesight completely in his youth. Sayyid 'Abd al-Hayy says, more specifically, that by his twenty-fifth year, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz had become the victim of chronic diseases such as *maraq* (leprosy) and blindness.³¹

This evidence conclusively proves that the Shāh was partially, if not completely, blind before Mirzā Najaf's arrival in Delhi. Like Qureshi, K. A. Nizāmī also says anachronistically that Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn was very influential in Delhi. He relates that once Alexander Seton,³² the Resident of Delhi, and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz were estranged but Mawlānā

28 Zahūr al-Hasan (ed.), "Amīr al-rawāyāt" in *Arwāh-i thalṡha Sahāranpūr*, 1370/1950, p. 33.

29 I. H. Qureshī, *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan sul-continent*, The Hague 1962, p. 186.

30 *Maktūbāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, Khudā Bakhsh Library, Bānkīpūr, Patna, No. 3018, Letter No. 1. The seal dated 1189/1775-76 on the letter does not show that the letter was written in 1189 but it might have been written sometime about that date.

31 Muḡammad 'Adud al-Dīn, Hadrat Shāh Walī Allāh awr Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz Muḡaddith Dihlawī se Mut'alliq chand ghalat rawāyāt, *Burhān*, Delhi, November 1964, pp. 209-301; Nawwāb Sadr Yār Jang Mawlānā Ḥabīb al-Rahmān Khān Shirwānī, Qārī 'Abd al-Rahmān Sāhib Muḡaddith Pānīpatī, *Ma'ārif*, III, 27, p. 195.

32 His name was Archibald Seton.

Fakhr al-Dīn removed their misunderstanding.³³ Nizāmī, who in his biographical account of Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn, himself gives the date of Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn's death as 27 Jumāda II, 1199/7 May 1785,³⁴ could not have recalled that Delhi was annexed by the East India Company only in 1803 and that Archibald Seton was the Resident of Delhi from 1806 to 1811. Nizāmī also says that when the Shī'ī influence increased in Delhi, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's troubles grew. At that critical hour, Shāh Fakhr Sāhib came to his rescue and gave him hospitality. He then quotes *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya*:

“When the government officials expelled the sons of Shāh Walī-Allāh from their house and confiscated it, he (Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn) kept them in his own house and took care of them. Ultimately the Mawlānā had the house restored to them and took them there with honour and respect.”³⁵

Although the story that Mīrzā Najaf Khān persecuted Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz is legendary, it seems that the Shāh was alarmed by Mīrzā Najaf Khān's dominance. For example Hakīm Mīrzā Muhammad Kāmil, the author of the *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, a rejoinder to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, who, before the Shāh published the above work, was his friend,³⁶ says, “When Dhū'lfaqār al-Dawla Bahādur (Mīrzā Najaf Khān) dominated the administration of Delhi and was virtually a king, his heart was alienated from his lordship (makhdūmī i.e. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz) because of his (the Shāh's) devotion to extremist Nāsibī³⁷ and Khārijī³⁸ ideologies. The learned Nāsib (a title used by the Hakīm and other Shī'ī scholars for the Shāh) was alarmed and wrote the *Izhār al-Haqq* in which he proved that he himself and his father were Shī'īs and were devoted to the *Ahl al-Bayt*. He (the Shāh) dissociated himself from his (Sunni) faith and sent the treatise to the Amīr al-Umarā' Bahādur (Mīrzā Najaf Khān) through some Sayyids and obtained the intercession of some leading personalities. This relieved him (the Shāh) from the fear of death.”³⁹

33 K. A. Nizāmī, *Tārikh-i Mashā'ikh-i Chisht*, Delhi 1953, p. 493.

34 *Ibid*, p. 513.

35 *Ibid*, p. 493.

36 Mawlawī Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī, *Nujūm al-Samā'*, Lucknow 1303/1885, p. 352.

37 *Infra*, pp. 263, 363.

38 Deserters from 'Alī's army after the battle of Siffin.

39 Hakīm Mīrzā Muhammad, *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, Lucknow, n.d. I, p. 111. Possibly on the basis of the *Izhār al-Haqq* Mawlawī Khayr al-Dīn Muhammad Ilāhābādī wrote the *Tawallā-i 'Aziz* showing that the Shāh was secretly a Shī'ī (India Office, London, D. P. 273a).

No copy of the *Izhār al-Haqq* is available. The work is also not mentioned in the list of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's works. However an untitled treatise by the Shāh⁴⁰ shows that not only the Shi'is but also the Sunni sūfi (*pirzādas*) who, as the Shāh feared, were jealous of his popularity, propagated a story that Shāh Walī-Allāh believed that Imām Husayn was not martyred. The Shāh wrote the above treatise to refute these allegations against his father and to show that his family was deeply devoted to *Ahl al-Bayt*.⁴¹ Although the Hakīm alleged that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz dissociated himself from Sunnism, the untitled treatise and the *Izhār al-Haqq* might be the same work. What one can confidently assume is that the Shāh was not persecuted by Mirzā Najaf Khān or else the Hakīm would have made a great fuss about it.⁴²

A document, not until now known, gives an interesting story of the loss and restoration of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's property. The document features in "extracts from the Proceedings of the Hon'ble, the Governor-General in Council in the Political Dept., under date the 16th July 1807".⁴³ It shows that fifty-one *bighas*⁴⁴ of land conferred as *madad-i ma'āsh* on Shāh Walī-Allāh by Emperor 'Alamgir II (1167-1173/1754-1760) in the first year of his reign were seized by Begum Sāhiba Mahal, one of the principal queens of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh after her return from Qandahār in 1774. Sāhiba Mahal did not seize it simply because she happened to be a Shi'i and the Shāh was a Sunni but because the land was part of the *tuyūl*⁴⁵ of the Begum although it had changed hands many times. The report of the *qānūngūs*⁴⁶ and *chawdhris*⁴⁷ of *pargana*⁴⁸ Haveli Pālam⁴⁹ following

40 The title *Risāla dar i'tiqād-i Shāh Walī-Allāh* in the Radā Library, Rāmpūr manuscript was given by the copyist.

41 *Risāla dar i'tiqād-i Shāh Walī-Allāh*, Radā Library, Rāmpūr 1895 ff. 1b-8b.

42 Even the Shi'i authors uncritically relied on legends about Mirzā Najaf Khān. For example, Mawlawī Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī states that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz did not publish his name in the introduction of the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* for fear of Najaf Khān. The *Tuhfa* was published in 1204/1789 while Mirzā Najaf Khān had died in April 1782. (*Nujūm al-Samā'*, p. 353.)

43 Punjab Archives, Lahore, *Index to Vol. I, the Punjab Secretariat, Delhi Residency and Agency* 1806-57, Case No. 3, Lahore 1911.

44 A *bigha* is about 3,000 sq. yards.

45 *Tuyūl*, *jāgīr* and *iqṭā'* were synonyms for the revenue assigned by the Emperor to the members of the royal family.

46 The officers of the *pargana* who maintained the records of the annual medium yield of the villages and price trends.

47 Village headman who was required to keep the Mughal officers informed about the cultivated areas in the villages, and who helped with the realisation of revenue.

48 For the convenience of administration several villages were grouped into *parganas*.

49 The site of present Delhi airport.

upon a reference made by the Resident of Delhi to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's petition to the British gives the following facts:

"I have received your Pervannah regarding a report respecting the rent free land of Shah Ubd-ool-Uzeez the particulars of which I have to state as follows. Fifty-one pucca beeghas of rent-free land in the village of Noorbaug are registered as the Mulk⁵⁰ property of Shah Wallee Oollah the father of Shah Ubd-ool-Uzeez according to a grant under the seal of Umdat-ool-Moolk Asif Jah Nizam-ool-Moolk Bahadur dated in the 6th year of the reign of Allum Gheer II."

"In the fuslee year of 1167 (1760) the land was measured and remained three years in his possession viz. until the end of the fuslee year 1169 (1762). In the following year (1170 fuslee/1763), the village was annexed to the Teyool of the late Begum Shahebah Mehel⁵¹ as it was then customary to grant annual patents for charity lands to the holders thereof either under the seal of the Jagheerदार, or under that of the officers of the Khalsah and as it would appear that the said Shah on account of some difference of opinion in religious matters did not apply to the Begum Shahebah Mehel for a patent of this description no patent was issued and his land was not released.

"After this in the fuslee year 1179 (1772) which answers the year of 1186 of the Hijree and to the 13th year of the reign of His late Majesty Firdoos Manzil, (Shāh 'Ālam), His Majesty on repairing to Delhi separated the village Noorbaug from the Teyool or private property of the said Begum and annexed it to the Khalsah—Shah Ubd-ool-Uzeez then produced his sunnuds to Muckhoo Khan, the Tehsildar of Pergunnah Haveli Palum who after examining them issued the necessary patent in the same year and the land continued one year in the possession of the Shah—Afterwards the village was attached a second time in the fuslee year 1181 (1774) by the said Begum and the charity land in consequence of the abovementioned difference of opinion was not released. During the time of Ghoolaum Kadir (1788) the village was separated from the Teyool and again annexed to the Khalsah land in which state it still continues. In consequence of the produce of the charity land being included

50 *Mulk* (milk), *amlāk*, *suyūrghāl* and *madad-i ma'āsh* were revenue-free grants of land for specific charitable, educational or social purposes.

51 *Supra*, p. 46.

Shāh Walī-Allāh died in August 1762 and it would seem that the managers of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's estate did not apply for the renewal of the grant in 1763 for at that time, Najib al-Dawla was dictator in Delhi and there would have been no problem in the Shāh taking possession of his land. However, as Sāhibā Mahal had left Delhi in 1757 and returned in 1774, she was not responsible for actions taken in 1763 and 1772. The differences of the Shāh with the Shī'i Begum have been exaggerated to justify the claim.

in the general produce of the village, Jummah⁵² thereof in former years cannot be ascertained but in conformity to your Pervannah I have now ascertained from Dooliah the Ryot by whom it is cultivated that in the present fuslee year 1214 the produce of the Khurreef crops amounted to nearly 28 rupees and that the Rubbee crop yielded nothing.

Sd. Cheyt Sing Chowdree and Canoongo
Set Mul Chowdree and Canoongo

A true translation

Sd. A. Seton

Resident at Delhi

Translation."

The *tahsildār* also made the following submission :

"Translation of a Report from Mahomed Khan, Tehseeldar of Havelee Palam, Pergannahs in the immediate vicinity of Delhi. Received on the 24 June 1807.

"I have received your Pervannah requiring information respecting the Mulk (or rent-free land) of Shah Ubd-ool-Uzeez, the particulars of it are as follows :—

"Fifty one pukka Beeghas of rent free land, are registered in the Shāh's name according to ancient grants in the village of Noorbaug in Pergunnah Havelee Palam. During the five years of my holding the office of Tehseeldar the produce of the land has been included in the Income of Government. In the present year the Ryots of Noorbaug have cultivated about 21 Beeghas of the said land and paid into the Treasury the sum, Rupees 28 as the Jummah thereof.

Seal of Mahomed Khan

A true translation

Sgd. Archd. Seton

Resident at Delhi."

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's (attorney's) petition does not give the story of how the property was possessed and lost more than once. It simply mentions only one transfer.

"TRANSLATION OF A DURKHOST PRESENTED BY THE VAKEEL OF SHAH ABDUL AZEEZ DURVESH

"In the first year of the reign of the Emperor Alumgheer according to the instruction of the Sunnuds under the seal of the Vazier Ul Mumalik

52 Standard valuation of the village or *jāgīr*.

Ausefjah Bahadur and Selahuddin the Sudder Ul Suddoor and Musaheb Ally Khan 51 beeghas of land were granted for religious uses for a mudrissa to the religious and learned Shah Wallee Ullah the true believer deceased. Pervannahs are ready to be produced under the signature of Fuzul Khan and Mahomed Yakooob Khan deceased, dated the 14th year of Jeloossee and a letter under the seal of Muckoo Khan deceased in the year 14 Jeloossee and the statement of the boundaries signed by the zamindars etc. till the year 14 Jeloossee of the Emperor Shah Allum. Shah Walee Ullah father of my principal and after his death my principal remained in possession. After the 14th year Jeloossee, Nowab Sahebee Mehal arrived from her native country (Willaut)⁵³ and got possession of these places and villages and on account of a difference on religious grounds attached the property. Although my principal represented his right it was not attended to.

As under the British Government justice is decreed to all, your Petitioner is in hope that an order to relinquish the property in question may be given that it may be appropriated for the religious uses and the holy sepulchre of Shah Wallee Ullah the father of your petitioner's principal Shah Abdool Azeez.

(True Translation)
Sd. W. Spedding, Superintendent
(A true copy)
Sd. Archd. Seton
Resident at Delhi."

Immediately the Superintendent of Revenue wrote the following letter of recommendation dated 24 October 1806:

"I have the honour to enclose a copy of Durkhost presented to me by the Vakeel of Shah Abdul Azeez, esteemed one of the most learned and religious men in Delhi, as you are well acquainted with the character, it is unnecessary further to allude to it—It appears that in the first year of the reign of Allumgheer the 2nd, his father Shah Wullee Oollah obtained a grant of 51 Beeghas of ground for religious purposes, and the support of a Madrussa which he enjoyed during his life and after his son Shah Abdul Azeez, till the 14th year of Shah Allum, when the village in which it is situated being given in the Jagheer to the Begum Saheba Mulk (on account of some difference in their religious tenets) the ground was attached by her orders.

53 In Indian Persian, *Afghānistān*, *Īrān* and England are described as *wilāyat*, hence the British documents translate the word very confusingly. Here 'Afghānistān' and not the native country is meant.

"After so long a lapse, it may not be regular to admit the claim, yet from the high and general estimation in which the character of Shah Abdul Azeez is held for learning and piety, and the trifling value of the ground, the possession of which he wishes to maintain, it strikes me that Government, on a representation of the case, might have no objection to restore it to him, which, to avoid a bad precedent, might be done probably by a new grant, referring to the general respect for his character and a wish to contribute to the comfort of his old age.

"I have the less hesitation in addressing you on the subject, as I am convinced that you will not submit the Petition to Government unless you conceive the reasons which induce me to recommend it are such as are likely to meet the favourable consideration of the Honourable the Governor General in Council.

"I have the honour further to enclose a translation of the petition with copies of the different Sunnuds to prevent giving you unnecessary trouble in the event of your judging the petition of a preference for submission to Government."

The proceedings of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council in the Political Department under date the 16th July 1807 reproduce only the following extracts from the letter of the Resident at Delhi dated 30th June 1807. It says :

"Para 5. There is a small piece of ground (containing 54 Beeghas) situated in the vicinity of Delhi which formerly belonged to the late Shah Wullee Oolah the father of Maulavee Shah Ubd ool Uzeez and after the death, succeeded to the latter in which possession it continued until the Fuslee year 1170, when he was deprived of it through the influence of Shahebeh Mehel, the Widow of Mahomed Shah who being a bigotted Shea, took an aversion to Ubd ool Azeez in consequence of his being a Soonee, and appropriated the ground to herself. This was considered as a great hardship, the lands having been bestowed upon Shah Wullee Oolah by a regular grant under the seal of Asif Jah Nizam ool Moolk, in the reign of Alumgeer II, the father of the late Majesty, and the produce having been appropriated [for] the maintenance of a Mad-rissa. Unable however to contend with the power of the Begum, and seeing no prospect of redress, he submitted to the cop of the ground.

"6. As it is known that the endeavouring to redress as well as to prevent wrongs is one of the leading features of the system of the British Government, the Moulavee presented a petition in October last to Mr. Spedding the Superintendent of the Assigned Territory, praying that the land might be returned to him, this petition was referred to me by the Superintendent, and though I have every inclination to promote the object it then appeared to me to be impracticable as the Vakeel employed by the Moulavee being misinformed as to the state of the land in question, repre-

sented it to be still in the possession of the Royal Territory in which case any interference would have been difficult and might have troubled the arrangement made by the Right Honourable Lord Lake.⁵⁴ According to which it was understood that none of the Jagheers etc. in the possession of the Royal Territory, previously to the country coming under the protection of the British Government, were to be resumed. Having however lately discovered in the course of conversing with the Moulavee that the Ground belongs to the Khalsah of Nizam⁵⁵ lands of the Assigned territory, I immediately instituted an enquiry into the Circumstances thereof and found that it continued in the possession of Shahebeh Mehel until the year 1788, when during the confusion occasioned by the Rebellion of Ghoulam Kader, it was annexed to the Khalsah lands, or land assigned with the payment of Revenue, in which state it has continued ever since. The land is situated in Pergunnah Haveli Palam and its present produce is estimated at Rupees 27 per annum.

"7. As the general character of the Moulavee is most respectable and as his conduct upon the occasion of tumult at this place was no less marked by mildness and moderation than regulated by sound judgement, I think it my duty to recommend his request to the favourable consideration of the Honble the Governor General in Council. The circumstances of the ground having belonged to his father, renders it interesting to his feelings.

"8. For the further information of the Honble the Governor General in Council, I have the honour to transmit enclosed copies of the letter on the subject which I received from the Superintendent of the Revenue of the Assigned Territory and the Memorial addressed to him by Moulavee Shah Ubd ool Uzeez."

54 The grant of eleven and a half lakhs a year, including Rs. 60,000 per month as personal allowance to the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam was made on the following condition: "This money was to be raised from the revenue of land west of the Jumna known as the Assigned Territory. While the receipts from this tract were less than the sum guaranteed, the amount was to be supplemented from government funds. In the event of any surplus above the stipulated sum in the future, it would by implication accrue to the royal treasury. The lands assigned were the *mahals* west of the Jumna, 'situate between the west and north of Mauza Kabilpore'. Their management was to be in the hands of the Resident and the expense of administration was to be borne by the Company. The receipts were to be checked by two royal *mutasaddis* who would attend the Cutcherry and note the receipts. Two courts were to be established, one revenue and one criminal, and in the latter Muslim law was to be administered. A *Qazi* and a *Mufti* were to be appointed to these courts. Punishment of death or mutilation decreed by these courts was to be submitted to the King by the Resident for confirmation." Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughuls*, Cambridge 1951, p. 38.

55 Governed by the English.

The Secretary to Government also took no time in despatching the following approval of the Government to Seton:

"2nd. Your proposition for restoring to Moulavee Shah Abdool Azeez the lands in Hevelee Palam formerly held by him amounting to 51 Bighas, is entirely approved by Government and the necessary orders for carrying the arrangement into effect will be issued from the Revenue Dept.

"Ordered that an Extract from the foregoing correspondence be sent to the Revenue Department, from whence orders are to be issued for carrying into effect, the proposed grant to Moulavee Shah Abdool Azeez, as recommended by Mr. Seton.

A true Extract

Sd. A. Adams

Dy. Supdt. to Government."⁵⁶

As mentioned earlier, the property itself was not of any great value but its immediate restoration to the Shāh shows the British concern to cultivate Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's friendship. The victory over the Shī'i Begum, although she was no longer alive, must have given Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz great satisfaction and his disciples a sense of pride. However as we shall see, the Shāh had declared India a *dār al-harb* after the British occupation of Delhi. Seton's remarks that "his (Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's) conduct upon the occasion of the tumult at this place was no less marked by mildness and moderation than regulated by sound judgement" tend to indicate that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's first *fatwa* (religious decree) caused a considerable sensation.⁵⁷ His followers believed that he would issue a *fatwa* for *hijrat* (emigration) or *jihād* (religious war), but his later *fatwas* on the subject, as we shall see, exhibit his far-sighted statesmanship.⁵⁸ He began to teach that the end of the Mughal imperial power, for the emperors were reduced to puppets even before Shāh 'Ālam, did not mean the end of the Muslim community. In the changed circumstances Muslims should fulfil their religious obligations differently. In a letter mentioned in chapter four, he categorically declared that *hijrat* from the British territories was not obligatory.⁵⁹ Although opposed by Shāh Ghulām Naqshband⁶⁰, he allowed his son-in-law to help the Muslim officers employed by the British

56 Extract from the Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council in the Political Department under date the 16th July 1807. Punjab Archives, Lahore, Pākistān. *Index to Vol. I, the Punjab Secretariat, Delhi Residency and Agency 1806-57*, Case No. 3.

57 *Infra*, pp. 226-228.

58 *Infra*, pp. 228-235.

59 *Infra*, pp. 236-237.

60 *Infra*, Chapter 8.

by giving *fatwas*. To the Shāh, the acquisition of an English education and service under the British were lawful so long as they did not become instruments for undermining Muslim interests.⁶¹

From Seton's time onwards, the British valued Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's friendship deeply and strove hard to strengthen it. However, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's relations with them were formal and businesslike. He was impressed by Seton's friendly gestures. The latter called on the Shāh in the *madrasa* two or three times but, despite Seton's requests, the Shāh did not make a return call. According to the Shāh, Seton intended to raise a memorial near Shāh Walī-Allāh's birth place in old Delhi (now New Delhi) but the project petered out. The Shāh considered Seton ignorant and a flatterer. Seton's assistant, William Frazer, who was a revenue expert, also frequently visited the Shāh and impressed him, on the other hand, as being reasonably well-informed and a good friend. Frazer seems to have attended lessons in Persian and Arabic under Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. Another English visitor, Alexander, was also deemed an ignoramus by the Shāh. According to him, although Alexander had no faith in amulets, after the death of five of his children he felt compelled to request the Shāh for an amulet.⁶²

The Shāh's family tradition suggests that Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Seton's First Assistant and Resident of Delhi between 1811-1819 and 1825-27, was also impressed by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. An anecdote relates how a Christian missionary came to Delhi for religious discussions, and only Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz was a match for him. Metcalfe said that a discussion could take place providing that the one who was defeated would pay Rs. 2,000, adding that, if it were Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, he would pay the money on his behalf as the Shāh was a dervish. The missionary agreed and asked the Shāh to give him a reply based on reason and not on scripture. His question was why Prophet Muhammad, who was believed to be God's friend, did not appeal to God to save his grandson Imām Husayn from martyrdom. The Shāh replied that when the Prophet went to implore God, he heard a voice from the Unseen saying "Certainly your grandson was cruelly put to death by a body of tyrants but I cannot help for at this moment thoughts of my own son's (Christ's) crucifixion have upset me." The Shāh concluded that this statement silenced the Prophet. The missionary then lost his nerve and paid Rs. 2,000 to the Resident.⁶³

In the 1820s, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī Naqshband, who will be discussed in chapter eight, fought stubbornly against a scheme for Muslims to join the British service, while Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz sent his own son-in-law to

61 *Infra*, pp. 237-41.

62 *Malfūzāt*, p. 117.

63 Mawlawī Zahīr al-Dīn Sayyid Ahmad (ed.), *Kamālāt-i 'Azīzī*, Karāchī 1973, p. 10.

serve the British.⁶⁴ A number of the Shāh's important disciples and their relatives and friends also joined the British service. Naturally the British officers left no stone unturned to increase the Shāh's involvement with the British administration. Five-and-a-half months before the Shāh's death, I. H. Taylor, Secretary to the Delhi Local Agency, pleading for the establishment of a College in Delhi devoted solely to oriental learning, recommended Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz as the most suitable person to act as its head. He wrote :

"The erudition of Maulawee Shah Abdool Uzeez Sahib, as a doctor of Mohammadan law and theology and his reputation for sanctity of life and love of literature, being held in the highest estimation not only in the city of his birth but all over India from the most distant point from which scientific men resort to his school of Philosophy to complete their researches and to satisfy their doubts nothing would seem more desirable than to place at the Head of the suggested Institution, so quiet a character ; his reiterated refusals however, to exchange the independence of literary pursuit for the cares of a Public Life forbid the repetition of further overtures. Accordingly Maulawee Rasheedod Deen Khan Sahib, the most distinguished pupil of Shah Abdool Uzeez, and certainly at present reputed next in degree to his master in oriental law and also like him the head of an Academy of Speculative Philosophy, Criticism and Theology, would appear the fittest person for the chief professorship in the College."⁶⁵

However, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz did not prefer British rule to the rule of the Shī'is of Awadh. The rule of Nawwāb Wazīr was not *dār al-harb* but *dār al-rifā*.⁶⁶ To him, although no divine blessing was attached to it, British rule was even less blessed. He once remarked that should Ghāzī al-Dīn Haydar, the ruler of Awadh, unconditionally invite him without pressing him to accept *mansab* or *jāgīr*, he was ready to go. If the ruler did not interfere with his work, (God willing) he would adopt a new style of sermon in the hope that people would embrace the *dīn-i Haqq* (Sunnism). He added that he was not scared of being assassinated provided that he met martyrdom while involved in his life's mission (the propagation of Sunnism).⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *Infra*, pp. 237-41.

⁶⁵ I. H. Taylor, Secretary to the Local Agency to H. H. Wilson, Junior Member and Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction, ff. 44a-b, India Office Records, IOR F/4/909, Collection No. 25694.

⁶⁶ Territory dominated by the Rāfidīs or Shī'is, a new term of condemnation ; *Malfūzāt*, p. 50.

⁶⁷ *Malfūzāt*, p. 51.

However, the Shāh did not meet with much success in converting the Shi'is of Delhi to Sunnism. In a conversation, he once remarked that he had converted hundreds of Hindus to Islam but among the bigoted Shi'i sects only three or four people had embraced Sunnism.⁶⁸ He hoped that two or three more would follow. The most ironical event was, however, the conversion of Sayyid Qamar al-Dīn Husaynī of Sonipat to Shi'ism. A Sunni, the Sayyid had studied under Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir and Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn. He had learned hadith from Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz.⁶⁹ The latter, as we shall discuss in the third chapter, had written a short work of hadith entitled the '*Ujāla-i Nāfi'a* for the Sayyid to study.

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz was sorely disappointed to note that the English made fun of prayers. Once an Englishman saw some Muslims praying to God with raised hands. He scornfully asked what the Muslims were doing and whom they were addressing. The Shāh replied that they prayed in obedience to God's command and did not bother about other people's sarcastic jokes.⁷⁰ The Shāh believed that the intellectual capacity of the English was very sharp in the mechanical arts and in mastering detail. They were also very keen on mathematics but they did not completely understand the subtle complexities of logic and metaphysical discussions about God. They were also slow in learning the physical sciences.⁷¹ The Shāh praised the English for their organizational ability in warfare.⁷²

Until his death, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz delivered sermons in his *madrasa* on Tuesdays and Saturdays. A large interested audience collected there. In his sermons he generally elucidated complex and difficult points of Qur'ānic exegesis in the light of existing exegetical works such as *Tafsīr Baydāwī*, *Tafsīr Nishāpūrī* and *Tafsīr Kashshāf*. His sermons removed his listeners' doubts. The Shāh also devoted considerable time to answering complex problems in the *sharī'a* and to writing *fatwas* (rulings on religious problems).

We have already mentioned that the Shāh's brothers were equally talented and attained great fame and prestige, but all of them died during the Shāh's own lifetime.⁷³ First of all Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī died on 16 Rajab 1203/12 April 1789. On 23 Jumāda II, 1228/23 June 1813 Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir passed away. Five Shawwāl 1233/8 August 1818 saw

68 *Malfūzāt*, p. 22.

69 Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat-al khawātir*, Haydarābād (Deccan) 1957, VII, p. 390.

70 *Malfūzāt*, pp. 78-79.

71 *Malfūzāt*, p. 51. According to the Shāh the Hindu mind was very good at arithmetic.

72 *Malfūzāt*, p. 18.

73 *Ibid*, p. 79.

the death of Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn.⁷⁴ Their deaths did not, however, undermine the Shāh's work in the seminary and his son-in-law, nephew and other relatives and disciples remained to assist him. On 7 Shawwāl 1239/ 5 June 1824 Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz himself died. He was succeeded by one of his daughter's sons, Muhammad Ishāq. The famous Urdu poet, Hakim Mu'min Khān Mu'min wrote a touching elegy containing the chronogram of the Shāh's death.⁷⁵

The legends surrounding the Shāh's life, describing his miraculous power over fairies, demons and spirits are numerous. He was known as an expert in interpreting dreams. Like his father, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz used to prescribe prayers for blessings, benedictions and for averting calamities. He also wrote charms and amulets both to repair broken fortunes and to ensure a successful future.

The Family of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and his Brothers

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz had no sons. A male child Ahmad was born to him but he died in infancy. He had three daughters. The eldest was married to Mawlānā Muhammad 'Īsa, Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn's eldest son. The second one was married to Shaykh Muhammad Afdal Fārūqī and their two sons Mawlānā Muhammad Ishāq (b. 1197/1782-83) and Mawlānā Muhammad Ya'qūb (b. 1200/1785-86) were very learned. The third daughter's husband was Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy, the grandson of Shāh Nūr-Allāh (Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's father-in-law) and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's wife's nephew. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy had no son from Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's daughter, but Mawlānā 'Abd al-Qayyūm Muhaddith was born by his second wife and became a very famous hadīth scholar. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Qayyūm married Shāh Muhammad Ishāq's daughter.

Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn's four sons, Mawlawī Muhammad Mūsā, Mawlawī Muhammad 'Īsa, Mawlawī Makhsūs-Allāh and Mawlawī Muhammad Hasan were famous teachers and scholars. No authentic information about Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir's sons is available. Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī's son Mawlānā Muhammad Ismā'il was both a scholar and a militant puritan. The careers of Shāh 'Abd al-Hayy, Shāh Muhammad Ishāq and Mawlānā

74 Different dates for the deaths of the three brothers are given in sources. The above dates have been taken from Abū Salmān Shāhjahānpūrī's article 'Tadhkira-i khānwāda-i Walī Allāh' in *al-Walt*, Haydarābād (Sind), January 1973, pp. 317-21. Shāhjahānpūrī published extracts from the *Tadhkira-i Ahl-i Dihlī* by (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khān with footnotes. Syed Ahmad's notes on the 'ulamā' and sūfis in the above work are exceedingly laudatory but are very poor in dates and biographical accounts.

75 Mawlānā Nasīm Ahmad, "Sirāj al-Hind Hadrat Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Muhaddith Dihlawī: Mukhtasar hālāt", *al-Rahīm*, June 1967, p. 34.

Muhammad Ismā'il, who played a most important role in the *jihād* movement, will be discussed in the seventh chapter.

Disciples

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's three brothers, his two grandsons by his three daughters, his nephew Mawlānā Muhammad Ismā'il and his son-in-law Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy, were his leading disciples. Mawlānā Nasīm Ahmad mentions the names of forty-four of the Shāh's disciples. Of these fourteen belonged to Delhi and the others were from Sonipat, Rāmpūr, Bareilly, Kāndhla, Bijnor, Amroha, Malihābād, Lucknow, Kākori, Faydābād, Khayrābād, Rae Bareli, Qannauj, Ganj Murādābād, Machhlīshahr (Jawnpūr) and Chirayyakot (A'zamgarh).⁷⁶ Most of these had also studied under his brothers and it is better to call them disciples of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's seminary.

The most prominent among Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's disciples was Mawlawī Muhammad Rashīd al-Dīn Khān, the son of Mawlawī Amin al-Dīn. He was born in about 1763. He studied under Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir but completed his training under Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, who was deeply interested in Mawlawī Rashīd al-Dīn's career. He also specialised in astronomy and arithmetic. After writing the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' Ashariyya* in 1204/1789-90, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and his brothers no longer actively involved themselves in the Shī'i-Sunnī debates which the *Tuhfa* had generated. Among the Shāh's disciples, it was Mawlawī Rashīd al-Dīn who devoted his entire energy to refuting the Shī'i works. Some of his polemical books will be discussed in chapter six. According to (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khān, Mawlawī Rashīd al-Dīn was such a powerful debater that his Shī'i rivals were forced to surrender before his arguments,⁷⁷ although the facts, as we shall see, show that Sir Syed was not impartial.

He also wrote a treatise *I'ānat al-muwahhidīn wa ihānat al-muwahhidīn* refuting Rāja Rām Mohan Rā'i's *Tuhfat al-mawahhidīn*.⁷⁸ Mawlawī Rashīd al-Dīn's *Tashrih al-aflāk* is a treatise on astronomy.

The East India Company wished to appoint him the *qādī* of Delhi but he would not agree. However, he accepted a professorship of Arabic, although the Rs. 100 which he received as salary were not sufficient for his family expenses and charities. He continued to lead an ascetic life. He died in 1249/1833 at the age of seventy.⁷⁹

Of his students, Mawlānā Mamlūk 'Ali, son of Shaykh Ahmad 'Ali of Nānawta (Sahāranpūr), had started his higher education under Shāh

⁷⁶ *al-Rahīm*, p. 36.

⁷⁷ Sir Syed Ahmad Khān, *Tadhkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, Karāchī 1955, p. 70.

⁷⁸ Rāja Rām Mohan Rā'i wrote his *Tuhfat al-muwahhidīn* in 1803. (Calcutta 1859). See A. K. Ray, *The Religious ideas of Rammohun Roy*, New Delhi 1976.

⁷⁹ *Tadhkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, p. 90.

'Abd al-'Aziz. He was born in about 1787. On 1 June 1825 he was appointed assistant professor of Arabic at Delhi College under Rashid al-Din at Rs. 50 per mensem and was promoted to professorship on 8 November 1841 at Rs. 100 per mensem. He was devoted solely to teaching, and trained a galaxy of scholars who played a very important role in post-1857-58 educational activity. In 1844 he translated the first four chapters of Euclid into Urdu from Arabic, and the *Sunan* of Tirmidhi (hadith) and the *Tārikh-i Yamini* (History of the Ghaznavids) into Urdu. On 7 October 1851, Mawlānā Mamlūk 'Alī died.⁸⁰

Two of the Shāh's very talented disciples were each other's life-long friends. They were Mawlānā Fadl-i Haqq Khayrābādī and Mufti Sadr al-Din Āzardā. Mufti Sadr al-Din was a Kashmiri but his parents were settled in Delhi where he was born in 1204/1789. He studied traditional sciences under Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir and Shāh Muhammad Ishāq, acquiring rational sciences under Mawlawi Fadl-i Imām Khayrābādī, the *sadr al-sudūr* (Chief Judge) of the British judiciary in Delhi. He learned poetry writing from Shāh Nāsir and Mir Mu'min Dihlawī and composed poetry in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. He adopted "Āzardā" as his *nom-de-plume*. Towards the beginning of the 1820s he was appointed the *sadr al-sudūr* of Delhi by the British. (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khan has extolled his piety, humanitarian nature and scholarship. To (Sir) Syed, Sadr al-Din's justice resembled that of Nūshirwān and the Caliph 'Umar.⁸¹ The eminent 'ulamā' of Delhi, including some distinguished disciples of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and his brothers, frequently called on him. Each week eminent Urdu poets such as Ghālib, Sahbā'i, Mu'min, Nayyar, Nithār, Shayafatā, and others held an assembly at Sadr al-Din's house and recited their verses. In May 1857, Sadr al-Din joined Bahādūr Shāh Zafar's court. In July 1857 the leading 'ulamā' of Delhi issued a *fatwa* that active participation in the war against the British was imperative for Muslims.⁸² Sadr al-Din also affixed his seal. The *fatwa* was widely circulated in Delhi and in other towns and was also published in Urdu newspapers. After the suppression of the rebellion at the end of September 1857, Sadr al-Din was imprisoned and his entire property confiscated. A few months later his plea that he was compelled to join the mutineers and to issue the *fatwa* was accepted and some of his property was released. He retired to a quiet life of teaching, and died on 24 Rabi' I, 1285/15 July 1868.⁸³

80 Muhammad Ayyūb Qādirī, "Mawlānā Mamlūk 'Alī Nānawtawī", *al-Rahīm*, Haydarābād (Sind), pp. 165-78.

81 *Tadhkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, p. 59.

82 Facsimile of the *fatwa* in S. A. A. Rizvi, *Swatantra Dihlī* (Hindi), Lucknow 1957, p. 50.

83 Muhammad Ayyūb Qādirī, *Khānwāda-i Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī kā tadhkira*, *al-Rahīm*, May 1965, pp. 39-42.

Sadr al-Dīn's friend, Fadl-i Haqq Khayrābādī, belonged to a distinguished family of scholars whose ancestors had migrated to India in the thirteenth century and were closely related to Shāh Walī-Allāh's ancestors. Fadl-i Haqq's ancestors finally settled in Khayrābād (in Sitāpūr district) near Lucknow. Fadl-i Haqq's father, Fadl-i Imām was a distinguished scholar of the rational sciences and had established a seminary at Delhi. Many scholars who specialised in traditional sciences at the seminary belonging to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and his brothers, studied logic and philosophy there. He also served as the *sadr al-sudūr* of Delhi under the British and was considered a member of the élite. He wrote a number of commentaries on important philosophical works. Before his death he retired to Khayrābād and died on 5 Dhu'lqa'da 1240/21 June 1825.⁸⁴ Fadl-i Imām's talented son Fadl-i Haqq was born in 1212/1797-98. He studied hadith under Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir but also attended Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's sermons. His own father taught him logic and philosophy and he is said to have completed his education at the young age of thirteen and then started teaching. He also wrote poetry both in Arabic and Persian. When Mufti Āzarda was *sadr al-sudūr*, Mawlānā Fadl-i Haqq was appointed to work under him. He did not serve the British for long but retired to the Indian royal courts. On different occasions he worked at the courts of Nawwāb Fayd Muhammad Khān of Jhajjar, Mahārāja of Alwar and Nawwāb Yūsuf 'Alī Khān of Rāmpūr. Besides (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khān, the famous Urdu poet Mirzā Asad-Allāh Khān Ghālīb was his great admirer. The Mirzā deeply missed Ghālīb.⁸⁵ Towards 1848 the Mawlānā was appointed administrator of *huzūr tahsil* (estates which paid revenue directly to the headquarters treasury) at Lucknow and seems to have developed some sympathy for the Awadh government. In August 1857, Mawlānā Fadl-i Haqq joined Bahādur Shāh's Delhi court and became the Emperor's adviser. After the fall of Delhi, the Mawlānā joined the revolutionaries under Mawlawī Ahmad-Allāh known as the Mawlawī of Faydābād. He was present at Puwāyān (in Shāhjahanpūr) when the Mawlawī was shot dead on 16 June 1858.⁸⁶ The Mawlānā returned to Khayrābād, was arrested, and in 1859 was deported to Andaman islands for life imprisonment. Some other 'alims, such as Mufti 'Ināyat Ahmad of Kākori and Mufti Mazhar Karīm etc., had already been sent to Andaman islands. As a prisoner, Fadl-i Haqq was forced to do hard labour but his free time was devoted to scholarly pursuits. It was in Andaman that the Mawlānā wrote the *Thawrat al-Hindiyya*, an account of the factors

84 *Tadhkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, pp. 85-86. 'Abd al-Shāhid Khān Shirwānī, *al-Thawrat al-Hindiyya*, (*Bāghī Hindūstān*), Lahore 1978, second edition, pp. 66-74.

85 *Thawrat al-Hindiyya*, pp. 86-90.

86 S. A. A. Rizvi and M. L. Bhārgava, *Freedom Struggle in U. P.*, Lucknow 1958, II, p. 149.

that led to the freedom struggle of 1857-58 and of the hardships which he had to undergo in Andaman. He also wrote an Arabic work, the *Qasā'id Fitnat al-Hind*, containing an account of the hardships endured by the Indians under British rule.⁸⁷ The drafts written in pencil were sent by the Mawlānā to his son, Mawlānā 'Abd al-Haqq in 1277/1860 through Mufti 'Ināyat who had been released. On 12 Safar 1278/19 August 1861, the Mawlānā died in Andaman. Of his works, more than a dozen on philosophy, logic and physics have survived.⁸⁸ Although these are commentaries and glosses on ancient works, they contain considerable original material. The presence of Fadl-i Haqq Khayrābādī and Fadl-i Imām in Delhi richly supplemented and complemented the orthodox teachings of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's seminary.

The Works of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz

1. *Tuhfa-i Ithmā' 'Ashariyya* (Persian), completed in 1204/1789-90 in order to stem the rising tide of the Shi'i movement in northern India. Although Mirzā Najaf died on 6 April 1782, and in 1787, the Rohella Sunni, Ghulām Qādir seized control of Delhi, blinding the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam, the Shāh did not give his commonly known name in the preface as the author of the work. He referred to himself as Ghulām Halīm, to his father as Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn and to his grandfather as Shaykh Abu'l-Fayd. None of these were well-known names although the Arabic letters of Ghulām Halīm contain the date of his birth and Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn was one of Shāh Walī-Allāh's names. Elsewhere in the *Tuhfa* he introduces Shāh Walī-Allāh thus:

"The author of the *Izālat al-khafā'* was a resident of old Delhi. He was one of the signs of divine signs and one of the miracles of the Prophet's miracles. I also obtained the blessing and honour of visiting him several times and filled my skirts with the flowers of his eloquent speeches. May Allāh reward him in heaven."⁸⁹

2. *Fath al-'Aziz* (Persian), written in 1208/1793-94 at the instigation of a friend Mawlānā Shaykh Musaddiq al-Dīn.
3. *Bustān al-muhaddithīn* (Persian). A list of *ahādith* (plural of hadīth) works and their compilers.
4. *'Ujāla-i Nāfi'a* (Persian). A short treatise on the principles of hadīth.
5. *Sirr al-Shahādātayn*⁹⁰ (Arabic). A short treatise on the secrets of the martyrdom of Imāms Hasan and Husayn.

87 *Thawrat al-Hindiyya*, pp. 251-328.

88 *Ibid*, pp. 154-55.

89 Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz, *Tuhfa-i Ithmā' 'Ashariyya*, Lucknow 1295/1878, pp. 288-89.

90 Some orthodox Sunni 'ulamā' think that this work was not written by the Shāh and is a section from some work by Bāqir Majlisī. They have not been able to

6. *Fatāwa* (Persian). A collection of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's *fatwas* (opinions on points of law). The *Fatāwā*, published in two volumes by the Mujtabā'i Press, Delhi, contains the following short treatises. (The latter have also been published separately as independent works).
 - a) *al-Sirr al-Jalīl dar fadīlat-i Shaykhayn*, written after the completion of the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*. It contains a discussion on the superiority of Abū Bakr and 'Umar over the rest of the Prophet's companions and the *Ahl al-Bayt* (members of the Prophet's family).
 - b) *Jawābāt-i sawālāt-i 'ashra-i Shāh-i Bukhārā*, answers ten questions from the ruler of Bukhārā.
7. *Dalā'il-i arba' Shi'a wa bayān-i Hadīth-i Thaqaalayn* (Persian). A refutation of the Shi'i arguments regarding 'Alī's appointment by Prophet Muhammad as his successor.
8. *Wasīlat al-najāt* (Persian). Superiority of Sunnism over Shiism.
9. *Risāla-i Fayd-i 'Amm* (Persian). A discussion concerning the superiority of Sunnism.
10. *Bayān Masā'il-i Khamr* (Persian). A discussion of the problem of intoxicating drinks.
11. *'Azīz al-iqtibās fī fadā'il akhyār* (Arabic). Seeks to prove the superiority of Abū Bakr over the rest of the Prophet's companions and pleads that the order of succession of the first four caliphs of the Prophet Muhammad is justifiable on the principles of the Qur'ān and *sunna* (traditions).
12. *Tahqīq al-rū'yat* (Arabic). A short treatise discussing the realities of dreams.
13. *Mizān al-balāghat* (Arabic). A short treatise on rhetoric.
14. *Mizān al-'aqā'id* (Arabic). A short treatise on Sunni beliefs.
15. *Fī mā yajib* (Arabic). A short treatise on the spirit of Sunnism.
16. *Risāla fī'l ansāb* (Arabic). A short treatise on genealogies.
17. *Sharh Mulla Sadra* (Arabic). A commentary of Mulla Sadra's *Hidāyat al-hikma*.
18. *Sangīt-shāstra* (Persian). A short treatise introducing and classifying *sūras* (tunes), *rāgas* (melodic entities) and *tāla* (time improvisations in music).
19. *Risāla dar i'tiqād-i Shāh Walī-Allāh* (Persian). This treatise was written to refute the propaganda of the *pirzādas* (descendants of sūfis)

(F. N. 90 Contd.)

identify Majlisi's work, although they think he was the author of *Sirr al-Shahādatayn*. Haydar 'Alī Faydābādī who knew the Shāh and was an expert on polemical works categorically refers to *Sirr al-Shahādatayn* as the work of the Shāh. *Izālat al-ghayn*, Delhi, n. d., p. 887.

stating that Shāh Wali-Allāh did not believe in Imām Husayn's martyrdom.

20. *Ma'āthir al-abrār*. A rare collection of the letters of Mawlānā Shāh Ahl-Allāh, Mawlānā Nūr-Allāh and Mawlānā Muhammad 'Ashiq to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, together with some of his replies, and letters from other members of Shāh Wali-Allāh's family to Shāh Sayyid Abū Sa'id of Rae Bareli. Some of these letters, with Urdu translations, have been published by Mawlānā Nasim Ahmad Faridī Amrohawi in *al-Furqān*, Bareilly and in *al-Rahim*, Haydarābād (Pākistān). Some Persian letters have been published by Muhammad 'Ayyūb Qādiri.
21. *Lab-i La'li*⁹¹, a Persian epistle by the Shāh in the 'Aligarh Muslim University Library, contains a perceptive discussion on Persian literary styles.

Persian and Arabic poems. According to Rahim Bakhsh⁹², the Arabic *diwān* (collection of poems) by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz was compiled although it is no longer available now. Some of his Arabic poems on contemporary political upheavals have been published. The Shāh also wrote Persian verses; some have been quoted in different works but no complete collection is available.

The Works of Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn

1. Urdū translation of the Qur'ān.
2. *Tafsir Rafī'i*. The exegesis of the *Baqra* chapter in Urdu.
3. *Asrār al-mahabbat*. (Arabic). This was written in 1214/1799-1800 and deals with the forms and secrets of love. It was written to satisfy Khwāja Hasan Mawdūdī's curiosity about love. This work, published by the Madrasa Nusrat al-'ulūm Gujrānwālā in 1383/1963-64, also contains Avicenna's *qasida* (elegy) in which he seeks to know the divine secrets of sending the soul into the world, and Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn's reply. The second poem is a *takhmīs* (verse containing five lines) incorporating Shāh Wali-Allāh's *qasida* on *nafs* (soul). The third poem is the *qasida* by Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, on Prophet Muhammad's *mi'rāj* (the night of Prophet Muhammad's ascent to divine proximity).
4. *Tafsir āyat al-Nūr*. This is an exegesis of the fifth section of the 24th chapter entitled *al-Nūr* (The Light) in the Qur'ān written in Arabic. The work seeks to elucidate the subtle points in the commentary on the "Light" chapter by Shāh Wali-Allāh in the *Sat'at* and the *Tafhimāt-i Ilāhiyya*.

91 Mawlānā Āzad Library, Muslim University 'Aligarh, Damima Adab Fārsī, No. 88.

92 Mawlānā Rahim Bakhsh, *Hayāt-i Walī*, Lahore 1972, p. 455.

5. *Damgh al-bātil* (Arabic and Persian). The work is a detailed commentary on Shāh Wālī-Allāh's philosophy of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and its reconciliation with the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*, as given in the Shah's letter to Ismā'il Āfandī. Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn was provoked into writing the work in order to refute Mawlānā Ghulām Yahya's *Kalimāt al-Haqq*. The Mawlānā was an eminent scholar and a distinguished disciple of Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān.
6. *Āthār-i qiyāmat* is a short Persian treatise dealing with the signs foretelling the approach of resurrection day. This work was written at the request of the Timūrid 'ulamā' and scholars at whose assembly the Shāh originally discussed the topic.
7. *Tisa' rasā'il*⁹³ comprises the following ten short treatises in Persian:
 - a) *Hall-i mu'amma*. The enigma of four and its explanation in Persian;
 - b) *Risāla-i sharh-i chihil kāf*. The mystical meanings of the letter *kāfi tāzi* (K) repeated forty times in verses ascribed to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilāni the founder of the Qādiriyya order;
 - c) *Risāla Jawāb sawālat-i ithnā' 'ashr*. The answers to twelve theological and mystical questions in Persian;
 - d) *Maktūb ba jawāb Shāh Ghulām 'Alī Sāhib*. A letter from Shāh Ghulām 'Alī on the reality of Ka'ba and its reply by Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn;
 - e) *Risāla-i nuzūr-i buzurgān*. A discussion on making offerings in the name of sūfī saints;
 - f) *Risāla-i bay'at*. A discussion on making *bay'a* (recognising the authority of another person, ruler or sūfī saint).
 - g) *Risāla-i hamlat al-'arsh*. The eight controllers of 'arsh (heaven).
 - h) *Sharh-i rubā'iyāt*. Comments on two mystic Persian *rubā'is*.
 - i) *Risāla-i adhān-i namāz*. A discussion on calling prayers.
 - j) *Risāla-i fawā'id-i namāz*. A treatise relating to the advantages of *namāz* (prayers).
8. *Fatāwā-i Mawlānā Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn Muhaddith*. A short collection of the *fatwas* (opinions on points of law) by Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn in Persian.
9. *Takmil al-adhhān*. Written in Arabic by Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn in 1230/1814-15 on the pattern of his father's Persian *Risāla-i dānishmandi* and dealing with teaching methods.

Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn wrote some six short treatises on prosody, Arabic literary styles and the splitting of the moon by the Prophet Muhammad,

93 There are ten and not *tisa'* (nine) short treatises.

and a commentary on Mir Zāhid's treatise on *'ilm* (knowledge) but these are not available to us.

The Works of Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir

Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir's Urdu translation of the Qur'ān is a monumental contribution but no other written work of his is known.

CHAPTER THREE

The Religious Contributions by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and His Brothers

The mission of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and his brothers was to propagate the teachings of their father, Shāh Walī-Allāh. According to Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, scholars with insight into divine matters or mysteries were divided into four schools: *muhaddithīn* (scholars of hadīth), *mutakallimūn* (scholars of *kalām* or orthodox scholasticism), *falāsifa* (metaphysicians, peripatetics and *ishrāqīs*—philosophers of illumination) and *sūfiyyas* (sūfis). To these four schools he added his father's own school which had invented unique principles and terminologies.¹ Shāh Walī-Allāh had been gifted with the ability to re-interpret the traditional, mystical and Muslim rational sciences so that they were compatible with the orthodox framework of Sunnism. His religious and intellectual contributions were geared to harmonizing thought and belief, and went a long way towards reconciling the differences between the various schools of Sunnī interpretations of the Qur'ān, hadīth, (an account of Prophet Muhammad's words and deeds), *fiqh*, (legal doctrines) and *sūfism*. According to Shāh Walī-Allāh, the Shī'i belief in the impeccability of the Imām (*Imām-i ma'sūm*) amounted to denying the doctrine that Prophet Muhammad was the seal of the prophets and therefore a falsified (*bātil*)² faith. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, his brothers and followers made singular contributions to Shāh Walī-Allāh's mission and their writings made their father's thoughts effectively known to the Muslims.

The Qur'ān

Not only did Shāh Walī-Allāh translate the Qur'ān into lucid Persian,³ but he considered teaching the Qur'ānic translations more meritorious than teaching exegesis.⁴ As the exegesis or *tafsīr* written from the unor-

1 Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, *Tafsīr āyāt al-Nūr*, Gujranwāla, 1382/1962, p. 22.

2 S. W. T., p. 229.

3 *Ibid*, pp. 230-32.

4 S. W. T., p. 385.

thodox Mu'tazila⁵, philosophical and Shi'i points of view, inculcated impiety in ordinary Sunnis, he urged them to confine their attention to the study of the translations and suggested they should turn to *tafsir* only after mastering the principles of exegesis as laid down by him in *al-Fawz al-kabir fi usul al-tafsir*.⁶ It would seem that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century the remarkable farsightedness of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and his brothers had enabled them to realise that the future of the Persian language was bleak in India. They understood that unless the Qur'ān was translated into Urdu, then commonly known as Hindi, their father's great purpose in translating the Qur'ān into Persian to promote Muslim involvement with it would be defeated. We also know that the Saxonian, Benjamin Schultze, had made translations of the Old and New Testaments into Hindustāni (Urdu) in 1741, but it is not possible to agree with Annemarie Schimmel that this would have motivated Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn and Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir to undertake their translation into Urdu.⁷ At the time that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's two brothers translated the Qur'ān into Urdu, Protestant missionary activities had little influence in regions which had not been conquered by the East India Company and Schultze's translation would have hardly been known in Delhi, let alone have made any impact on the intellectuals there.

Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn completed his Urdu translation in c. 1200/1786.⁸ It follows closely the original Arabic and Shāh Walī-Allāh's Persian translation, retaining most of the Persian nouns and adjectives used by Shāh Walī-Allāh. Like this translation it also gives the Urdu equivalent under each Arabic word, but Shāh Walī-Allāh's Persian is lucid and brilliant while the Persian technique in the undeveloped Urdu of those days has made Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn's translation archaic and difficult for modern Urdu scholars to understand. However, those who are interested in obtaining some glimpse of the original Arabic still prefer Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn's translation.

Witnessing the problems of comprehension of Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn's translation, Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir made a new translation in idiomatic Urdu in 1207/1792.⁹ In it he made no attempt to offer any word to word trans-

5 The theological school which created the speculative dogmas of Islam. Its theological framework is based on three main principles : a. The strictest profession of monotheism against anthropomorphic resemblances. b. God is just and human actions depend on their own free will. c. Belief consists in performing all obligatory and supererogatory prayers. God of His Grace may forgive *saghā'ir* (petty sins) but *kabā'ir* (serious sins) should be avoided.

6 S. W. T., p. 232.

7 Annemarie Schimmel, *Classical Urdu literature from the beginning to Iqbāl*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 205.

8 Hāmid Husayn Qādirī, *Dāstān-i tārikh-i Urdu*, Karāchi 1966, 3rd edition, pp. 64-65.

9 *Ibid.* pp. 65-66; *Classical Urdu literature*, p. 205.

lation of the Arabic text. He gave his Urdu translation a more comprehensible and idiomatic form, but the rapid refinement of Urdu prose gradually made even Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir's translation antiquated although, in terms of nineteenth century Urdu, it was very perspicuous and explicit.

To illustrate this point we give the translation of the first four verses from the chapter on "*al-Fātihah*" (The Opening), with the English translation.

Shāh Walī-Allāh : "*Satā'ish Khudā'i ast, parwardigār-i 'ālamhā, bakhshā'inda, miharbān, khudāwand rūz-i jazā'. Turā mi parastim wa as tū madad mi talabim.*"

Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn : "*Sab ta'rīf wāste Allāh ke, parwardigār 'ālamon ke, bakhshish karne wālā, miharbān, Khudāwand dīn jazā' kā, tujh hī ko 'ibādat karte hain ham, awr tujh hī se madad chāhte hain ham.*"

Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir : "*Sab ta'rīf Allāh ko hai jo Sāhib Sāre jahān kā bahut miharbān, nihāyat raham wālā, mālik insāf kē dīn kā.*"

The English translation reads :

1. Praise be to Allāh, Lord of the Worlds,
2. The Beneficent, the Merciful,
3. Owner of the Day of Judgement,
4. Thee (alone) we worship : Thee (alone) we ask for help."

Their elder brother, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, is famous for his monumental *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' Ashariyya* but he himself was proud of the *Fath al-'Azīz*¹⁰ which he wrote in 1208/1793-94 at the instigation of a friend, Mawlānā Shaykh Musaddiq al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh.¹¹ It contains a Persian exegesis on the first two *sūrahs* (chapters), *al-Fātihah* (The Opening) and *al-Baqarah* (The Cow), and on *sūrahs* LXVII-CXIV in parts 29 and 30 of the Qur'ān.

The translation from the chapters of the last two parts of the Qur'ān into lucid and idiomatic Persian was undertaken mainly because they were frequently read by Muslims at their daily prayers and during their visits to the tombs of holy men and saints. The *Baqarah* chapter was chosen to sharpen further the spiritual cravings of the Muslims. The Shāh claims that during the composition of the work he did not consult any books of reference. He was suffering from several diseases, but divine

¹⁰ *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 137-38.

¹¹ According to the *Maqālāt-i tarīqat*, Shaykh Musaddiq al-Dīn was a Kāyastha courtier to Emperor Shāh 'Ālam. After his 'asr (afternoon prayers) the Shāh used to listen to the news and anecdotes about various events. The Kāyastha courtier would call on the Shāh at that time and relate these. After some time he became a Muslim. At Musaddiq al-Dīn's request the Shāh wrote the *Tafsīr. Ma'ārif*, Vol. XCVI, No. 3, p. 193.

grace, purity of heart, tranquillity and serenity of mind were his principal guides. However, when the work was completed, he was very pleased with himself, finding it as a "beggar's bowl full of different varieties of morsels obtained from begging or like the patched frock of dervishes with different colours of patches on it."¹² These two metaphors were meant to acknowledge the contributions of earlier exegesis writers whom he had thoroughly studied and whose works he had retained in his remarkably retentive memory, although he did not consult them when he was actually engaged in preparing his drafts of the *tafsir*. This is what he meant when he said that he did not consult any works of reference.

The available manuscripts and the published texts comprise the exegesis of parts 29 and 30 and the commentary on chapter one. The commentary on chapter two ends with verse 184 ; the exegesis of verses 185 to 286 of the second chapter are not available, although the Shāh seems to have completed the exegesis on this chapter. References in his *Fatāwā* indicate that the *Fath al-'Aziz* comprised an exegesis of the whole of the Qur'ān. For example in a *fatwa* the Shāh refers to the following verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of the Qur'ān and adds,

"The *faqir*, in connection with the exegesis of the verse 'These will be given their reward twice over, because they are steadfast',¹³ discussed the controversy surrounding the Jewish and Christian faiths but was unable to reproduce the extracts themselves for the drafts were not available there."¹⁴

According to Hājji Rafī' al-Dīn Fārūqī Murādābādī, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote the *Fath al-'Aziz* but the drafts were not transcribed in the final form. The Shāh's *tafsir*, according to him, was endowed with five principal characteristics which transformed the work into a unique contribution in its own right. These characteristics were :

1. The classification of the subjects of each chapter through headings.
2. A discussion on the mutual connections between different verses.
3. Discussions on the allegorical expressions in the Qur'ān.
4. Discussions on the mysteries and subtle points of the stories in the Qur'ān and the divine ordinances.
5. The elegance of the Qur'ānic composition.¹⁵

12 *Fath al-'Aziz*, *Alif, Lām, Mīm*, Bombay 1294/1877-78 pp. 2-3.

13 *Qur'ān*, XXXXIII, 54.

14 *Fatāwā*, Vol. II, pp. 61-62.

15 Mawlawī Hājji Rafī' al-Dīn Fārūqī Murādābādī, *Risāla al-nazar 'alā' tafsir al-'Azizī*, Rāmpūr Ms., f. 22b.

Muhammad Rafī' al-Dīn quotes the Shāh's letter in which the Shāh himself gave examples from the *Fath al-'Aziz* to prove how his exegesis was permeated with the above five characteristics.¹⁶ These examples cover verses from all the important chapters of the Qur'ān and prove beyond doubt that the Shāh had actually dictated the exegesis of the whole of the Qur'ān. His blindness and sickness seem to have prevented him from having his final drafts prepared and published. Some of his disciples, however, might have obtained copies from drafts, providing the basis for the story that a copy of the *Fath al-'Aziz* had been seen at a certain place.¹⁷

Be that as it may, even the available portions of the work are marked by the consummation of the principles of exegesis writing laid down by Shāh Walī-Allāh in the *Fawz al-kabīr fī usūl al-tafsīr*. From the classical works on *tafsīr* Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz draws heavily upon the *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* by Abū Ja'far Muhammad al-Tabarī (c. 224 or 225/839-310/923); *al-kashshāf 'an Haqā'iq al-tanzīl* by Abū'l-Qāsim Mahmūd al-Zamakhsharī (467/1075-538/1144); *Kitāb al-tafsīr al-kabīr* or *Miftāh al-ghayb* by Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (543/1149-606/1209) and *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-tāwīl* by 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Umar al-Baydāwī (died c. 716/1316). However, he does not neglect the other works of *tafsīr*, including those written from the sūfī, philosophical and sectarian points of view. Like other *tafsīr* authors, the Shāh also introduces each chapter with a short preface containing an account of the number of verses and words in it and the significance of the chapter and verses. Following his father's warnings in the *Fawz al-kabīr*, he does not unnecessarily add legendary or mythical anecdotes to prove the genesis of the revelation of the verses but confines himself to drawing his readers' attention to those important facts and incidents which in his opinion really impelled God to reveal particular verses to Prophet Muhammad. Like his father, he invites his readers to understand the Arabic words in the Qur'ān in their correct Arab colloquial sense as they would have been understood by the Prophet's contemporaries. Shāh Walī-Allāh repeatedly warns that in succeeding generations the meanings of the classical Arabic words in the Qur'ān would change radically and that later generations of Arabic scholars and exegesis writers would often distort the real sense of the words by interpreting them on the basis of their own contemporary usage. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz also strictly observed the rules laid down by his father in connection with writing the exegesis of the difficult verses. According to Shāh Walī-Allāh, the exegesis of those verses relating to the divine ordinance should discuss all aspects of the relevant problems including those relating to the impli-

16 *Risāla al-nazar 'alā' tafsīr al-'Azīzī*, ff. 25a-58b.

17 *Maqālāt-i tariqat*, p. 93.

cations and consequences of their implementation. The pros and cons of the conditions and limitations of the ordinances should also be discussed. The exegesis of the verses dealing with divine favours should present a comprehensive picture of the relevant ordinances and should not distort or colour the real vision.¹⁸

Any attempt to interpret the *Fath al-'Aziz* as a pioneering work in the realm of Islamic modernism in the Indian sub-continent would be futile as Islam is not limited to traditionalism or modernism. It has its own dynamism and resilience. In the Qur'ān Islam is universal and offers broad guidance to meet the challenges of life and time. Naturally, however, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's strict adherence to his father's teaching in the *Fath al-'Aziz* and his mission to reinvigorate the Sunni revivalism propagated by his father, has transformed his *tafsir* into a comprehensive handbook of eighteenth and nineteenth century social and religious revivalism. Inevitably he had to refer frequently to controversies and problems in Muslim daily life in the Indian sub-continent, to criticise and condemn departure from the spirit of the faith and to suggest schemes for reforms in the light of the Qur'ānic teachings. Hindu customs, gods and forms of worship are discussed and condemnations of the penetration of alleged idolatrous practices into the body-politic of Indian Islam are frequently mentioned in the *Fath al-'Aziz*.

The Perception of Hinduism

Discussing the importance of *'ibāda* ('Thee [alone] we worship')¹⁹ mentioned in the *surāh, al-Fātihah*, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz concludes that departure from moderation and the adoption of either an exaggerated or a belittling attitude to worship are reprehensible. Only a middle course, which is the path of righteousness, should be followed. Exaggerations in divine worship relate to prostration before everything that manifests divine attributes. Such, he says, is the faith of the Hindus. While those who are too deeply engrossed in their worldly business and earning their livelihood to spare even a moment to pay attention to Him, are guilty of a belittling attitude towards the *'ibāda*. Such, he says, is the faith of Englishmen (*firqa-i angriz*) and other materialists.²⁰ The Shāh sees an unique similarity between the calf-worshipping Israelites and the Hindus. He says that al-Sāmiri²¹ tempted the Israelites to believe that God had infused himself into the golden calf. Hindus also, he points out, believe in the

18 S.W.T., 232-37.

19 *Qur'ān*, I, 4.

20 F. A., *Alif, Lām, Mīm*, p. 51.

21 al-Sāmiri (the Samaritan) was the priest who according to the Qur'ān invited the Israelites to worship the golden calf; Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramer, J. H., *Shorter encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden 1973, reprint, pp. 501-2.

infusion (*hulūl*) of God into all extraordinary and unusual objects and worship them.²²

However, as compared with his predecessors and contemporaries, the Shāh's perception of Hinduism, thanks to the availability of Persian translations of Sanskrit classics which had been proliferating since the reign of Akbar,²³ was much deeper. For example, in his exegesis on *al-Ikhlās* (The Unity) chapter,²⁴ he identifies Hindus with the Muslim philosophers (*falāsifa*) group. He says that the *falāsifa* believe that a creator of the Universe does exist but that He has no attributes. In other words they believe that some causal relationships are responsible for the creation which is not the handiwork of an omnipotent divine Being. This is the same, the Shāh concludes, as the Hindu religion²⁵ of sophisticated Hindus.

Generally throughout the work, however, he describes Hindus as polytheists and anthropomorphists. The most significant point is Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's identification of five Arabian gods—Wadd, Suw'ā, Yaghūth, Ya'ūq and Nasr, as they occur in verse 23 of the Noah chapter of the Qur'ān—with Hindu gods. The verse reads :

“And they (Noah's dissenting followers) have said : ‘Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor Suw'ā, nor Yaghūth and Ya'ūq and Nasr’.”²⁶

On the authority of 'Abd-Allāh ibn al-'Abbās (d. 68/687-8), “the father of the Qur'ānic exegesis”, the Shāh says that Noah's people did not listen to his admonitions to abandon these gods and continued to worship them. After the Deluge these gods lay buried under water but different Arab tribes, at the devil's instigation, unearthed them and began to worship them. Other classical authors of the Qur'ānic exegesis have also given lengthy descriptions of these gods and Arab beliefs about them.²⁷ Like some western commentators such as Sale,²⁸ neither they nor the Shāh see in the verse any anachronism.

Following the authors of the earlier exegesis, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz also says that Noah's people represented Wadd in the form of a male for,

22 F. A., *Alif, Lām, Mīm*, pp. 78-82.

23 S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi 1975, pp. 203-23.

24 *Qur'ān* CXII.

25 Exegesis to CXII, verse 4, “And there is none comparable unto Him”; *Fath al-'Aziz*, 'Amm, Bombay 1306/1888, p. 373.

26 *Qur'ān*, LXXI, 23.

27 al-Zamakhsharī, *al-kashshāf 'an haqā'iq ghawāmid al-tanzīl*, Beirut 1965, IV, p. 619.

28 George Sale, *The Koran*, London 1821, I, pp. 24-25.

even in the early stages of the creation, the male's attraction towards females was responsible for the multiplication of living beings. The Shāh finally identifies Wadd with the Hindu Bishun or Vishnū. The Hindu god in the Shāh's mind was Krishna whose love for the ravishing cowgirls (*gopīs* or *gopikās*) of Vindrāvan (Mathurā) is the subject of countless legends. His identification of Brahmā (the Creator) with Suw'ā, tends to indicate that he did not have in mind Vishnū as the Preserver of the Hindu triad (Brahmā the Creator, Vishnū the Preserver and Shiva the Destroyer). Following the early authors of the exegesis, the Shāh also says that Noah's people worshipped Suw'ā in the female form because women managed the household, family and progeny. According to the Shāh, Noah's people represented Yaghūth in the form of a horse and Ya'ūq in the shape of a lion. Conversely, some early commentators say that Yaghūth idols were given the appearance of a lion and those of Ya'ūq that of a horse.²⁹ The Shāh says that Noah's people portrayed Ya'ūq as a horse because of his ability to answer people's prayers speedily. The Hindu counterpart, according to the Shāh, is Indra who occupied a very distinguished place among the gods of the *Rig Veda*. Ya'ūq, whom Noah's people worshipped as a lion, the Shāh says, could be identified as Shiva in the Hindu pantheon. Nasr, whom the Noah people represented through the image of an eagle, the Shāh compares with Hanūmān, the Hindu monkey god. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz however condemns the idol worship of both Noah's people and the Hindus and asserts that false notions of the awesomeness of divine power led them to make images and worship them. Nor does he spare even the illiterate Muslims who, misled by 'Alī's title of Asad-Allāh (Allāh's lion), represented him in pictures as a lion or portrayed La'l Shahbāz³⁰ (La'l the falcon) as a white falcon.³¹

The commentary on verse 22 in chapter 2 (*al-Baqarah*, The Cow), discussing the divine unity, prompts the Shāh again to discuss the beliefs of Hindus and the common Muslim. The verse says :

"Who hath appointed the earth a resting-place for you, and the sky a canopy ; and causeth water to pour down from the sky, thereby producing fruits as food for you. And do not set up rivals to Allāh whom ye know (better)."

The Shāh says that in reality no one in the world believes that there is anyone equal to God so far as His Being, knowledge, power and wisdom

29 Baydāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl*, Istanbul, n. d., II, pp. 551-52.

30 La'l Shahbāz (Mīr Sayyid, 'Uthmān) Qalandar was a disciple of the famous Suhrawardiyya sūfī, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyya (d. 661/1262) of Multān. La'l Shahbāz became very famous in Sind.

31 F. A., *Tabārak al-ladhī*, Lahore 1277/1860, p. 121.

are concerned, but many religious communities, including the Hindus, because of their indolence invented partners for Allāh. He goes on to say that making any of the above attributes a part of Allāh means one is a polytheist. For example, he says that a certain sect believes in two creators, the wise god who creates good and the foolish god who creates evil. The falseness of the belief is evident from the sect's inability to state the genesis of the foolish god. If the foolish god was created by the wise god, the latter becomes the creator of evil. If he is a self-generated being, how is it that he, notwithstanding his perfection in knowledge, power and wisdom, is a fool and ignorant? There is another religious community which believes that God the Creator is a self-generated Being endowed with knowledge, power and wisdom but that He has entrusted the management of the world and good and evil to the stars in heaven. This delegation had, according to them, prompted them to worship the stars. Refuting their beliefs, the Shāh says that if God were accessible to human prayer, any worship of the stars was futile and absurd. However, if their worshippers believed that the stars independently interceded for human beings, then they were guilty of polytheism. Even though the stars acted through power given them by God, there was no point in worshipping intermediaries. The Shāh does not name the sects that were in his mind but adds that the third type of religious community were the Hindus. They believe that invisible spirits are the real directors of worldly affairs and that they vary in form and shape. As they are hidden from our sight, it is our duty to make gold and silver images of them and to prostrate ourselves before them in order to please them. The fourth religious community the Shāh discusses are those who worship *pīrs* (sūfi saints). They assert that the spirits of the saints who had spent their lives in severe ascetic exercise and whose intercessory prayers were readily answered after their death, exercise great power and authority over human affairs. Consequently, the Shāh says, those who conceive the picture of that saint in their mind or prostrate themselves and exhibit humility near the places where the saint lived or on his grave, believe that the spirit of that saint, endowed with great capacity and power, comes to know its worshipper and intercedes for him with God both in this world and the hereafter.

To the fifth group, the Shāh says, belong ignorant and common people who believe that God is too holy to need anyone's worship. They feel that the best way to worship Him is to make created beings the objects of their worship. Thus anything they consider marvellous or mysterious, such as the Ganges water or *tulsi* (the leaf of the basil plant—holy to Hindus) becomes the object of their worship. On this basis they worship animals, plants, minerals, mountains and fairies. The common Hindus have this same belief and so they make others equal to God in their worship. Some of them consider others to be as powerful as God and repeat

their names with the same devotion as they do to God's name. Some of them make animals equal to God by slaughtering them for sacrifices and vows. Some refer to themselves as slaves of another person and this makes them guilty of equating the person's name with God's name. Some invoke others to help ward off calamities or to assist in gaining worldly possessions.³² Thus, like the seventh-century Arab pagans, both Hindus and common Muslims had, to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, lost God in a chaos of dismay and horror. Paganism and polytheism, according to the Shāh, violate both true religious beliefs and the correct attitude towards humanity and natural behaviour.³³

The Shāh does not allow any occasion to slip by, which offers him an opportunity of repudiating Hindu beliefs and customs and asserting the truth of Islamic rules. He narrates an interesting anecdote involving polemics with a Hindu sage in connection with the explanation of the following verses of the '*Abasa* (He frowned) chapter :

"From a drop of seed, He createth him and proportioneth him,
Then maketh the way easy for him,
Then causeth him to die, and burieth him;
Then, when He will, He bringeth him again to life;
Nay, but (man) hath not done what He commanded him."³⁴

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz says that death is a divine favour for it marks the end of the struggle of life and enables men to obtain the fruits of the hard righteous deeds they performed during their lifetime. Similarly, the custom of burying the dead also manifests a divine blessing. It originates from the tradition that Qābīl (Cain or Cain, 'Adam's son), buried Hābīl (Abel, Adam's son) after murdering him. The idea of burying the body came into Qābīl's mind from seeing a crow bury another crow which it had killed. Later Adam's burial ceremony was performed by the angels. By way of contrasted examples, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz refutes the Hindu practice of cremation and argues that it is performed in the belief that fire purifies filthy objects including foul odours. Therefore Hindus assert that only those who wish to increase atmospheric pollution and defilement, bury their dead. Denying their accusations, the Shāh says that fire indiscriminately destroys everything put in its path. Conversely earth carefully retains everything entrusted to its care. Whatever is buried in the earth is preserved in some way : consequently burial is preferable. Therefore it is natural for men to bury their valuables in the ground and

32 F. A., *Alif, Lām, Mīm*, pp. 162-68.

33 F. A., *Tabārak-al-ladhī*, p. 131 (Introduction to chapter LXXII, al-Jinn)

34 *Qur'ān*, LXXX, 19-23.

for useless objects to be burnt. Cremation is an evil as it expresses a denial of the day of Resurrection and is therefore an insult to the dead.

According to the Shāh, the argument that the disposal of bodies by fire prevents atmospheric pollution is erroneous because dead bodies remain in the ground and therefore cannot defile the earth or pollute the atmosphere. When bodies are buried, their moisture is absorbed into the earth and they dry out completely. The skeletons remain in their original state and the bodies appear to be sleeping as they did in their lifetime. Moreover, man is created from the earth and therefore should return to his origin. By way of contrast, devils and genii, the Shāh says, emanate from fire. So the spirit of a man, if his body is burnt, will be mixed with smoke and fire and be converted into the same nature as the demons (the enemies of humanity).

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz then attempts to illustrate this point with an anecdote. He says that in the early days of Islam, a Muslim army, encamped somewhere in Sistān, was visited by a Hindu sage who was eager to hear the doctrines of the new religion. After the discussion, the sage admitted that, with the exception of the rule enforcing the burial of dead bodies, he considered that Islamic beliefs were more than reasonable. However, to him, said the sage, the Hindu tradition of cremation prevented the dissemination of foul odours. A Muslim *faqih* (jurist) who had heard the conversation between the sage and the Muslim soldiers, countered the sage by posing a question. If a married man were forced to travel away from his home, should his son be cared for by someone besides his real mother, such as a cook. To the sage's answer that the own mother would have preference over the cook, the *faqih*, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz says, answered with this analogy:

"When a celestial spirit is sent to earth and an earthly body is given to it, the body obtains all its material needs such as food, medicine, clothing and housing from earth. The greatest use to which fire can be put is cooking—man's mother is earth and fire is his cook. When the spirit, which is like the father, decides to leave its earthly state for the period between death and resurrection, inevitably the spirit would entrust the body to the care of the mother, that is, earth, and not to the care of the cook!"

According to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz this argument convinced the sage.³⁵ However, unlike the ending of similar stories, the Shāh does not conclude that the Hindu sage embraced Islam.

35 F. A., *'Āmm*, pp. 59-62.

Errors in Islamic Sects

The criteria which the Shāh used to condemn the Hindus as vicious also apply to some Islamic sects who practised sinful innovations. In connection with his exegesis on the *sūrah*, *al-Bayyinah* (The Clear Proof), he makes his viewpoint clear. The relevant verses read :

"Those who disbelieve among the People of the Scripture and the idolaters could not have left off (erring) till the clear proof came unto them."

"A messenger from Allāh, reading purified pages."

"Containing correct scriptures."

"Nor were the people of the scripture divided until after the clear proof came unto them."

"And they are ordered naught else than to serve Allāh, keeping religion pure for Him, as men by nature upright, and to establish worship and to pay the poor due. That is true religion."

"Lo! Those who disbelieve, among the people of the scriptures and the idolaters, will abide in fire of hell. They are the worst of created beings."

"(And) lo! those who believe and do good works are the best of created beings."

"Their regard is with their Lord : Gardens of Eden underneath which rivers flow, wherein they dwell for ever. Allāh hath pleasure in them and they have pleasure in Him. This is (in store) for him who feareth his Lord."³⁶

In his exegesis of the first verse the Shāh writes that before the advent of Prophet Muhammad's mission, the Arabs were divided into two categories. Firstly, there were the polytheists who, like the Sabaeans and fire-worshippers, worshipped spirits, stars and fire. Some had carved out idols in the form of holy men and, considering that they were very close to God, they worshipped them in order to obtain their intercession for their prayers. The Quraysh and other illiterate people also followed the same faith. Secondly, there were the *ahl al-kitāb* (the people of the scripture or Jews and Christians, some of whom followed the books of Moses, the psalms of David and the gospel of Christ). These religious groups practised abominable innovations and disgusting customs and no amount of admonitions, preaching and guidance made any impact on their hearts. They did not listen to reason and were determined not to forsake their ancestral faith without witnessing the clear signs and miracles described by the last of their prophets in their sacred books. Their position was

36 *Qur'ān*, XC VIII, 1-18.

identical with that of the members of the misguided Islamic sects of those days.

One such contemporary Islamic sect, the Shāh says, was a group of people who called themselves *sūfis* but who were engrossed in sinful innovations. The sect consisted of those who had renounced the faith and did not follow the *sharī'a* laws but led an ascetic life. They even transgressed the bounds of humanity. A different sect known as the Shi'as (partisans) of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (the Prophet's family) were engrossed in practising false beliefs. Others declared themselves to be (Sunni) 'ulamā', but they were hypocrites and misled the people through *hila-i shara'i* (devices or stratagems for evading the Shari'a injunctions). These latter invented queer, unfounded traditions and deceived the people in order to obtain their worldly possessions. The above misguided sects also paid no heed to the path of righteousness and, when admonished and shown the right way, replied that they would not forsake their traditional faith without either clear signs or the appearance of Imām Mahdī, who would lead them to a different path through his clear teachings. The Shāh concluded that, after the advent of Prophet Muhammad's mission and the revelation of the Qur'ān, whose profound teachings had been expressively and profoundly explained by the 'ulamā' for the previous twelve hundred years, all differences and conflicts should have disappeared. However, the devil and evil passions had stolen people away from the path of piety and true religion.³⁷

In his exegesis of the verses in *sūrah al-Fātihah* :

"Show us the straight path,
The path of those whom Thou hast favoured,"³⁸

the Shāh says that the path of those whom God favoured was indicated in the following verse of *al-Nisā'* (Women) chapter of the Qur'ān :

"Whose obeyeth Allāh and the messenger (*ar-Rasūl*), they are with those unto whom Allāh hath shown favour, of the Prophets (*an-Nabiyyin*), and the saints (*as-siddiqin*) and the martyrs (*ash-shuhadā'*) and the righteous (*as-sālihin*). The best of company are they !"³⁹

The Shāh says that as all the four groups mentioned above were not of equal spiritual status, the common Muslims must seek the company of the righteous (*as-sālihin*). The latter must strive to associate with the martyrs

37 F. A., 'Amm, pp. 331-32.

38 Qur'ān, I, 5-6.

39 Qur'ān, IV, 69.

(*ash-shuhadā'*) and the martyrs must gain the friendship of the saints (*as-siddiqin*). The common people could not gain the company of the Prophets without step by step gaining the friendship of the above mentioned three groups in that order. Making an analogy with military ranks, he wrote that one who wished to seek the friendship of kings must first seek the friendship of *jama'dārs* (petty police or army officers) which would then lead to the friendship of the *risāladār* (captain of a troop) and the friendship of the latter would enable one to obtain the company of an *amir* (commander). It was only then that the friendship of the king could be obtained. This state of affairs made it imperative for Muslims to seek the intercession of *awliyā'-Allāh* (protégés of God or eminent *sūfis* and dervishes). However, the Shāh reminds us that it should never be forgotten that only the prophets were taught the road to the divine court. It was through them that the *as-siddiqin* obtained correct guidance. From the *siddiqin*, the *shuhadā'* and from the *shuhadā'*, the *sālihīn* were guided to the right path. It is therefore imperative, the Shāh says, that real step-by-step knowledge of the four groups be acquired so that their friendship becomes accessible. For, the Shāh adds, unless the goal is known, it cannot be pursued.

Defining a *nabi* (prophet), he says that a prophet is also a human being and like all humans is endowed with two kinds of faculty, one theoretical and the other practical. Theoretical knowledge only provides the perception of certain objects and practical knowledge leads to the performance of good and evil deeds. The *nabi* is a human being who is perfected by Allāh without any human tuition. The divine light makes the *nabi's* theoretical knowledge flawless and perfect. The same light makes the practical power of the *nabi* instinctively inclined to righteous deeds and to abhor evil. After attaining perfection, the *nabi* is sent to guide people and is also endowed with miraculous power. Some miracles are only in the form of words as is the Qur'ān ; some occur in a more concrete form, as when water spontaneously flows from someone's fingers. The prophets are also endowed with many 'signs'. These are wholly intellectual. They exhibit perfect morality, a complete understanding of such branches of knowledge as are founded in divine truth and the capacity to express themselves clearly and convincingly. The intellectuals are persuaded of a prophet's validity by these signs, while the common people are convinced by their miracles. Further, the Shāh says that the prophets preach about two types of knowledge. One concerns the existence of God and His attributes which is comprehensible only to the intellectuals. The other is less abstract and involves matters such as ordinances about fasting and the rewards and punishments for good and evil. To make his message acceptable to all people, therefore, it is imperative that a prophet attains both intellectual perfection and the ability to perform miracles or else his function remains unfulfilled.

Discussing the *siddiqins*, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz says their theoretical knowledge is perfect like that of the prophets, while, from childhood, they are free from falsehood and do not allow worldly passions to interfere with religious and divine affairs. A *siddiq* can be identified by some of the following qualities. For example his mind is consistent, no accident distracts his concentration during *namāz* (prayers) and there is no difference between his exterior and interior. He does not curse people and can interpret dreams.

The Shāh goes on to describe a *shahīd* as someone whose heart is engrossed in witnessing the divine epiphany and who accepts the divine messages conveyed to him by the prophets as obediently as if he were witnessing them. These qualities make sacrificing his life an easy affair. The mere readiness to sacrifice his life makes someone a *shahīd* (martyr) although he may not be actually killed. A *shahīd's* practical power is therefore nearly identical with that of a prophet.

The theoretical and practical capacities of the *sālih*, on the other hand, are much inferior to the faculties of the prophets, but their unquestioning obedience to the prophets helps them to remain free from sin, evil beliefs and vile habits. The Shāh concludes that the *sālih* is so deeply devoted to God that he does not pay attention to anything else.

Further, the Shāh says that though the term *walī* (protégé) can be applied to all the three groups, it generally refers to the *sālihīn* (plural of *sālih*). The signs common to all four groups indicate that God is their friend and guarantees their livelihood and protection from their enemies. The honour they obtain from God enables them to disregard the service of kings and their noblemen. God makes their minds so lofty that they ignore the evil habits of the world. They are made so stoical that worldly troubles and afflictions such as the death of their relations do not distress them. Awe of them moves the heart of even the most stubborn and arrogant rulers. After their death, their associates and even their graves radiate blessings which attract people.

However the Shāh warns against situations wherein the crooked path is inextricably mixed with the straight one. For example, he goes on to say that some groups claim they are connected with, and obedient to, the above four groups who are masters of the straight path. In reality however, they do not follow them. They have strayed away from the true path and are wallowing in the devil's law. Their false claims dupe the common people into believing the wrong path to be the right one. For example, the Shāh says, the Jews and Christians claim they follow Moses and Jesus respectively, but in point of fact they are at variance from the teachings of those prophets. Similarly among the Muslims the Shī'is claim to love the Prophet's family (*Ahl al-Bayt*) and consider themselves linked with it, but in reality their beliefs and actions are opposed to

them.⁴⁰ Likewise the *Madārīs*⁴¹ and *Jalālīs*⁴² of the present day have no religion at all. The acts and deeds of many Sunnis who claim to be *Suhrāwardiyyas*, *Qādiriyyas* and *Chishtiyyas* bear no resemblance to those of the true members of these *sūfī* orders. The concluding verse of the *Fātiha* chapter, however, "Not (the path) of those who earn Thine anger nor of those who go astray", prompts the *Shāh* to invite Muslims to overcome the confusion caused by the impostors. The verse warns Muslims to beware of the path of misguided people and those with whom God is angry; even these might claim to be connected with the prophets and *walīs* (protégés of God).⁴³

Historical Events and Political Terminologies

The *Fath al-'Aziz* also makes interesting references to historical events which are of considerable significance as they come from a scholar of *Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's* stature. For example, in his introduction to the chapter "*al Quraysh*,"⁴⁴ he says that God had destined the *Quraysh* to rule the Islamic empire from the first *hijra* 16 July 622 to 656/1258. Later on their ruler was fated to be overthrown by the *Chingizid* Turks.⁴⁵

Commenting upon the verse :

"They said : Alas for us! In truth we were outrageous.

It may be that our Lord will give us better than this in place thereof.

Lo! we beseech our Lord."⁴⁶

in the chapter *Nūn wa'l Qalam* (The Inkstand and the Pen), the *Shāh* says that the Arabs, as a reward for their repentance of sins and disobedience and for recognising the importance of the blessings of faith in the *Qur'ān*, were granted 656 years of rule and mastery over the world. They were everywhere victorious and seized vast treasuries, prosperous towns and flourishing gardens. After 656 years the descendants of *Chingiz* destroyed their kingdom so terribly that they have been unable to regain it. Accord-

40 F. A., *Alif, Lām, Mīm*, pp. 11-14, 46-48.

41 Unorthodox followers of *Shāh Madār* (d. 840/1436); S. A. A. Rizvi, *A history of sufism in India*, New Delhi, 1978, I, pp. 318-19.

42 Unorthodox followers of *Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī* (d. 785/1384) H. S., I, pp. 320-21.

43 F. A., *Alif, Lām, Mīm*, pp. 15-16, 59-65.

44 "For their taming (We cause) the caravans to set forth in winter and summer.
So let them worship the Lord of this House,
Who hath fed them against hunger.
And hath made them safe from fear."
Qur'ān, CVI, 1-3.

45 F. A., *'Āmm*, p. 358, 656 years.

46 *Qur'ān*, LXVIII, 31-32.

ing to the Shāh, verse No. 33 of the *Nūn* chapter is a befitting prophecy of the end of the material glory of the Arabs. It reads :

“Such was the punishment. And verily the punishment of the Hereafter is greater if they did but know.”⁴⁷

In his introduction to the chapter *al-Ma'ārij* (The Ascending Stairways), the Shāh, quoting the following verse of chapter *As-Sajdah* (The Prostration), refers to a different calculation of the age of Islamic dominance.

“He directeth the ordinance from the heaven unto the earth; then it ascendeth unto Him in a day, where of the measure is a thousand years of that ye reckon.”⁴⁸

The Shāh first explains the importance of one thousand years in divine plans such as in Noah's rule for one thousand years and then says that for five hundred years the Arabs made Islam powerful, then the Turks followed them. Later on both lost their glory and the Hindus and the *Firangī* (Franks, British) began to dominate the world.⁴⁹ The Shāh's comments can, however be justified, only in relation to the rise and fall of the Muslim dynasties in Indian history and not to the history of the rest of the Islamic world.

The Shāh also explained a number of verses in the light of the eighteenth century Mughal political and administrative system in order to make them intelligible to his contemporaries. They too are important, for the insight they offer into the Mughal court as seen by an outstanding 'ālim and sūfi. For example, the Shāh like other exegesists explains the first verse in the following *al-Inshirāh* (Solace) chapter in considerable detail. The chapter reads :

“Have we not caused thy bosom to dilate,
And eased thee of the burden
Which weighed down thy back ;
And exalted thy fame ?
But lo! with hardship goeth ease,
Lo! with hardship goeth ease ;
So when thou art relieved, still toil
And strive to please thy Lord.”⁵⁰

47 *Qur'ān*, LXVIII, 33 ; F. A., *Tabārak al-ladhī*, pp. 78-79.

48 *Qur'ān*, XXXII, 5.

49 F. A., *Tabārak al-ladhī*, p. 87.

50 *Qur'ān*, XCIV, 1-8.

Introducing the chapter the Shāh says that God's dilation of the Prophet's bosom is a great blessing on him for, despite his prayers, Moses⁵¹ did not obtain this boon while Prophet Muhammad received it without praying for it. A Hindi saying, the Shāh tells us, relates, "Someone who does not beg gets pearls but the other who begs is not given a morsel of food". Further the Shāh says that the chapter is named *al-Inshirāh* for it deals with the expansion of the Prophet's breast spiritually and its filling with the divine light.⁵² Commenting upon the first verse of the chapter the Shāh says that God reminds the Prophet that his breast was expanded in his own interest in order that it might carry the burden of *wahī*⁵³ and become the treasure house of divine secrets. It was done to enable him to bear the hardships of preaching the Islamic mission and transmitting its ordinances and concern for religion, the world and the hereafter. According to the sūfis, the Shāh says, the heart has two doors: one opens towards *nafs* (self) and is known as *sadr* (bosom); the other opens towards *rūh* (spirit). In comparison with the door opening to *rūh*, the one opening towards *sadr* is very narrow. When the door leading to *sadr* is widened, the door leading towards *rūh* expands infinitely. The sūfis prefer the term *sadr* to *qalb* (heart) for this very reason. *Sadr*, the sūfis add, serves as a fort for the heart and protects it from worldly anxieties, but human lust and greed enable Satan to invade the *qalb* through *sadr*. This process narrows the heart, and the craving for worship and concern for faith decline. By contrast the broadening of *sadr* increases the pleasure in worship. The Shāh affirms that the process of enlarging the Prophet's *sadr* is indescribable because of his limitless capabilities; nevertheless it is necessary and possible to explain it through an analogy. He then chooses the analogy of an extensive plain which he says is situated in the Prophet's heart. A very magnificent building has been erected on that plain. There are twelve big halls (*nisheman*) in it, some are connected with the world, some with the faith and some are higher than the world and the faith. The Shāh then invites us to imagine that in the first of them a very mighty emperor is seated and all the rulers of the world are present before him seeking his advice on the rules of administration and conquest. The rules discussed in the *Tawqī'-i Kisra*⁵⁴, *Tuzuk-i Tīmūrī*⁵⁵,

51 "Moses said : My Lord, expand my breast for me." *Qur'ān*, XX, 25.

52 F. A., *'Āmm*, Introduction, pp. 386-87.

53 Divine revelation, specially that conveyed to Prophet Muhammad through the archangel Gabriel.

54 Handbooks of Kisra Nūshirwāns legendary institutes in Persian.

55 *Tuzuk-i Tīmūrī*, *Malfūzāt-i Tīmūrī* or *Wāqī'āt-i Tīmūrī* deals with Tīmūr's Institutes. Both *Tuzuk* and *Malfūzāt* (autobiographical records of Tīmūr) are spurious.

*Kalimāt-i Tayyibāt-i 'Ālamgiri*⁵⁶, *Wāqī'āt-i Bāburi*⁵⁷ and *Ā'in-i Akbarī*⁵⁸ are examined there and judgments formed regarding their correctness and applicability.⁵⁹ The mighty emperor is urged by other rulers to guide them on civil administration and the tactics of war and peace in different climes and towns.

In the second hall an expert *hakīm* (philosopher) is seated discoursing on the rules of social and ethical behaviour. Other eminent *hakīms* and philosophers of the world learn from him the rules of social and political philosophy. The expert *hakīm's* suggestions are based on the teachings of Aristotle, Nasir Tūsī,⁶⁰ Miskāwayh⁶¹ and ibn Sina⁶² and on discussions of the works of other wise men.

In the third hall an eminent *qādi* settles the disputes of different parties and dispenses justice. The *qādīs* of the rest of the world note down his judgments in order to make them into a manual for their guidance.

In the fourth hall a very learned *muftī* dictates *fatwas* (judicious or religious sentences pronounced by a *muftī*). He gives rulings on each new case based on the works of *fiqh* and *sunna*. He is surrounded by people who note down traditions and doctrines on religious duties. They write down every word he utters and comply with them according to their needs.

The fifth hall is for the *muhtasibs* (censors of morals) and is presided over by the chief *muhtasib*. An executioner stands before him. The criminals and sinners appear and are sentenced according to their

56 A collection of Awrangzīb's letters.

57 *Memoirs of Bābur*. Facsimile of the Turkī text edited with a preface and indices by A. S. Beveridge, was published in the Gibb Memorial Series (No. 1, Leyden and London 1905).

58 It was compiled by Shaykh Abu'l Fadl (958/1551-1011/1602). It contains a detailed account of the administrative framework and statistics of Akbar's empire. It is divided into five parts.

59 F. A., *'Āmm*, p. 288.

60 Nasir al-Dīn Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Tūsī (B. Tūs 597/1201, d. Baghdād 672/1274) was an eminent astronomer and Shī'ī thinker. His *Akhlāq-i Nāsiri*, an ethico-political work made a very deep impact on the political thought of medieval times in Islam. In the following pages, the Tūsī is deeply condemned by the Shāh for his services to Shī'ism.

61 Ahmad ibn Muhammad Miskāwayh (b. about 320/932 d. 421/1030) was essentially an historian and a moralist.

62 Abū 'Alī al-Husayn bin 'Abd-Allāh bin Sina (Avicenna) was born in 370/980 near Bukhārā and died in 428/1037. His *Kitāb al-shifā'*, discussing natural history, mathematics and philosophy and *Qānūn fī't-tibb*, dealing with medicine are monumental contributions to science, philosophy and medicine.

crimes. Some are subjected to *hadd*,⁶³ some to *ta'zīr*,⁶⁴ some are imprisoned and some are simply reprimanded. Other *muhtasibs* learn from him the rules of *ihtisāb*, the ordinances of the office of *kotwāl* (head of local police) and the principles of *hadd*, *ta'zīr* and of reprimanding the *bid'ātīs* (innovators). He is striving hard to stop perversion, sensuality, oppression and cruelty.

The sixth hall belongs to the Qur'ān readers. It is presided over by a *qārī* (a reader of the Qur'ān) with a melodious voice, who is an expert in all the seven forms of *qir'ats* (recitation of the Qur'ān) and recites them authoritatively. The *qārīs* of the entire world, who are assembled there, investigate the rules and traditions of *qir'at* under him. He tells some the rules of *idghām* (inserting one letter into another) and he discusses the rules of *takhfīf* (softening the pronunciation by suppressing a letter) and of *hamza* (unvoiced glottal occlusive) among other things. He teaches others the technical rules of *qir'at*.

The president of the seventh hall is a devotee of God who is so deeply plunged into incessant supererogatory prayers that he has forgotten the world altogether. For the whole day and night he is busy reading the Qur'ān and studying the *Adhkār* of Imām Nawwī⁶⁵, *Hisn Hasīn* of Jazari,⁶⁶ *Hizb al-A'zam* of Mulla 'Alī Qārī⁶⁷ and the *Awrād* of Shaykh al-Shuyūkh⁶⁸. The angels of heaven and earth are so overwhelmed by the abundance of his *dhikr* (the invocations of one of the Names of God) that troop after troop throng his assembly and enjoy his company. The ascetics who have renounced the world also attend his assembly and obtain instructions concerning the ascetic life from him. Some learn teachings regarding day and night supererogatory prayers from him, some are taught by him the rules regarding the use of religiously approved garments, drinks and food from him. He informs others of the prayers recited at the sighting of the moon. Those who obtain instructions from him practise them day and night.

63 *Hadd* (pl. *hudūd*) means punishments inflicted for committing crimes mentioned in the Qur'ān such as *zinā* (unlawful sexual intercourse), *khamr* (drinking wine) theft and highway robbery.

64 *Ta'zīr* means punishment for crimes for which no *hadd* is inflicted. The primary objective of *ta'zīr* is to reform the criminal.

65 *al-Adhkār* is a collection of prayers for all occasions handed down by traditions.

66 Shams al-Dīn Abu'l-Khayr Muhammad known as ibn al-Jazari (d. 833/1429) was an eminent jurist and expert in reading the Qur'ān. *Hisn Hasīn* is a collection of the Prophet Muhammad's tradition with special reference to prayers.

67 *Hizb al-A'zam* is a very popular collection of prayers by 'Alī ibn Sultan Muhammad al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605).

68 There are a number of books on prayers called *Awrād* by eminent *sūfīs*. The work cannot be correctly identified. Most popular are Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī's *awrād*.

The assembly in the eighth hall is presided over by a perfect 'arīf (gnostic) who dwells upon the secrets of Being, divine attributes and actions which encompass the world and also upon other aspects of divine knowledge. The scholars interested in these sciences note down his discourses upon the *Futūhāt al-Makkiyya*⁶⁹ and *Fusūs al-hikam*⁷⁰ and benefit from them.

The assembly in the ninth hall is presided over by a *wā'iz* (preacher) who delivers sermons containing subtle rules for living an ethical life. A big crowd is seen assembled around him. His ethical sermons move the heart and soul. Some are guided to the right path by the inducement of rewards and others repent through fear of the severe punishments prescribed for their disobedience. His sermons contain detailed descriptions of the proceedings on the day of resurrection. He describes what will happen to the dead in their graves, the accounting, the weighing of deeds and the hardship of crossing the *Sirāt*⁷¹ bridge. The pains of hell, the pleasures of paradise and the consequences of good and evil deeds are discussed in detail by him in order to remove any doubts that remain. In his assembly the infidels break their brahmanical thread and the sinners and fornicators repent their sins. Hardness of heart is changed into softness and those who previously did not recognise the truth begin to acknowledge it.

In the tenth hall a great prophet is seen investigating ways and means of captivating people's hearts to make them follow him. He is seen deputing his associates to propagate his mission according to their particular talents. He is also busy listening to his missionaries' accounts of the difficulties experienced in handling their people and he uses his perspicacity and intelligence to guide them.

The eleventh hall is dominated by a perfect *sūfī* guide. Thousands of people seeking God attend upon him and he solves their problems. The perfect guide instructs them in methods of removing the veil separating them from the divine and reveals to them the way to reach their goal. The perfect *sūfī* also shows those in attendance how to attain their respective mystic goals, mystic states, stages and duties. The perfect guide's

69 *al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya fī asrār al-malikiyya wa'l-mulkiyya* was written by the famous mystic Muhyi al-Dīn Abu 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad bin 'Alī bin Muhammad bin al-'Arabī (560/1165-638/1240). The autograph of its second recension in 37 volumes dated 633-7/1235-9 is preserved in Istanbul.

70 *Fusūs al-hikam wa khusūs al-kilām* by ibn al-'Arabī contains the summary of the teaching of 28 prophets from Adam to Muhammad. According to the author it was dictated to him by the Prophet Muhammad in a dream at Damascus. A manuscript copy of the work transcribed by the author's disciple, Sadr al-Dīn in 630/1232-3 is also preserved in Istanbul.

71 *Sirāt* literally means road; according to the traditions it is the bridge across the infernal fire.

mystical attentions have varied effects on the spiritual condition of other mystics who are purified in different ways.

In the twelfth assembly an exceedingly handsome, beloved follower of God is seated. He is purified like Ka'ba and rays of divine beauty have penetrated him. He captivates people's hearts by making divine love attractive to its seekers. Hundreds of thousands of lovers of that Eternal Beauty can be seen running to him from all directions to get a glimpse of him although they do not hope to obtain favours from him. No human being has access to that lofty stage of perfection. However, a few important *sūfī* saints among his followers, who have obtained some share in his divine loveliness, have become the centre of desire and an overwhelmingly large number of people obtain guidance from them. Among them, for example, are Ghawth al-A'zam Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī⁷² and Sultān al-Mashā'ikh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'.⁷³

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz concludes that should someone have any doubt about the assemblies in the twelve halls discussed above, he should try seriously to investigate the principal source of all these descriptions. The researcher would inevitably realise that all these great manifestations are only minor reflections of the light of Prophet Muhammad's perfection. The Shāh adds that these manifestations have become separated from the Prophet in the same way as the branches get separated from the trees and as the canals emerging from the rivers flow in different directions. All communities and groups gain recognition by following the Qur'ānic teachings. In short, the Shāh says that Prophet Muhammad's heart is the treasure house of esoteric and exoteric perfections. Prophet Muhammad's light has been flowing continuously like a fountain from the divine reservoir and members of all sects, religions and faiths obtain benefits from it.⁷⁴ The Shāh then further outlines the history of Prophet Muhammad's early life up to his attainment of the position of messenger of God in order to emphasise his spiritual greatness.

The reference to *qalam* (pen) in the verse "Who teacheth by the pen"⁷⁵ in the *al-'Alaq* (the Clot) chapter of the Qur'ān prompted the Shāh to draw upon examples from the contemporary administrative system as an analogy. He says that the history of past kings, distant lands, the prophets and the *sūfī* saints could not be known without the help of the pen. Kings also depend upon it. They do not talk directly to their subjects and servants but convey their orders through it. The divine *kārkhāna* (departments of the imperial household) can also be understood

72 470/1078-523/1129, H. S I, pp. 84-86.

73 Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (636/1238-725/1325) was the most outstanding Chishtiyya *sūfī* of India. He lived and died in Delhi.

74 F. A., 'Āmm, pp. 289-90.

75 Qur'ān, XCVI, 4.

by the mechanism of the monarchical *kārkhāna* which is its replica. The Shāh then gives several examples. The number of ladies inside the place can be known through the pen of the *nazārat*⁷⁶. The pen of the *buyūtāt*⁷⁷ tells us the number of houses, gardens and forts. The court servants, their *mansab*⁷⁸ and salary can be known through the pen of the *bakhshī*⁷⁹ department. The pen of the department of *sadr*⁸⁰ reveals the number of people deserving financial assistance, their stipends, daily allowances and charities. The boundary of the country, the total number of *jaribs*⁸¹ in it, the number of populated and deserted villages, the number of rivers and ponds are detailed by the pen of the department of *taqsim*⁸². The records in the department of *wizārat*⁸³ tell us the total numbers of *jāgirs*⁸⁴ and *khālisa*⁸⁵. The number of prisoners, the number sentenced to capital punishment and the people condemned to *ta'zir*⁸⁶ can be obtained from the pen of the records of the *itlāq*⁸⁷ department which controls the jails and *kotwālī*⁸⁸. The *mīr sāmān's*⁸⁹ department details the number of treasuries and *kārkhānas*. The Shāh goes on to say that God taught men the art of writing with a pen with a view to informing them of the nature of the divine *kārkhānas*. The multiplicity of divine *kārkhānas* created by God induces the men of one *kārkhāna* to obtain knowledge of the other *kārkhānas*.

The Shāh adds further that the divine domain is comprised of innumerable *wilāyats* (kingdoms). Of all these the material world (*'ālam-i shahāda*) is the smallest kingdom. Its *kārkhāna* of buildings and gardens can be understood through a number of sciences.

1. Astronomy gives us the number of heavens and the arrangement of the heavenly bodies.
2. Geography tells us about the shape of the earth, gives an account of *iqlims*⁹⁰ and its contents such as rivers, mountains etc.

76 Superintendent of a household.

77 *Buyūtāt* or *kārkhānas* were the departments of the imperial household and organized both services and crafts and industry for the Emperor's use.

78 *Supra*, pp. 10-11.

79 The minister for military administration and intelligence.

80 The minister dealing with religion, and legal and charitable institutions.

81 A *jarīb* was a measurement of land some twenty-five yards long.

82 Area statistics for the assessment of the state demand on agricultural produce.

83 Finance ministry.

84 Revenue from land earmarked for assignment to *mansabdārs*.

85 Revenue of land not given as an assignment but collected for the imperial treasury.

86 *Supra*, p. 122, note 64.

87 Department keeping the records of prisoners released.

88 Office of *kotwāl* or head of the town police.

89 The director of the *buyūtāt* and the controller of the salaries of the servants of the imperial household.

90 *Iqlīm* means climatic region ; according to Islamic geography, based on Ptolemy, the world was divided into seven *iqlims*.

3. The science of *masālik* and *mamālik* (paths and countries) tells us of roads, towns, villages, mountains and rivers.
4. The science of *ab'ād* (distances) and *ajrām* (bodies) discusses the dimensions of the earth and the heavenly bodies.

Among other *kārkhānas*, one belongs to light and *mash'al-khāna* (department of lamps); discussion of the shapes of stars and rays is the concern of this department. A different *kārkhāna* consists of departments such as *tūshakkhāna*⁹¹, *kabūtarkhāna*⁹² and *bāzdārkhāna*⁹³. A detailed study of the last *kārkhāna* can be made from the *Hayāt al-hayawān*⁹⁴. The details of *dawā'ī-khāna* should be learnt from the *Mufradāt*⁹⁵ by ibn-i Baytār⁹⁶, Jāmi'-Baghdādī⁹⁷ and other important *qarābādhihs*⁹⁸. Knowledge about the *jawāhir-khāna* is dependent upon the accounts contained in works on mines and stones. Works of art and craft are of great help to the officers of the mint. The records of the rulers of all the seven climes give the details of the *rūzinadār*⁹⁹, *jāgirdār*¹⁰⁰ and holders of *milk*¹⁰¹. In short, the above descriptions, according to the Shāh, are only a sample survey of the extensive knowledge disseminated by the pen.

Further, the Shāh goes on to say, the pen of the *muftis* and of those who are expert in legal traditions is the source of the knowledge of divine ordinances, *mu'āmalā*¹⁰² and *'ibāda*.¹⁰³ The pen belonging to those who are expert in pronouncing judgment on obligatory duties determines the deceased's heirs' share in the ancestral property. The pen of the historian presents an account of the past to the eyes of the present generation. All in all, if we were to ponder over the great role of the pen of fate and

91 Department controlling the wardrobe and carpets.

92 Department controlling pigeons.

93 Department controlling falcons.

94 A para-zoological encyclopaedia by Muhammad bin Mūsā al-Damīri (742/1341-808/1405), completed in 773/1371-2.

95 *al-Jāmi' li mufradāt al adwīya wa'l aghadhiya* by ibn al-Baytār contains a description of some 1400 simples, animal, vegetable and mineral, in alphabetical order.

96 ibn al-Baytār (Abū Muhammad 'Abd-Allāh) was a botanist and pharmacologist. He died in 646/1248.

97 This book could not be identified.

98 Works on compound medicines and pharmacopoeia.

99 Cash allowances, calculated on a daily basis and given to deserving persons.

100 Holder of *jāgirs*; *Supra*, p. 125, note 84.

101 Assignments for benevolent and charitable purposes. *Supra*, p. 85.

102 Sharī'a or Islamic law is divided into five sections; *i'tiqādāt* (belief), *ādāb* (morality) *'ibādāt* (worship or devotions), *mu'āmalāt* (transactions) and *'uqūbāt* (punishments).

103 *'Ibāda* includes all acts of devotion such as the recital of the Creed, prayer, *zakāt* (legal alms) fasting and *hajj*. *Jihād* (literally striving for a determined objective) or permissible type of wars, is also an *'ibāda*.

the benefits that the people on earth and in heaven have obtained from it, we must be bewildered and dumbfounded by its power.¹⁰⁴

The chapter *al-Mulk* (The Sovereignty), which essentially deals with Allāh's supremacy, inspired Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz to point out the similarities and differences between divine and earthly rule. The Shāh says that only Allāh rules over the true government and kingdom and urges mankind not to violate His authority for any ulterior motive. He adds that giving commands is the ruler's prerogative, and his analogy, according to the Shāh, gives innumerable reasons for unquestioning obedience to Allāh. The Shāh writes that the reason for giving the title *al-Mulk* to the chapter is that it deals with those things befitting a divine omnipotence. Of these, firstly is His abundant generosity, liberality and benevolence as indicated by the words "Blessed is He". Secondly, verse also implies Allāh's inconceivable power over all things, including even power over life and death. The verse reads "Who hath created life and death".¹⁰⁵ No king possesses this power¹⁰⁶. Thirdly, worldly kings are required to be vigilant when dealing with their subjects, *mansabdārs* and governors. The clauses: "He may try you, which of you is best in conduct" and "He is knower of all that is in the breasts (of men)", show divine vigilance. Fourthly, the words: "He is the Mighty"¹⁰⁷ indicate His omnipotence, might and dominion. Fifthly, the word "Forgiving" shows his generosity and His forgiveness of sins. These qualities are also found in some degree in kings. Sixthly, a king's concern to build lofty mansions for his officers, slaves and servants duplicates the third verse's portrayal of Allāh: "Who hath created seven heavens in harmony". Seventhly, in the same verse the mention of "Thou (Muhammad) canst see no fault in the Beneficent One's creation"¹⁰⁸ is followed by a statement relating it to the king's desire to implement the laws justly. Eighthly, kings decorate their towns with mirrors and profuse illuminations in obedience to Allāh's words: "And verily We have beautified the world's heaven with lamps". Ninthly, Allāh says: "We have made them missiles for the devils, and for them we have prepared the doom of the flame",¹⁰⁹ and "(the wardens of hell) therefore ask them (those who disbelieve) 'Came there unto you no warner'." Kings also, in imitation, prepare war equipment such as cannon, guns, gunpowder, fortifications and foot soldiers. Tenth, as Allāh says in the verse: "Lo! those who fear their Lord in secret, theirs will be

104 F. A., *'Āmm*, pp. 311-13.

105 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 2.

106 F. A., *Tabārak al-ladhī*, p. 5.

107 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 2.

108 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 3.

109 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 5.

forgiveness and a great reward"¹¹⁰ can be referred to the royal practice of offering large rewards and benefits to their friends and loyal subjects. A further verse reads "Have ye taken security from Him Who is in the heaven that He will not cause the earth to swallow you when lo! it is convulsed".¹¹¹ The next two verses reiterate this theme:

"Or have ye taken security from Him Who is in the heaven that He will not let loose on you a hurricane? But ye shall know the manner of My warning."

"And verily those before them denied, then (see) the manner of My wrath (with them)!"

Eleventh, the message in verse 19: "Have they not seen the birds above them spreading out their wings and closing them!"¹¹² is imitated by kings when they imprison wild and domestic animals. Twelfth, Allāh says about the limitless scope of His actions, "Have ye taken security from Him Who is in the heaven"?¹¹³ Likewise kings also try to maintain peace, reduce the price of grain and provide daily bread, stipends and allowances in their kingdoms. Point thirteen, God's words in the verses: "Or who is he that will be an army unto you to help you instead of the Beneficent"?¹¹⁴ and the observation "Nay, but they are set in pride and forwardness"¹¹⁵ are reflected in the kings' refraining from promoting such people as may prove helpful to those who have been expelled by the rulers from their court. Explaining further the words, "*wa-huwal 'aziz*" (He is the Mighty), in verse two of the *al-Mulk* chapter, the Shāh says that when a worldly king appoints someone his deputy and delegates his power to him, it is not easy for the king to dismiss him and he is often unable even to admonish or punish his deputy. Conversely, Allāh's might is free from this difficulty. He has made human beings his viceregents and given them authority to act freely but, in the event of their disobedience, He has no difficulty in reproving and chastising them.¹¹⁶

However, the Shāh repeatedly warns his readers that the analogies offered by him are intended only to help them understand the divine power. The power of kings does not have any real relationship to the divine power.

110 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 12.

111 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 16.

112 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 19.

113 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 17.

114 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 20.

115 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 21.

116 F. A., *Tabārak al-ladhī*, p. 6.

Muslim Religious and Social Ethics

The verses on Muslim political and social ethics offer Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz considerable opportunity to put forward *sūfī* interpretations and orthodox Ash'arī¹¹⁷ views. For example, in connection with the explanation of the first verse, "Woe unto the defrauders",¹¹⁸ in chapter *al-Tatfif* (defrauding) or *Mutaffifin* (defrauders), the Shāh says that although the Arabs use the word *tatfif* in the sense of fraud by weights and measures, Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim Qushayrī¹¹⁹ and other holy men use it in a broader sense. They interpret *tatfif* to include a large number of vices. For example, exposing another's faults whilst concealing similar faults in ourselves; seeking justice from others and being unjust ourselves; finding fault with others while ignoring our own faults; expecting others to show us respect but not treating them with the respect they deserve; forbidding others to do the things we like to do ourselves; imposing hard tasks on labourers and servants but not paying them their due wages; praying to God to grant us good fortune while not ourselves observing our obligatory religious duties.

The Shāh adds that, according to a hadith, Prophet Muhammad, after reading this chapter, informed the people of Medina that there were five reciprocal states. No community as a whole broke its promises unless it was made helpless by its enemies. Secondly no community violated the shari'a and repudiated its laws concerning bribery unless it was deeply impoverished. Thirdly, no community allowed adultery or sodomy to be committed publicly unless it felt that it was faced with death. Fourthly, no community indulged in cheating with weights and measures unless its agriculture was ruined. Fifthly no community forbade the payment of *zakāt* unless faced with scarcity. The Shāh does not agree with the jurists who do not consider *tatfif* a dreadful sin (*kabīra*) and says that *tatfif* is a serious offence which obstructs justice. For, he states, God has created measuring and weighing instruments for the implementation of equity and justice and people's behaviour is dependent upon their being rightfully used. Those who transform weights and measures into instruments of tyranny are guilty of transforming instruments of worship into occasions of sin. Moreover *tatfif* is an act of perfidy, cheating and deception and proves the wickedness of one's inner self.¹²⁰

In relation to the verse: "But if they measure unto them or weigh for

117 *Tabārak al-ladhī*, p. 3.

118 *Qur'ān*, LXXXIII, 1.

119 Abu'l-Qāsim al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (376/986-465/1072) played an important role in reconciling orthodox Sunnism with *sūfism*. His mystical exegesis on the *Qur'ān*, entitled, *Latā'if al-ishārāt* is a very important contribution in this direction.

120 F. A., 'Amm, pp. 111-12.

them, they cause them loss",¹²¹ in the same chapter the Shāh delves into the question of loans and states that according to hadīth there are four classifications of loan payment.

1. Someone, who correctly pays his debts, politely asking his own debtors to repay loans, is the ideal person.
2. One who pays his debts with much reluctance but when realising his own debts is exceedingly harsh and oppressive is the worst type of person.
3. One who repays loans promptly and is rigorous when demanding the return of loans.
4. One who is indifferent about repaying debts but treats his own debtors with courtesy and consideration.

The Shāh considered the last two categories moderate.

Discussing the question of anger in the exegesis of the same verse, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz describes four different personalities.

1. One who becomes angry quickly but whose anger subsides as swiftly.
2. One who takes a long time to get angry and an equally lengthy period to regain his good humour.
3. One who gets angry quickly and is appeased after a long time.
4. One who rarely gets angry and is appeased very quickly.

To the Shāh the last type was the best.¹²²

The Shāh's explanation of Chapter *al-Layl* (The Night) offered him an opportunity to deliver a philosophical analysis of good, evil and freewill. The fourth verse of the chapter states: "Lo! your effort is dispersed (towards diverse ends)".¹²³ Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz says that the difference between true belief and heresy, virtue and vice, munificence and niggardliness are indescribable. Following the *ishrāqīs* he divides them into three main categories:—

1. Pure good.
2. Unmitigated evil.
3. Mixed good and evil.

Each of these is divided into three subgroups. Taking the first group he says that if both the interior motive and the exterior deed are virtuous, the act could be described as pure good. It has three different forms:

1. Externally conforming to the *sharī'a*.
2. Based on pure intentions.
3. Founded on correct beliefs and true faith.

121 *Qur'ān*, LXXXIII, 3.

122 F. A., 'Amm, pp. 113-14.

123 *Qur'ān*, XCII, 4.

Unmixed evil is devoid of all the above three forms.

1. Its external form is contrary to the shari'a.
2. Its intention is evil.
3. It is based on wicked beliefs.

Actions which are a mixture of good and evil are also of different forms.

They are as follows:

1. An action which in its outer form appears to be based on the shari'a but which is motivated by evil (for example hypocritical prayer).
2. An action which in outer form is contrary to the shari'a but the intention is good; such as crying for love of the martyrs of Karbalā, listening to *samā'* (sūfī music accompanied by instruments), and indulging in illegal practices in order to arouse divine love and ecstasy.
3. Actions which in both their outer form and inner intention are good but are not based on true faith, such as the worship of the polytheists.

The Shāh adds that although the classifications of pure good, unmitigated evil and mixed good and evil can be subdivided into many smaller groups, ultimately all actions fall within the above categories and each is rewarded or punished according to merit.¹²⁴

In the exegesis of the eleventh verse of this chapter "His (man's) riches will not save him when he perisheth", the Shāh points out that only the rewards and punishments for pure good and unmitigated evil have been discussed. Nothing has been mentioned of mixed good and evil for any wise man can make inferences about the third category from the first two. It is obvious that, in the case of good and evil being mixed, evil predominates. The shari'a says that it is not lawful to eat the meat of animals who are cross-bred unless it is lawful to eat both animals. For instance mule's meat, as the animal is a cross between a horse and an ass, is not lawful. Similarly, if any unlawful article is mixed with a lawful article, the mixture becomes unlawful as does the result of mixing pure milk and contaminated milk, the mixture of the syrup of clean sugar and dirty water. Likewise a good act intertwined with an evil one becomes evil.

The Shāh goes on to say that in explaining the three types of action, the authors of the exegesis draw upon the analogy of night and day and the opportunities they offer for different types of actions. Thieves and whoremongers spend their night in evil deeds; pious people devote themselves to prayer during the night. Similarly holy men and scoundrels spend their days differently. Men and women also drastically differ in their actions and attitudes although both of them are responsible for the multiplication of progeny. The actions, mind and ambitions of men are lofty

124 F. A., 'Amm, p. 263.

and those of women are low. Men are interested in gaining name and position, while women are interested in dress and ornaments. So long as they are separate the good can survive, evil consists in the mixture itself. The Shāh then quotes the following verses of Amīr Khusraw:

“He who performs any deed of manliness or chivalry,
Is unmanly if he advertises it himself.
He who performs any important deed and does not advertise it,
he may be regarded as a man.
He who performs any important deed and advertises it, is
certainly a woman.
He who neither performs any deed nor advertises himself,
consider him half a man.
He who despite not performing any deeds, still advertises,
may be considered half a woman.”¹²⁵

The Shāh explains the orthodox Ash'arite views on determination and freewill in his exegesis of several verses. For example the twelfth verse of the same *al-Layl* chapter says: “Lo! Ours it is (to give) the guidance”. The Shāh comments that in this verse God is reminding human beings that He gave to each of them five external senses (hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting and touching) and five internal ones (commonsense, thinking, imagination, memory and discretion). He gave to all humans the rational faculty in order to discriminate between good and evil. Subsequently prophets were sent to them. They were given sacred writings and taught the shari'a and God's commands. They were made aware of the delights of paradise and the pains of hell. God also appointed spiritual guides and preachers to instruct human beings and provided opportunities for them to learn from warnings and lessons to pursue the right course of action available to them. They were taught the ways to discriminate between the misguided and the righteous path. It is not God's duty to force people to choose the right path and prevent them from doing sinful deeds. Human beings, who are endowed with wisdom, have been left free to choose for themselves a good or evil course of action. This is significant, for without giving men freedom to will and act, it would not be possible to discriminate between the obedient people and the sinners.¹²⁶

Further, according to the Shāh, the following verse:

“And lo! unto Us belong the latter portion (the hereafter) and the former (the world).”¹²⁷

125 F. A., *'Āmm*, pp. 264-65.

126 *Ibid*, p. 266.

127 *Qur'ān*, XCII, 13.

shows that all men were not meant to perform the same type of action. The verse says that both the world and the hereafter are under God's control. Each of these are given to those who pray for them. Those who pray for both the world and the hereafter are graced with both. Had God forcibly directed each individual to seek the hereafter the world would have been ruined and become worthless. Earthly vanities and worldly duties would never have come into existence and none would have been inclined towards them. It is for the embellishment of both worlds that God has made people's ambitions different and aroused different choices in their heart. Then the Shāh quotes a Persian verse:

"Each one has been created for a particular task
God inclines him to undertake that task."¹²⁸

In connection with the explanation of the verse "Which only the most wretched (*ashqā*) must endure",¹²⁹ the Shāh says that some people are made wretched by God in worldly matters. Their bodies are subject to serious diseases and, as no business of their is successful, they are despised by others. Conversely some people are "wretched" in heavenly matters. They are engrossed in minor sins and are lazy in their worship of God. Some are wholly occupied in serious crimes and do not obtain divine guidance to repent. Others are destined to sink into the worst form of wretchedness i.e. polytheism and heresy. The Shāh asserts that the most unfortunate are those who will be wretched in the hereafter. The latter also consist of two types. There are those who are finally saved by undergoing hardship in the period between death and resurrection and are frightened by the dreadful scenes on the last day into repentance for their sins. The prophets and saints intercede for them and remove their "wretchedness". The people who commit serious sins and do not repent before their death belong to this class. To the second category belong infidels and polytheists whose "wretchedness" is in no case removed and for whom intercession is of no avail. The people in the first category may be called "wretched" (*shaqī*) but those in the second category are the most miserable (*ashqā*), for verse sixteen defines them as "He who denieth and turneth away". This verse, the Shāh says, is applicable only to infidels for even though Muslims may commit serious crimes, their faith in Islam is not undermined. Muslims never consider divine ordinances wrong but only say that their misfortune prevents them from carrying them out. Admitting that Muslims, according to their sins, will be cast into the fires of hell, the Shāh says that the fire intended for them will be different from that

128 F. A., 'Amm, p. 260.

129 Qur'ān, CII, 15.

for the infidels. Some exegesis writers, he says, are of the opinion that wicked Muslims would be temporarily cast into hell-fire to discipline them while the infidel would be consigned permanently and would never escape.¹³⁰

In the exegesis of *ashqā* (most wretched or basest) in verse twelve of chapter ninety-two,¹³¹ the Shāh says that according to Prophet Muhammad, the basest person amongst the post-Islamic generation was 'Alī's assassin, 'Abd-Allāh ibn Muljam¹³², a Khārijite¹³³, and, in the pre-Islamic generations, it was Qadhar bin Salif of the Thamūd¹³⁴ tribe who cut the tendons of the she-camel whom God had produced from a rock as a miracle for the Thamūd's prophet Sālih. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz then goes on to describe how ibn Muljam, 'Alī's assassin, was goaded into this heinous crime by his beloved Qatāmi. 'Alī, the Shāh adds, was a true replica of the perfection of the Prophet's *wilāyat* (sainthood) and was the seal of the caliphs (*khātām al-khulafā'*). His death marked the end of the viceregency of the Prophethood. The Shāh then quotes 'Ā'isha, the Prophet's wife, who is said to have told the Prophet's companions, that the tragedy had freed the Arabs to act as they liked and there was now no one to prevent them from sinning. Although after 'Alī's death, the Shāh says, there were innumerable preachers and scholars who had been among the Prophet's companions who fearlessly attempted to prevent people sinning and were not even frightened of the Umayyad rulers (*mulūk*), their guidance differed from that of 'Alī, which embodied all Prophet Muhammad's virtues. Comparing the effect of 'Alī's death with that of earlier caliphs, the Shāh says that their death did not undermine the faith's progress because other competent people replaced them, but 'Alī's death amounted to the total extinction of Allāh's light and guidance. That calamity could never be remedied. However, the Shāh notes that, unlike the Thamūd nation, Prophet Muhammad's nation was not totally destroyed. He says there were two main reasons: firstly, unlike the Thamūd's nation, the entire community of the Prophet did not endorse 'Alī's assassination and, secondly, after the she-camel's death her child also disappeared but, after 'Alī's death, his sons survived. They and their descendants, therefore, inherited the light of 'Alī's *wilāya* and imāms (spiritual heads) continued to emerge from his descendants. Although

130 F. A., 'Amm, p. 267.

131 Chapter *al-Shams* (The Sun).

132 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Murādī ibn Muljam, assassinated 'Alī bin Abi Tālib on 19 Ramadān 40/26 January 661 in the Kūfa mosque. Two days later 'Alī died.

133 *Supra*, p. 83.

134 *Qur'ān* VII : 73-79, XI : 61-68, XIV : 9, XV : 80-84, XXV : 38, XXVI : 141-159, XXVII : 45-53, XXIX : 38, XLI : 13, 14, 17, 18, LI : 43-45, LIII : 51, LIV : 23-31, LXIX : 4, 5, LXXXV : 18, LXXXIX : 9, XCI : 11-15.

with 'Alī's death the total effect of his external presence was removed, the light of his guidance continued to act as a beacon among different groups of righteous people. This guidance, the Shāh concludes, saved Prophet Muhammad's nation from destruction.

As *ashqā* is interpreted to mean ibn Muljam, *atqa* (righteous) in verse 17 of the *al-Layl* ('The Night) chapter and the following verses, according to the Shāh, are meant to underline the piety, sacrifice and contributions of Abū Bakr to Islam. The verses are:

"Far removed from it will be the righteous (*atqa*)
Who giveth his wealth that he may grow (in goodness),
And none hath with him any favour for reward,
Except as seeking (to fulfil) the purpose of his Lord Most High.
He verily will be content."¹³⁵

The Shāh also refutes the objection of the *Tafdiliyyas*¹³⁶ according to whom *atqa* implies Prophet Muhammad and not Abū Bakr. He says that in classical Arabic usage *atqa* can only mean an individual and not a prophet. Some Sunnī scholars, the Shāh adds, are of the opinion that the term *atqa* applies to Abū Bakr, for, after Prophet Muhammad's death, Abū Bakr decidedly excelled his contemporaries in righteousness. The Shāh forcefully draws his readers' attention to the reference in the next verse to the selfless expending of wealth to promote Islamic interests as a definitive reference to Abū Bakr.

The above discussion eloquently demonstrates that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz underlines the sense of the destiny of Islam, but overall the main thrust of most of his discussions is concentrated on the divine directions to do good and reject evil. Although the Shāh did not publish an exegesis of the whole of the Qur'ān, the important chapters he chose epitomize the struggle for monotheism against the many gods or pseudo-gods worshipped either by the Arabs or Hindus, or the pseudo-gods evolved by the common Muslims in their desire to venerate the spirits of the saints.¹³⁷

Besides the *Fath al-'Aziz*, the *Fatāwā-i 'Azizi* contains an exegesis of a considerable number of verses from different chapters in the Qur'ān. The Shāh seems to have taken this from his unpublished drafts, although the *Fath al-'Aziz* is not specifically quoted in all cases. For example, he quotes the exegesis of the verses of the *al-mu'minūn*¹³⁸ (The Believer) chapter from the *Fath al-'Aziz*.¹³⁹ In connection with the exegesis of the

135 F. A., 'Āmm, pp. 255-58; Qur'ān XCII, 17-21.

136 Qur'ān XCII, 17-21.

137 *Infra*, pp. 195, 337.

138 F. A., 'Āmm, pp. 270-71.

139 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 32.

Mu'minūn chapter dealing with divine help to the prophets, the Shāh quotes the following verse:

"Lo! We verily do help Our messengers, and those who believe, in the life of the world and on the day when the witnesses arise."¹⁴⁰

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz says that many prophets such as Zacharias and Yahyā were martyred, but God took revenge on the Israelites when 70,000 of them were killed later. The "help" means that one's enemies are killed and one's mission is successful; one's own death, defeat or injuries do not mean that one was not helped. The Shāh then says that Mawlānā Ya'qūb Isfrāyīnī¹⁴¹ had written a treatise on the commentary on this verse, in which he admits that prophets (*nabīs*) had been killed, wounded and suffered difficulties but adds that God had promised assistance only to the *rasūls* (messengers) and the rest of the *nabīs* (prophets) were excluded. Differing from the Mawlānā, the Shāh comments that the gloss does not explain the defeat of Prophet Muhammad who was the best of all *rasūls* and *nabīs* in the battle of Uhud.¹⁴² Discussing some grammatical problems in Isfrāyīnī's exegesis, the Shāh concludes that another verse also promises divine help for the prophet's mission but not military success. The verse says:

"And if We take thee away, We surely shall take vengeance on them. Or (if) We show thee that wherewith We threaten them: for lo! We have complete command of them."¹⁴³

The exegesis of the *al-Nisā'* (The Women) chapter also appears in the *Fath al-'Aziz*.¹⁴⁴ The following verse from it prompts the Shāh to discuss aspects of good and evil. The verse reads:

"Wheresoever ye may be, death will overtake you, even though ye were in lofty towers. Yet if a happy thing befalleth them they say: This is from Allāh; and if an evil thing befalleth them they say: This is of thy doing (O Muhammad). Say (unto them): All is

140 *Qur'ān*, XL, 51.

141 Possibly 'Isām al-Dīn Isfrāyīnī (d. 944/1537), the author of a super commentary on the Baydāwī's, *Anwār al-tanzīl*.

142 This battle took place in 3/624-5 at the foot of the hill of Uhud outside Mēdina. A well equipped army of about 3,000 Meccans defeated Muhammad's small army and the Prophet himself was wounded.

143 *Qur'ān*, XLIII, 41-42; *Fatāwā*, II, p. 30.

144 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 34.

from Allāh. What is amiss with these people that they come not nigh to understand a happening.¹⁴⁵

The Shāh says that according to this verse whatever difficulties and death are pre-destined, they occur inevitably and it is useless making plans to protect oneself from them. Allāh, according to the Shāh, says that the best remedy against sensual (*nafsāniyya*) corruption is to have complete faith in fate in order to reduce the effort spent in gaining profit from worldly activities. Absolute faith in God would destroy mean habits, make timid people brave and the miser grow generous. Confidence that good and evil emanate from Allāh would increase for, unless the light of faith is strong in a man, his heart is the repository for doubts and misgivings. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz quotes the battle of Badr¹⁴⁶ as an example of men who trusted God ascribing their victories and acquisition of booty to Him. When defeated, men who had no faith in God blamed their commander for not properly organizing their strategy as was the case with Prophet Muhammad in the Uhud and Ahzāb¹⁴⁷ battles. However, only the *munāfiqīn* (hypocrites) attributed the Prophet's victory to chance and his defeats to miscalculations in strategy. The Shāh goes on to say that the prophets had correctly attributed good to Allāh and evil to man. Answering the criticism of the *munāfiqīn*, the Shāh says that the prophets are not kings and noblemen whose duty is to plan strategies. Prophets are responsible for disseminating divine commands. Allāh, who is omnipotent and omniscient, protects and helps the prophets. Accordingly obedience to rulers and noblemen is necessary for the transaction of worldly business but obedience to Allāh and the Prophet is imperative for each and every action. Reason should not be allowed to interfere with the Prophet's commands. Allāh says:

“Whatever of good befalleth thee (O man) it is from Allāh, and whatever of ill befalleth thee it is from thyself. We have sent thee (Muhammad) as a messenger unto mankind and Allāh is sufficient as witness.”¹⁴⁸

145 *Qur'ān*, IV, 78.

146 Badr Hunayn is a small town south-east of Medina, where the road from Medina joined the caravan route from Mecca to Syria. On 17 (other dates 19 and 21) Ramadān 2/13 March 624, the Meccans suffered a catastrophic defeat at the hands of the Prophet's supporter.

147 In 5/627 the confederates (*al-ahzāb*) consisting of Meccans, Bedouins and Abyssinians invaded Medina in order to seize the town. The Prophet and his companions dug a ditch (*khandaq*) around Medina. The siege went on for about a month, finally the invaders despaired of gaining victory, withdrew.

148 *Qur'ān*, VI, 79.

Commenting on this verse, the Shāh says that good and evil take place according to Allāh's plan which predominates over everything else. Good is universal and evil is the exception. In *malā-i a'la*¹⁴⁹ there is nothing but good and *Tawhid* amounts to believing this. According to the shari'a, it is not advisable to discuss the connection between causes and effects. The shari'a contends that the more correct view is that good emanates from men's natural instincts and is a divine gift in which human efforts and decisions play no part. Evil emanates from the pollution of the self through sensuality. The self is then subjected to calamities and hardships to cleanse it from wickedness and knavery. The prophets are not responsible for the sufferings and adversity of human beings.¹⁵⁰

Hadith

Like Shāh Wali-Allāh, his sons also played a very significant role in fostering the development of hadith. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz brought his training in hadith to bear upon his *tafsir* and other polemical writings and achieved the same success in this field as with his short treatises on hadith. His principal aim in writing the hadith treatises was to promote a correct understanding of hadith from the orthodox Sunnī point of view.

One of his untitled short Persian treatises on hadith came to be known as the '*Ujāla-i nāfi'a*' from the two words '*ujāla*' and '*nāfi'a*' used by him in the first sentence.¹⁵¹ The sentence points out that the treatise concerning the benefits (*nāfi'a*) of hadith was hastily (*'ujāla*) composed. It was written at the instigation of his pupil Sayyid Qamar al-Dīn Hasani.¹⁵² According to the Shāh those who studied hadith, keeping in mind the points made by him, would neither go wrong in understanding hadith nor be misled by garbled and falsified texts.¹⁵³

He goes on to say in his preface that no knowledge can match hadith in importance, for the Qur'ānic sciences, Islamic beliefs, the shari'a laws and sūfism are based on Prophet Muhammad's statements. All mystical and rational conclusions should be weighed against the Prophet's formulations, and if they are not compatible with them, they are totally unreliable. Only those doctrines concerning *tafsir*, the reasoning of divine

149 Sphere of angels, S. W. T., p. 275.

150 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 30-31.

151 '*Ujāla-i nāfi'a*' with Urdu commentary by Mawlānā 'Abd al-Halīm Chishtī, Karāchi, 1964, p. 1.

152 Sayyid Qamar al-Dīn of Sonīpat studied under Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn and Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir. Finally he completed the study of hadith under Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. He lived for a long time with Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. From Delhi he migrated to Lucknow and from there to Hyderābād (Deccan). In his old age he embraced Shī'ism and died in 1280/1863-64; Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-khawātir*, Hyderābād (Deccan) 1959, VII, p. 390; *Supra*, p. 93.

153 U. N., p. 1.

ordinances, the sources of Islamic beliefs and the theories of the *sūfī* order which comply with hadīth should be considered genuine and worth following and propagating. This makes a person who is expert in hadīth a *sarrāfi* (a banker expert in testing money) qualified to test the sterling qualities of all Islamic sciences. Those Islamic sciences which are not compatible with hadīth should be rejected and repudiated. Finally, the Shāh says, each sphere of knowledge is endowed with a characteristic which arouses in the human soul a peculiar condition, either good or evil. An attachment to hadīth creates in Muslims the qualities which Prophet Muhammad's companions possessed. The reason the Shāh gives for his statement is that in reality the companionship of the Prophet means knowing details of his life and acquiring perceptions into his dispositions in all types of worship and practice. After prolonged and persistent devotion to hadīth the above characteristics become so deeply rooted in the intelligence and imagination of the hadīth scholars that the Prophet himself seems present to them.¹⁵⁴

The '*Ujāla* is very important for the information it gives regarding the chain of scholars from whom Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's other teachers learnt hadīth.¹⁵⁵ The Shāh's description of the categories of *ahādīth* (plural of hadīth), the principles of transmission and the account of the transmitters is brief but very useful for beginners. The conclusion of the work containing points of criticism of *ahādīth* is not original and appears in other important works on the subject. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz summarized them in the '*Ujāla* in order to prevent gullible and credulous Muslims accepting spurious *ahādīth*. Below are the points brought out by the Shāh which indicate how a fabricated hadīth or a lying narrator could be detected :

1. If the tradition is not reconcilable with the known historical facts : for example those who say that 'Abd-Allāh bin Mas'ūd said such and such a thing during the battle of Siffin¹⁵⁶ are palpably wrong because 'Abd-Allāh bin Mas'ūd died during 'Uthmān's caliphate.¹⁵⁷ The following verse also illustrates the same discrepancy:

“When Mu'āwiya fled from the battle of Jamāl,
A large number of people were foolishly killed.”

154 U. N., pp. 1-2.

155 U. N., pp. 17-24.

156 A battle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya on the plain of Siffin in 'Irāq in 37/655. The third caliph 'Uthmān was assassinated in 35/655.

157 A senior companion of the Prophet and reader of the Qur'ān, ibn Mas'ūd broke away with the caliph 'Uthmān and is said to have died in house arrest at Kūfa in 32/652-53.

The incorrectness of such a story can be detected with a little thought for Mu'āwiya did not participate in the battle of Jamāl.¹⁵⁸

2. If the narrator is a *Rāfidi* (Shī'i) and tells stories reviling the Prophet's companions, or if he is a *nāsibī*¹⁵⁹ and his tales abuse the Prophet's family (*Ahl al-Bayt*) the stories should not be accepted. However, if others (Sunnīs) corroborate such traditions, they may be accepted and attempts should be made to interpret them differently from their obvious meanings.
3. A tradition which appears indispensable should not be accepted as true if it is narrated by only a single authority.
4. Time or circumstances may provide an opportunity for a lying narrator ; for instance Ghiyāth bin Maymūn went to the court of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī. The caliph was flying pigeons. Maymūn instantly recited an interpolated tradition in order to approve the caliph's hobby.
5. A tradition contrary to reason and the shari'a laws should not be deemed correct. For example, traditions specifying a fixed number of prayers to make up for having omitted prayers in the earlier part of one's life, or a tradition saying that rock melon must be eaten without cutting the rind belong to this category.
6. If a tradition quotes an event which has been narrated by a single authority although it must have been witnessed by thousands of people ; for example, if only one narrator says that on Friday the *khatīb* (preacher) was killed and flayed, he should not be believed. Such an event would have also been described by others.
7. The use of such words in the hadīth as are not compatible with the rules of Arabic grammar or where their use is below the dignity of the Prophet.
8. Exaggerated punishments for minor sins or promises of great rewards for petty supererogatory prayers such as that for two *rak'ats* (genuflexions) of a particular *namāz*, Allāh would give the worshipper 70,000 houses in paradise, each with 70,000 rooms, each room with 70,000 thrones and each throne with 70,000 slave girls.
9. For petty acts of worship, promises of religious rewards ; such as those obtained through performing *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) and *'umra* (visit to Mecca after the *hajj* season), makes the hadīth false.

158 The battle of Jamāl was fought between 'Alī and the Prophet's wife, 'Ā'isha, in Jumāda II, 36/December 656 in Basra. 'Ā'isha's principal supporters were the Prophet's companions Talha and Zubayr.

159 *Infra*, pp. 263, 363.

10. Traditions promising rewards for righteous acts which are not their due ; like those given to the prophets or seventy prophets combined.
11. The narrator may himself have admitted to forging *ahādith* while claiming the validity of his motives. For example, Nūh bin Abi 'Asma forged and popularized *ahādith* to prove the importance of some chapters of the Qur'ān. Similarly Baydāwī concluded his exegesis of the Qur'ān with spurious *ahādith* regarding their importance. When Nūh bin Abi 'Asma was asked to quote authorities for his *ahādith*, he replied that he had fabricated them for the noble purpose of inducing people to recite and teach the Qur'ān and to devote themselves to Qur'ānic studies. He wished to persuade them to cease their indulgence in the study of history, *tafsir* and the *fiqh* of Abū Hanifa¹⁶⁰. This excuse, says Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, is worse than the sin of fabrication itself, for there are more than enough correct *ahādith* concerning the Qur'ān's importance to induce people to study it. Likewise a large number of *ahādith* have been forged against tobacco, the hubble bubble and coffee. As the number of those who forged *ahādith* is very large, their aims in forging them are many and varied. For example, Zindiqs¹⁶¹ forged *ahādith* in order to ridicule and refute the shari'a. Ibn al-Rāwandī forged the hadīth that egg-plant was meant to be eaten in order to render obnoxious the hadīth : "The Qur'ān is meant to be read and *Ẓamzam*¹⁶² water is meant to be drunk". The Shāh says that the 14,000 *ahādith* forged by the Zindiqs had become famous. Those vain innovators and leaders had indulged in the forgeries in order to promote the interests of their own creed and to ridicule their opponents' faith. The Rāfidis, Nāsibis and Karrāmiyyas¹⁶³ vied with each other in forging *ahādith*. The

160 Abū Hanifa, al-Nū'mān bin Thābit (81/700-150/767) was born in Kūfa and devoted his whole life to the pursuit of hadīth. His influence as a teacher of hadīth led to the development of the 'Irāqī school of *fiqh*.

161 The term was borrowed from the Īrānian vocabulary of the Sasānian administrators and is loosely used for all unorthodox Muslims.

162 *Ẓamzam* is the sacred well near Ka'ba in Mecca.

163 A Sunnī sect called after Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad bin Karrām (d. 255/869) which became very famous in eastern Īrān and Transoxiana. In 488/1095 the combined forces of the Hanafis and Shāfi'is tried to wipe out the Karrāmiyyas but failed. According to them Divine Being is a substance (*jawhar*) for which some of its followers substituted body (*jism*). They believed God was "speaking" before He spoke, and could be worshipped before there were any worshippers. Faith constituted the utterance of the *shahāda* (confession of the faith) and neither called for conviction nor works. (E. I. S, pp. 223-24).

Khārijis, the Mu'tazila¹⁶⁴ and the Zaydiyyas¹⁶⁵ were not involved to such a great degree.

Some (Sunnī) scholars who had not learnt hadīth perfectly, also resorted to the fabrication of *ahādīth* in order to be included in the respected group of *ahādīth* scholars. The Shāh includes Abu'l-Bakhtārī Wahb bin Wahb al-Qās¹⁶⁶, Sulaymān bin 'Umar al-Nakha'i¹⁶⁷, Husayn bin 'Alwān¹⁶⁸ and Ishāq bin Najjīh¹⁶⁹ in this class. Most of these people were piously devoted to preaching and lecturing.

Some members of ascetic, pious and saintly groups who had often seen Prophet Muhammad or some holy Imāms in their dreams and heard some statement by them, also related these events in ambiguous terms and people were deceived into believing that these were true *ahādīth*. Thus sūfis such as Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān¹⁷⁰ who did not possess an adequate knowledge of hadīth, have been accused of fabricating them and their traditions have been dubbed as unreliable.

The courtiers of the caliphs, sultāns and noblemen, says the Shāh, have also constructed *ahādīth* in order to flatter their master and have thus sold their faith for worldly gains.

A group of hadīth scholars can be inadvertently responsible for fabricating *ahādīth* without any motive or purpose. Having heard some wise saying from an experienced person such as a sūfī or a *hakīm*, they ascribe them to the Prophet imagining that such a wise and noble statement could not have been made by anyone else. The number of people misled by this mistake cannot be estimated and many common people belonged to this category.¹⁷¹

164 *Supra*, p. 104.

165 A Shī'ī sect which followed Zayd bin 'Alī, the grandson of Imām Husayn. According to them the imām should be a member of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, without any distinction between Hasanids and Husaynids. They did not believe in succession by inheritance and advocated the use of the sword both for founding and defending the Zaydiyya state.

166 Qādī Abu'l-Bakhtārī Wahb bin Wahb al-Qarshī al-Madanī was the *qādī* of the army of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Mahdī (158-69/755-85) and was known as a liar. Dhahab, Hāfiz Shams al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-'ibr*, Kuwait 1960, f. I, p. 334.

167 He was the contemporary of ibn Hanbal (164/780-241/855). Although Abū Dāwūd was famous for his piety, he was fearless in concocting *ahādīth*. *Mizān al-i'tidāl fī naqdh al-rijāl*, Cairo 1325/1907-8, I, p. 420.

168 He also used to fabricate *ahādīth*. *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, I, p. 254.

169 According to the *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, he was also a liar and fabricated *ahādīth*. I, p. 94. He was ibn Hanbal's predecessor.

170 'Abd al-Rahmān Muhammad al-Salamī of Nishāpūr (d. 412/1021-22) was the author of the Sūfī biographical dictionary, the *Tabaqāt al-sūfiyya*. He compiled it on the pattern of the biographical dictionaries of the narrators or transmitter of the traditions (H. S. I., I, pp. 62-63).

171 U. N., pp. 24-26.

The *Bustān al-muhaddithīn*, completed by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz in 1201/1786-87, also deals with hadīth criticism and is designed to inculcate the correct perception of hadīth interpretation among hadīth scholars. The work gives biographical notes on important hadīth writers, with an outline of the contents of the most frequently quoted works of *ahādīth*. In agreement with his father, the Shāh considered *al-Muwatta* by Imām Mālik bin Anas of Medina, the celebrated founder of the Mālikī school of fiqh, as of paramount importance among the works of hadīth. He begins the *Bustān al-muhaddithīn* with Imām Mālik's biography and goes on to discuss the various sources through whom copies of *al-Muwatta* were disseminated.

Imām Mālik's facial features, says Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, were identical with those of 'Alī and 'Umar.¹⁷² He, however, came from a poor family and, in his zeal to acquire higher education, he sold the wood from the ceilings of his house in order to buy books. By the age of seventeen he was recognised as a leading jurist and had become very affluent. The Imām wore the most expensive garments made from fabrics imported from Khurāsān and Egypt and believed that by so doing he was showing his gratitude to God. The Imām also avoided the company of ignorant and common people and associated mainly with intellectuals. Nobody was allowed to talk loudly in his presence.¹⁷³ About one thousand people had heard Imām Mālik recite the *al-Muwatta*, and among them were *faqīhs*¹⁷⁴, *muhaddithīn*¹⁷⁵, *sūfis*, noblemen and caliphs.

The Shāh gives biographical notes on sixteen scholars whose copies of *al-Muwatta* were generally used in Arabia. The copy compiled by Yahyā bin Yahyā of Andalus (d. 234/848) was the most reliable.¹⁷⁶

The source of the second copy of *al-Muwatta* was 'Abd-Allāh bin Wahb. He was born in Egypt in Dhu'lqa'da 125/August 743 and studied under Imām Mālik for twenty years besides sitting at the feet of many other scholars. Imām Mālik used to address him as *faqīh* (jurist) a title which he gave to no one else. He evolved a very regular routine for his life from which he did not deviate. One third of the year he spent in fighting against infidels and living in *ribāts*.¹⁷⁷ He devoted another third of the year to teaching and the other third to pilgrimages.¹⁷⁸ On the basis of Imām Mālik's lectures, he is said to have compiled thirty books, some of whose titles are known. He died on 25 Sha'bān 197/1 May 813.

172 *Bustān al-muhaddithīn*, Delhi 1275/1857, p. 3.

173 *Ibid*, pp. 4-10.

174 Jurists.

175 Scholars of hadīth.

176 B. M., pp. 11-15.

177 Fortification at Islamic frontiers, manned by volunteers and spiritualists, for the defence, consolidation and expansion of Islamic conquests.

178 B. M., p. 17.

Like him, a fourth source of *al-Muwatta*, whom the Shāh mentions, had a similar routine in his life. He was Abū 'Abd-Allāh 'Abd al-Rahmān bin al-Qāsim of Egypt. According to the Shāh, he was born in 130/747-8, but other dates such as 128/748 and 132/749-50 have also been suggested. He died in Egypt in 191/806-7 and is known as the codifier of the Māliki jurisprudence. For four months in the year he lived in Alexandria and fought *jihād* against the infidels in the Byzantine territory, and in Ethiopia and the Berber tribes of Tripoli; he spent three months on pilgrimages and five months were devoted to teaching.¹⁷⁹ Some of the other narrators of *al-Muwatta* mentioned by the Shāh were also favourite disciples of the Imām. The Shāh points out the distinctive features of some of the copies and adds that, of the works of the four Imāms on fiqh,¹⁸⁰ none but *al-Muwatta* is extant.¹⁸¹ The Shāh also discusses the commentaries on the different versions of the *al-Muwatta* including the *Musaffa* and *Musawwa*¹⁸² written by his father. The *Musaffa* and *Musawwa*, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz adds, were based on Yahyā bin Yahyā's version.

The Shāh also discusses the categories of *ahādith* known as *Musnad*, *Sunan* and *Mu'jam*. Those *ahādith* classified under the names of each narrator, such as the traditions transmitted by Abū Bakr or 'Umar, are known as *Musnad*. If the *ahādith* are classified under the chapters of fiqh such as faith, purification, prayers and fasting, the collections are known as *Sunan*. Those *ahādith* classed under the names of narrators who had been teachers of hadith are known as *Mu'jam*. However, some works of hadith, the Shāh says, are known as *Musnad* contrary to the above rule. For example, *Musnad-Darmi* is classified by chapters and the *Musnad* by Hārith bin Usāma is, like *Mu'jam*, classified under teachers.¹⁸³

However, the Shāh says that some early *Musnads* which, after the *Muwatta*, are the oldest works of hadith, were not composed by the great jurists themselves but that scholars in later generations compiled them on the basis of traditions related by them and gave them the title *Musnad Imām A'zam* or *Musnad Imām Shāfi'i*. The drafts of *Musnad Imām Ahmad bin Hanbal* were however compiled by the Imām himself but their re-arrangement and editing were done by his son, 'Abd-Allāh who not only committed mistakes in editing but included many inauthentic interpolations. The latter also incorporated the narrations of the Medinites in the *Musnad* of the Syrians, and those of the Syrians in that of the Medinites. The Shāh

179 B. M., p. 21.

180 Imām Mālik, (d. 179/795), Imām Abū Hanīfā (81/700-150/767), Imām Shāfi'i (150/767-204/820) and Imām Ahmad bin Hanbal (164/780-241/855) were the four founders or imāms of the Sunni school of fiqh (jurisprudence).

181 B. M., p. 29.

182 S. W. T., pp. 222-23.

183 Hājji Khalifa, *Kash al-Zunūn*, Cairo n. d., pp. 422-31.

also gives notes on the *Musnad* by Abū Dāwūd al-Tayalīsī, the *Musnad* by 'Abd bin Hamīd and other *Musnads* which although so named belonged to other categories of hadīth works.¹⁸⁴ In addition he discusses works on hadīth such as the *Sahih* by ibn Hibbān (d. 354/965) which is neither divided into chapters nor classified as the *Musnad* of the Prophet's companion. The Shāh's defence of ibn Hibbān is interesting, for the latter's statement in one of his books that the prophethood depended upon knowledge and dedicated action, had inflamed people into declaring him a heretic. The scholars of hadīth boycotted him and the Caliph ordered him to be executed without making any enquiries. Other more reliable hadīth scholars considered ibn Hibbān a philosopher but, according to the Shāh, the truth of the matter was that ibn Hibbān's remarks were not far from true religious beliefs. The Shāh considered that ibn Hibbān did not believe that anyone could become a prophet merely by acquiring profound knowledge and by performing hard ascetic exercises, as the philosophers believed. What ibn Hibbān meant was that a prophet should be superior to the rest of mankind in knowledge and dedicated action. This led God to bestow on him prophethood. The Qur'ān, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz says, states : "Allāh knoweth best with whom to place His message".¹⁸⁵ The belief that prophets possess no superiority in knowledge and action and that God arbitrarily chooses a prophet from men of average ability, the Shāh says, is not based on the shari'a and *dīn* (faith). The correct view, according to him, is that the prophets, upon receiving their mission, gain superiority over others even in knowledge and action and are immune from sin.¹⁸⁶

The Shāh brings his account of hadīth writers down to the fifteenth century A. D. drawing only upon the most reliable sources. Some of his remarks are of particular interest to Indian scholars, providing Hindi equivalents of Arabic and Persian technical terms. For example, Bayhaq is the conglomeration of villages near Nishāpūr. The Indian counterpart to Bayhaq, according to the Shāh, is Bārha and Haryāna in the vicinity of Delhi.¹⁸⁷ *Ra'is al-ra'ūsa* (the principal leader) of Baghdād, the Shāh identifies with the *chaudhri* of an Indian town.¹⁸⁸ *Bayyi* (the buyer and seller or merchant) he classes as *beopāri*.¹⁸⁹

Like the Qur'ānic exegesis, the *Fatāwā-i 'Azizi* is also a mine of information on hadīth and its criticism of it. For example a note gives the number

184 B. M., pp. 30-38.

185 Qur'ān, VI, 125.

186 B. M., pp. 42-43.

187 B. M., p. 54.

188 B. M., p. 91.

189 B. M., p. 45.

and classification of *ahādīth* in the *Sahīh* by al-Bukhārī¹⁹⁰. It says that it contains 7,275 *ahādīth*. According to some scholars, the number of repetitive *ahādīth* is 900; others believe that if the repetitions are excluded, only 4,000 *ahādīth* remain in the *Sahīh*. The *Sahīh* by Muslim,¹⁹¹ an equally important hadith work, contains 12,000 *ahādīth* and the *Mashāriq*¹⁹² contains 2,246 *ahādīth*.¹⁹³

To a question regarding the Prophet's hadith that his community would be divided into seventy-three sects, all of whom would be consigned to hell except for the one which strictly emulated the traditions of the Prophet and his companions, the Shāh replied that only the Sunnis adhered to the Prophet's *sunna* (tradition) and followed the lead given by him and that only Sunnis belonged to the liberated sect. Therefore, he added, although the Sunnis might be punished by hell-fire for their sins, unlike other sects they would not be punished for their beliefs.¹⁹⁴

He quotes a famous Sunnī hadith that after Prophet Muhammad, the righteous Caliph (*Khilāfat-i Rāshida*) would survive for thirty years and then, after making detailed comments, concludes with an account of the superiority of his own Sunnī faith. He claims that the end of the righteous caliphate could have occurred in two ways :

1. At the height of its strength it would suddenly fall.
2. Its fall would be gradual and its demise would resemble a natural death.

The end of the righteous caliphate in fact took place according to the second form for, according to divine laws, the sudden change from pure good to pure evil is impossible. In keeping with the natural interaction of the four elements and the part of reason in the body politic of human affairs, the number of righteous caliphs was fixed at four. The reign of the first caliph belonged to the period of childhood of the righteous caliphate. Applying the analogy of physical bodies, the Shāh says that in two years and a couple of months under the caliphate of Abū Bakr, the

190 al-Bukhārī, Muhammad bin Ismā'il bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Mughīra (194/810-256/870) the leading compiler of Sunnī *ahādīth*, had visited a large number of the centres of learning in all parts of the Islamic world and claimed to have heard traditions from over 1000 shaykhs. He compiled his *Sahīh* in sixteen years and selected from 600,000 traditions.

191 Muslim bin al-Hajjāj, Abu'l-Husayn al-Qushayrī was born at Nishāpūr in 202/817 or in 206/821 and died in 261/875. Like Bukhārī he also travelled widely to collect *ahādīth*.

192 *Mashāriq al-anwār* by Badā'ūn born Radī al-Dīn Hasan Sāghānī (577/1181-650/1252.)

193 The work contains twelve chapters. The letter Q at the end of a tradition indicates that both Bukhārī and Muslim consider it authentic.

194 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 10-11.

Arabian peninsula was cleansed of apostates and Islam began to flourish in 'Irāq and Syria.

In the reign of the second caliph 'Umar, the strength of Islam, the introduction of Islamic ordinances and general tranquillity were at their zenith. This period was equivalent to the youth of the caliphate.

The slow decline started from the reign of the third caliph. An unnoticeable fall in Islam's strength developed. The vital parts of Islam viz., the Prophet's wives and relations, became estranged from 'Alī. Mutually contradictory ordinances were issued. Each event resulted in the suspension of some important leader from action. This occurred to such an extent that finally the caliph, who in the body politic is like the heart in a human body, was killed. Imām Yāfi'i¹⁹⁵ and other historians have stated that in the early part of the first caliph's reign there were disagreements but that they were subsequently resolved. The reign of the second caliph was marked by complete unanimity. Although at the beginning of the third caliph's reign there was concord, later there was much dissension. The fourth caliph's reign was full of strife from beginning to end.

The Shāh then gives several examples which underline the importance of four and concludes that the limitation of the righteous caliphate to four reflects a correct and natural law of life. Discussing his own faith, he says that he belongs to the faith of *ahl al-Sunna wa'l jamā'a* and considers all its opponents absurd whether they are heretics or recite *kalima* like the rawāfids, khawārij and nawāsibs. He detests them all. However, he considers the sub-sects of *ahl al-Sunna* such as Ash'aris and Māturīdīs¹⁹⁶ who differ in beliefs, or Hanafīs, Shāfi'is, Mālikis and Hanbalis who differ in fiqh or Qādiris, Naqshbandīs or Suhrāwardīs who belong to different *sūfi* orders, true believers. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz records his strong disapproval of all those who prefer one to the others and insult or condemn any one of them as sinners. He adds that all the Sunnī sub-sects are dedicated to the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*. Their differences arose from their respective approaches to the interpretation of the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*. In short each *mujtahid*¹⁹⁷ is on the right path. It was this reason that induced the

195 Imām Yāfi'i (689/1298-768/1366) was the author of the *Mir'āt al-jinān* and the *Khulāsāt al-mafākhir*.

196 Abū Mansūr Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī (d. 333/944), the head of the Māturīdī school of Sunnī theology, was a contemporary of al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935-36). Both defended orthodox Sunnism against the Mu'tazila onslaught by using the same type of rational arguments which the Mu'tazila employed to defeat their rivals. Māturīdīs were the followers of Abū Hanīfa and Ash'arī was the follower of Ahmad bin Hanbal. The differences between the two sub-sects on divine power, free-will and legal questions are great. However, the Shāh and other Sunnī scholars considered these differences insignificant. *Fatāwā*, pp. 146-48.

197 Scholars who by their education and training are competent to perform *ijtihād* or

Shāh to interpret on demand the rules of the Sunni sub-sects according to their particular beliefs and practices although he knew that ignorant people would accuse him of acting hypocritically. The Shāh continues that bigotry against infidels and innovatory sects (*shī'as*) is a virtue and an act of worship, but that it should not be applied to any of the Sunni sub-sects.¹⁹⁸ A considerable number of *ahādīth* in the *Fatāwā* spiritedly condemn Shī'i beliefs and these will be discussed in chapter five.

The Fiqh

Like his father, the Shāh also believed that legal truth was confined to the fiqh (jurisprudence) of the four schools of Sunni law, but that the judicial decrees of these according to their founders' (imāms) statements should not be preferred to authentic *ahādīth*. According to the Shāh, his father's *Risālā insāf fī bayān asbāb al-ikhtilāf* and the '*Aqd al-jidd fī masā'il al-ijtihād wa't-taqlīd*'¹⁹⁹ dealt competently with the factors that led to the founding of the four schools of fiqh (jurisprudence), their respective contributions and the problems surrounding *taqlīd* (the unquestioning acceptance of the ruling of one of the four imāms of fiqh). However, in his *Fatāwā*, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz himself dealt with the problems of obedience to the laws of the four schools in several letters. In one he wrote that before the Muslims had decided to obey completely the jurisprudence of one of the schools, they were splintered into some seventy sects. After the four schools were established, they retained their respective followings, and no new sect was carved out. When other *mujtahids* realized that the disciples of the *mujtahids* attached to these four schools were better endowed with wisdom, purity of heart, inner light, piety, sincerity, selflessness and were more competent in the classical Arabic language, the rules of deduction and the criticism of Islamic law, than they themselves, they had no alternative but to "close the door of *ijtihād*".²⁰⁰ These *mujtahids* appealed to God saying that by introducing their own opinions they were likely to

(F. N. 197 *Contd.*)

to exert themselves to form an opinion (*zann*) in a case (*qadiya*) as a rule (*hukm*) of law, are known as *mujtahids*.

198 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 72-74.

199 S. W. T., pp. 246-48; *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 107-8, 156.

200 By the beginning of the fourth century Hijrī, about A. D. 900, the scholars of all the four schools of Sunni law felt that all essential questions of fiqh had been thoroughly explored and finally settled. A consensus grew among the scholars of fiqh that from then on none should be deemed to possess the necessary qualifications for independent reasoning in law, and future legal exercises would be confined to the explanation, interpretation and application of the principles of the four schools. This consensus is known as "closing the door of *ijtihād*" and meant the unquestioning acceptance of the doctrines of these established schools of law.

pervert the faith hence they had decided to adhere to their predecessor's views in order to strengthen the faith. The situation which led to the "closing of the door of *ijtihād*", says the Shāh, had not changed in his time and legally, he understood it was absolutely wrong for one school to consider the *ijtihād* of a different school as illegal (*harām*). The Shāh, however, was conscious that the followers of different schools of jurisprudence were bigoted, and each group considered the ruling given by the founders of its school as finally correct. They stubbornly refused to forsake their ancestral beliefs. Of these, the Hanafis and the Hanbalis were the greatest bigots, according to the Shāh, but the *Shāfi'is* sometimes accepted the rulings of other schools. The author of the *Ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir*²⁰¹, for example, says that, admitting the fact that the *mujtahids* were known to have sometimes made mistakes, if someone enquired about the respective merits of the different schools, the follower of a particular school would say that his own school was correct although some error was possible. About his rival's school of fiqh, he would say that it was wrong but some correctness was possible. However the Shāh wrote that he would be frightened if the door of *ijtihād* were opened. Any new rulings given by the 'ulamā' would not be acceptable to all and corrupt religious practices would be invented and the lawful would be made unlawful and the unlawful would become lawful. The *shari'a* would then be destroyed. However, the Shāh added, were God to give someone the real ability to perform *ijtihād*, he would neither follow the rulings of earlier *mujtahids* nor would he urge others to obey his own rulings for fear of confusion in the faith. Should someone wish to perform *ijtihād*, the Shāh continued, he must satisfy himself that he was competent in the following abilities so that he would not be shamed before God :

1. He must be perspicacious as well as profound in drawing conclusions and must be a master of classical Arabic and the rules of logic.
2. His knowledge of the Qur'ān and *Sunna* should be impeccable.
3. He must be devoid of bigotry and egotistical desires.
4. He must have established spiritual connections with Prophet Muhammad.
5. He must be pure and instinctively capable of discriminating between impure and luminous forms of action embodying the saying : "Seek *fatwa* from your heart although a *fatwa* from the *muftis* is available."
6. He should be expert in fiqh of all the four schools so that he would not be guilty of violating the *ijmā'*²⁰² among them and of accepting insubstantial rules.

201 *Infra*, p. 182.

202 *Ijmā'* is an important source of law. It involves the unanimous opinion of the recognised religious authorities at any given time.

The Shāh concludes that *ijtihād* is not permissible for those who do not possess the above qualifications. However, those who are not endowed with these abilities and wish to leave the *taqlid* of their own school and choose more useful decrees for guiding their actions from other schools may do so under the following circumstances :

1. If someone finds the ruling of another imām preferable to that of his own and understands perfectly the grounds on which his imām had rejected it, there is no reason why he should not follow the authentic and fully reasoned out hadīth of the other imām.
2. When choosing rulings from different *mujtahids* on inter-related matters such as ablutions and prayers, care must be taken that the selection is not made in an arbitrary manner resulting in the worship being legally acceptable to none of the schools of *mujtahids*.
3. When the acts of worship are not inter-related, for example prayers, fasting and *zakāt*²⁰³ there is no restriction on making selections from different schools.
4. It is not permissible to choose judicial decrees from different schools to satisfy one's selfish desires. Those who do so are not obeying God but their own carnal self ; they should be deemed criminals. Some examples are, following the rules of usury and drinking as prescribed by the Hanafī law, selecting items of food according to the Mālikī law and yet obeying the rules for cleanliness of semen as laid down in the Shāfi'i law. This is wicked. Then, according to the Hanafī rulings, a new wife's daughter by her previous husband cannot become the man's wife as well; nor can the daughter of a woman with whom one has committed adultery be taken as one's wife but, according to the Shāfi'i law, it is possible for the same man to marry her. A Hanafite who marries the daughter of a woman with whom he has indulged in adultery, as permitted by the Shāfi'i law, is therefore wicked.
5. When choosing rulings from a different school, those discredited by the 'ulamā' of that school should not be adopted.²⁰⁴

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz did not himself write any books on fiqh but his *fatāwā* in the *Fatāwā-i 'Azīzī* answer all the important problems of Islamic obligatory duties and social and economic life. He generally adhered to the Hanafiyya fiqh which he and the majority of Indian Sunnis followed. He considered the contemporary Transoxianian 'ulamā', who had given a *fatwa* to the effect that Hanafī prayers behind the Shāfi'i, Mālikī and

203 One of the principal legal obligations on the Muslims enjoining them to bestow a portion of their saving and specified property as alms in order to sanctify the remainder to the proprietor.

204 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 172-76.

Hanbali imāms were illegal, to be short-sighted and bigoted.²⁰⁵ Of the *Fatāwā* works, he considered the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya* to be the most dependable. According to the Shāh, it was the duty of Muslim rulers to commission reliable 'ulamā' to thoroughly examine previous rulings and reject the doubtful ones so that only the authentic rules were followed. The righteous caliphs, he says, followed this practice. In particular, the third caliph, 'Uthmān, adhered strictly to this procedure when rejecting the inauthentic versions of the Qur'ān. The Emperor 'Ālamgīr, following the same tradition, commissioned a board of honest 'ulamā' to examine all judicial rulings. The reliable ones were compiled into the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya* and the others rejected. A proclamation was issued throughout the empire that those who issued decisions against the rulings in the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya* would be severely punished.²⁰⁶ Until the end of Muhammad Shāh's rule the *muftis* of Delhi complied with these judicial rulings but the dissolution and disintegration of the empire made the officials indifferent to rules and regulations. Religious beliefs became confused. The people began to depend on works of *fiqh* containing controversial rulings such as *Khazīnat al-riwāyāt* and *Khazīnat al-muftī'in* for favourable decisions on their disputes and quarrels.²⁰⁷

Sūfism

Like his father, the Shāh also followed the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) school of Khwāja Khwurd²⁰⁸ and defended some highly controversial observations by Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī.²⁰⁹ According to the externalist 'ulamā', the *wahdāniyat* means only one Creator, while to the sūfis,

205 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 156.

206 No such proclamation is known to have been issued; conversely the *dastūr al-'amāl* evolved mainly by the Hindus and Irānīs continued to be followed. S. W. T., pp. 79-80.

207 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 3-4.

208 Khwāja 'Ubayd-Allāh or Khwāja Khwurd born 1010/1601 was the younger son of Khwāja Bāqī Billāh (971/1563-1012/1603) and was strictly devoted to the school of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* of his father. Despite the efforts by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī to convert him to the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* (Unity in Appearance) Khwāja Khwurd did not give up his independent line of action. S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, Agra 1965, pp. 330-33, S. W. T. pp. 207-27, 264-69.

209 Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī (Reviver of the Islamic puritanism in the second millennium of Islam) Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (971/1564-1034/1624) was the strongest opponent of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabī (560/1165-638/1240). He promoted the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* of 'Ala' al-Dawla Simnānī (659/1261-736/1336). Some of the Mujaddid's mystical experiences relating to his personal eminence and mystical thoughts are highly controversial. M. R. M., pp. 176-329; S. A. A. Rizvi, *History of Sūfism in India*, Vol. II (in press), chapter on the Naqshbandiyyas; Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī*, McGill 1971.

wahdāniyat means that only the Being exists. The Qur'ān, he wrote, mentions both types of *wahdāniyat*. The verses concerning the unity of the Creator in the Qur'ān which suit the externalist 'ulamā's interpretation are as follows:²¹⁰

"Your God is one God; there is no God save Him, the Beneficent, the Merciful."²¹¹

"Lo! in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the difference of night and day, and the ships which run upon the sea with that which is of use to men, and the water which Allāh sendeth down from the sky, thereby reviving the earth after its death, and dispersing all kinds of beasts therein, and (in) the ordinance of the winds, and the clouds obedient between heaven and earth: are signs (of Allāh's sovereignty) for people who have sense."²¹²

"Allāh (Himself) is witness that there is no God save Him. And the angels and the men of learning (too are witness). Maintaining His creation in justice, there is no God save Him, the Almighty, the Wise."²¹³

"Lo! In the creation of the heavens and the earth and (in) the difference of night and day are tokens (of His sovereignty) for men of understanding."²¹⁴

"If there were therein Gods beside Allāh, then verily both (the heavens and the earth) had been disordered. Glorified be Allāh, the Lord of the Throne, from all that they ascribe (unto Him)."²¹⁵

"Allāh hath not chosen any son, nor is there any God along with Him; else would each God have assuredly championed that which he created, and some of them would assuredly have overcome others. Glorified be Allāh above all that they allege."

"Knower of the invisible and visible! and exalted be He over all that they ascribe as partners (unto Him)."²¹⁶

"Say (O Muhammad to the disbelievers): If there were other gods along with Him, as they say, then had they sought a way against the Lord of the Throne."²¹⁷

210 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 30-32.

211 *Qur'ān*, II, 163.

212 *Qur'ān*, II, 164.

213 *Qur'ān*, III, 18.

214 *Qur'ān*, III, 190.

215 *Qur'ān*, XXI, 22.

216 *Qur'ān*, XXIV, 92.

217 *Qur'ān*, XVII, 42.

Verses showing the Unity of Being are as follows:

"Unto Allāh belong the East and the West, and whithersoever ye turn, there is Allāh's countenance. Lo! Allāh is All-Embracing All-Knowing."²¹⁸

"And thou (Muhammad) threwest not when thou didst throw, but Allāh threw."²¹⁹

"Everything will perish save His countenance."²²⁰

"Allāh is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a shining star. (This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil would almost glow forth (of itself) though no fire touched it."²²¹

"Everyone that is thereon will pass away."²²²

"There remaineth but the countenance of thy Lord of Might and Glory."²²³

"We shall show them Our portents on the horizons and within themselves until it will be manifest unto them that it is the Truth. Doth not thy Lord suffice, since He is Witness over all things?"²²⁴

"He is the First and the Last, and the Outward and the Inward: and He is Knower of all things."²²⁵

"And we are nearer unto him than ye are, but ye see not"²²⁶

"He is with you wheresoever ye may be"²²⁷

"And We are nearer to him than his jugular vein."²²⁸

"Lo! those who swear allegiance unto thee (Muhammad), swear allegiance only unto Allāh. The Hand of Allāh is above their hands."²²⁹

"And they marvel that a warner from among themselves hath come unto them, and the disbelievers say: This is a wizard, a charlatan."²³⁰

"There is no secret conference of three but He is their fourth, nor of

218 *Qur'ān*, II, 115.

219 *Qur'ān*, VIII, 17.

220 *Qur'ān*, XXVIII, 88.

221 *Qur'ān*, XXIV, 35.

222 *Qur'ān*, LV, 26.

223 *Qur'ān*, LV, 27.

224 *Qur'ān*, XLI, 53.

225 *Qur'ān*, LVII, 3.

226 *Qur'ān*, LVI, 85.

227 *Qur'ān*, LVII, 4.

228 *Qur'ān*, L, 16.

229 *Qur'ān*, XLVIII, 10.

230 *Qur'ān*, XXXVIII, 5.

five but He is their sixth, nor of less than that or more but He is with them wheresoever they may be."²³¹

The verses in the second category, and many others in the Qur'ān form the keystone for the sūfis of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) but, as the Shāh says in a different letter, the externalist 'ulamā' have rejected the Unity of Being of these sūfis on the basis of these very verses. For example, they say that the verse, "Everything will perish save His countenance" does not, as presumed by the sūfis, demonstrate that everything is non-existent, but that it indicates a future state. Or the Qur'ānic verse "Every soul will taste of death"²³² the 'ulamā' say, does not mean that every soul is non-existent at present but that every soul will perish in the future. Again the verse, "Lo, Is not He surrounding all things"²³³ clearly shows that Allāh and other things are distinct and removed from each other for what surrounds a thing is different from the thing itself. To the 'ulamā', the *sūfic* theory of the Unity of Being is based on sūfi revelation and inspiration but the Qur'ān and the hadīth do not specifically mention it. The sūfis use the Qur'ān and the hadīth to strengthen their revelations.

However, the Shāh says that, according to the sūfi scholars, Being, identified as the Essence, is "determined" in several strata (*marātib*, plural of *martaba*). These different strata of determination or manifestation do not undermine the sanctity of Being and in all the strata of manifestation it remains sacred as it is in the state of *Ahadiyya* (Unity). Absolute Being is "determined" as Necessary Being at one level and at another it is manifested in phenomenal aspects, corporeal or incorporeal substance, in a believer or in an unbeliever, in a dog or in a pig. However, Absolute Being as the Essence is not undermined by phenomenal defects and determinations. As an example the Shāh says that the spirit is not polluted by entering into the bodies of a dog or a pig. A famous Persian verse which he quotes says:

"A different verdict exists for each *martaba* (stratification) of Being. If you do not discriminate between them you are a heretic."²³⁴

The shari'a ordinances, the Shāh says, are based on these differences. For example, sexual intercourse with a legally wedded wife is lawful while it is unlawful with a woman who is a stranger. It is imperative to show

231 *Qur'ān*, LVIII, 7; *Fatāwā*, II, p. 26.

232 *Qur'ān*, III, 185.

233 *Qur'ān*, XLI, 54.

234 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 130-31.

respect to your father and to kill the obstinate infidel. The shari'a demands that you obey different regulations and not be fettered by the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*.

Explaining the differences between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* (Unity of Appearance) in a different letter, the Shāh says that the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* means that the Essence is manifested in the Absolute as Reality and in the phenomenal aspects it is manifested as substance. These variations do not make any difference to the Essence. For example, the sun's rays which are pure themselves fall on clean and dirty object but they do not then become polluted themselves. Those who think that differences exist in the Essence are absolutely wrong, differences occur only in the manifestations.²³⁵

The followers of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* see Reality in a different way. They are so deeply engrossed in it that all beings except Reality disappear and no other being is visible to them. Sometimes their excessive engrossment in Reality prompts them to utter sentences such as *Subhāna! Mā a'zama shāni* (Glory be to me! How great is my Majesty). However, when the same mystic attains the highest stage of perfection, he starts seeing everything in its particular stratum (*martaba*). He then says, "The phenomenal existence is far removed from the Lord of Lords." The Shāh quotes the following analogy. In the day, he says, no star can be sighted and people think that no star except the sun exists. This condition applies to those who are in the middle of their *sūfī* journey. The initial stage in the mystic journey is like a night in which the stars are visible but the sun cannot be sighted. However, a perspicacious mind knows that the stars borrow their light from the sun. The final stage of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* *sūfī*s, the Shāh says, is indescribable. They see both the sun and the stars. Applying the analogy to the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, the *sūfī*s of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* school assert that the mystic posture of the former relates to the middle *sūfī* stage of *sukr* (intoxication).²³⁶

According to the Shāh, the *sūfī* consensus favours the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. In the stage of the Absolute its posture is correct. The *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*, in which differences between the Creator and the created are marked, is more acceptable in its attitude to the strata of the Absolute as determined.²³⁷ The Shāh was strongly opposed to the *sūfī*s and 'ulamā' who condemned the followers of *Wahdat al-Wujūd* as heretics without any qualification. He wrote that the apparent meaning of *Hama Ūst* (All is He) is contrary to the shari'a. Those who believe that God is infused (*hulūl*) into every object, or believe that everything is united with Allāh,

235 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 131.

236 *Ibid*, I, p. 132.

237 *Ibid*, I, p. 30.

are guilty of heresy. If someone believes that Allāh's attributes are reflected in the same way as his features are reflected in a mirror, this does not indicate any heresy.²³⁸ In a letter the Shāh wrote that it was essential to understand the differences between the lawful and the unlawful, and to make sure that God's slaves always remained slaves and did not become Lord, although the Latter may, in His magnanimity, refer to His distinguished slaves with affectionate words. According to the Shāh, only insane people misunderstood the meanings of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and, rejecting the shari'a laws, became heretics. They followed Shaykh Muhibb-Allāh Ilāhābādī²³⁹ who wallowed in heresy. Allāh had inspired Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi with extraordinary spiritual insight and he was able to remove obnoxious accretions from people's minds and restore moderate thoughts to them.²⁴⁰

However, the Shāh warns against the public discussion of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* as people did not perceive its real meanings and were led astray.²⁴¹ Those who refused to accept the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* as their *imām* (prayer leader) acted against the Shāh's wishes. He wrote that the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* who did not follow a heretical line and discriminated between Necessary Being and contingent beings, between Muslims and infidels, the Prophet and *dajjāl* (Antichrist), *namāz* and adultery, a goat and a pig should not be considered misguided. As the truth was found in all the four schools of jurisprudence, similarly all *sūfī* schools were right. To consider one of these two schools correct and the other as misguided is to condemn a large number of pious 'ulamā' and *sūfis* as heretics damned to perdition.²⁴²

Tracing the history of the differences between the two *sūfī* schools, the Shāh wrote that the development of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was fostered by a large number of distinguished *sūfis*. The prominent *sūfis* among the Qādiriyyas were Shaykh-i Akbar Muhyī al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī, Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (d. 672/1273), Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Jili (767/1365-832/1428), Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq of Jhanjhāna (d. 949/1542-3), and Shaykh Amān Pānīpatī (d. 957/1550)²⁴³. Among the Kubrawiyya, the most conspicuous were Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604/1207-672/1273),

238 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 131-33.

239 Shaykh Muhibb-Allāh Mubārīz of Allahabad (d. 1058/1648) was a very prominent Chishtiyya *sūfī* and the author of more than a dozen treatises on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*.

240 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 132. The Mujaddid died in 1034/1624. The facts mentioned by the Shāh are historically not correct.

241 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 96.

242 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 100-101, I, p. 54-55.

243 The last two were prominent Indian *sūfis*. S. A. A. Rizvi, *History of sūfism in India* (in press), II, Chapter on the Qādiriyyas.

and Shams al-Dīn Tabrizī (d. 645/1247). Shaykh Farid al-Dīn 'Attār (c. 537/1142-617/1220) was the most distinguished among the Suhrāwardiyyas. Among the Chishtiyyas, the most prominent were Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Darāz²⁴⁴ (721/1321-825/1422) and Sayyid Ja'far Makki (d. after 825/1422).²⁴⁵ Among the Naqshbandiyyas the most conspicuous were Khwāja 'Ubayd-Allāh Ahrār (806/1404-895/1490), Mullā Nūr al-Dīn Jāmi (817/1414-898/1492), Mullā 'Abd al-Ghafūr Lārī, Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh Kābulī (971/1563-1012/1603)²⁴⁶, Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshī (d. 730/1329), Shams al-Dīn Fighāzī, Qaysarī and Sa'id al-Dīn Farghānī. All of these were great scholars and their works were famous. The Shāh mentions the names of Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnāni (659/1261-736/1336) and Imām-i Rabbāni Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī²⁴⁷ as pioneers of the school of *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. In a different letter the Shāh included Shaykh Abū Tāhir Muhammad Ibrāhīm Kurdī²⁴⁸ (d. 1145/1733) from Medina, Shaykh Husām al-Dīn 'Alī Muttaqī²⁴⁹ (d. 975/1567) from Mecca and Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith²⁵⁰ (958/1551-1052/1642) of Delhi²⁵¹ as proponents of this school.

Unlike many modern scholars and the Mujaddidis, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz did not believe that the Mujaddid was the founder of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. However, he claimed that the Mujaddid destroyed the doubts of the *malāhida* (heretics), *rawāfids* (Shi'is), the fanatics among the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, innovators (*mubtad'in*) and those who indulged either covertly or overtly in seeking to share the divine power (*shirk-i jalī wa shirk-i khafī*). The Mujaddid's followers were devoted to obeying the Prophet's *sunna* and did not indulge in innovations (*bid'at*)²⁵². Like his father, he also believed that the *kashf* (mystic revelations) to the Mujaddid were correct, and provided a spirited defence of his many controversial statements. For instance the Mujaddid, in letter no. 88 of Vol. III of his *Maktūbāt*, written between 1028/1618-19 and 1031/1621-22, told his younger son, Khwāja Muhammad Sa'id, that Allāh had bestowed on him (the Mujaddid) the honour of His *khullat* (sincere friendship) with which the Prophet Abraham was directly associated. He was honoured with

244 Before his death Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Darāz was converted to the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* of Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dawlā Simnāni. H. S. I., I, pp. 253-55.

245 He was a very widely travelled Indian sūfī. H. S. I., I, 244.

246 The spiritual guide of the Mujaddid.

247 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 54-55.

248 He was one of the teachers of Shāh Walī-Allāh at Medina and a life-long friend of his dear pupil. S. W. T., p. 215.

249 Shaykh 'Alī Muttaqī was born at Burhānpūr in 885/1480-81 but first migrated to Gujarāt and then to Mecca in 1535. M. R. M., pp. 136-43.

250 M. R. M., pp. 148-175.

251 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 101.

252 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 240.

the Abrahamic *wilāyat* (friendship or sainthood). He, (the Mujaddid) had been made God's *anis* (companion) by Him and *nadīm* (confidant), the *sine qua non* of *khullat*. Explaining the importance of *khullat*, the Mujaddid wrote that it was a very lofty mystic station endowed with infinite blessings. In the present superficial world, friendship, affection, tranquillity and peace were but the shadows of the stage of *khullat*. *Mahabbat* (love) was a different thing and belonged to a separate realm. Without *khullat* and intimacy no compound could be created and the world would not have come into existence. In short *khullat* was the highest manifestation of love and the *raison d'être* of the creation of the world and its continued existence. The Mujaddid claimed that the blessings of *khullat* were responsible for the expression of *ma'ārif* (revealed knowledge of spiritual truth) which he had made. He went on to say that the first determination or self-manifestation (*ta'ayyun-i auwal*) of the Absolute was the being of Rabb, Lord of Abraham. This occurred when God told Abraham, "Lo! I have appointed thee a leader of mankind."²⁵³ Prophet Muhammad was appointed to obey the traditions of Abraham, "the upright one."²⁵⁴ The other prophets were ordered to follow Muhammad. Because of this fact, Prophet Muhammad referred to Abraham as father, and to the other prophets as brothers.²⁵⁵ The Mujaddid was aware of the criticism that, according to his statement contrary to Muslim belief Abraham was superior to the "seal of the Prophets" (Muhammad). However, the Mujaddid argued that the objection was wrong. The fact was that all the points of superiority in the prophethood were obtained by Abraham and Muhammad. Abraham was *khalīl* (friend) while Muhammad was *habīb* (beloved). Theoretically, Abraham was superior to Muhammad but in the matter of precedence Muhammad was superior to Abraham.²⁵⁶

In letter No. 94 of Vol. III²⁵⁷ to his eldest son, Khwāja Muhammad Ma'sūm, the Mujaddid restated that although the *ta'ayyun-i auwal* (first determination or individuation) was an expression of the *wilāya* (friendship or sainthood) of Ibrāhīm Khalīl-Allāh (Abraham, the friend of God), its main aim was the creation of the friendship between Muhammad and God. Thus the *wilāya* of Abraham might be likened to a circle whose centre was the *wilāya* of Muhammad. In order to reach the latter it was imperative to cross the periphery of the *wilāya* of Abraham and acquire the perfections inherent in his status. The central point of the circle represent-

253 *Qur'ān*, II, 124. Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī, *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Karāchi 1392/1972, III, part LX, p. 27.

254 *Ibid*, p. 29.

255 *Ibid*, p. 30.

256 *Ibid*, p. 31.

257 In *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his times*, Vol. III should be read for Vol. II, p. 267, line 22.

ing the *wilāya* of the Prophet Muhammad was the stage of the love of God for Muhammad. One thousand years after the Prophet Muhammad, the central point relating to the Reality of the Prophet Muhammad formed an inner circle. The centre was the *wilāyat-i Ahmad* (friendship of Ahmad). Ahmad was Prophet Muhammad's second name and the name Ahmad meant 'nearest to God'. The circle was completed by a member of Prophet Muhammad's community (the Mujaddid) and he was also the agent through whom Prophet Muhammad's prayers were granted, "Oh Lord, have mercy on Muhammad as Thou hast shown on Ibrāhīm." No disrespect to the Prophet was involved, the Mujaddid asserted, in the mediation of any true member of the Prophet's community with God. This could be illustrated through the analogy of a servant who prepared for himself beautiful clothes acquired with his master's money in order to enhance the latter's glory. Another analogy which could be made was with those rulers who were victorious with the help of their slaves and army; there was no diminution in their own power because of assistance from others. It was wrong to assume that the prophets did not need help; according to authentic traditions, Prophet Muhammad used to invoke the prayers of those saints who had migrated to Medina to assist in his victory.²⁵⁸

Although the main criticisms of the above letters was anticipated by the Mujaddid himself and briefly answered, he remained a target of attack because of them. The Mujaddid's talented sons and disciples also wrote articles and letters in his defence but those *sūfis* and other *Sunnīs* who did not belong to the Mujaddid's *sūfi* order were not satisfied.

Shāh Walī-Allāh also defended the Mujaddid²⁵⁹ as did Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's correspondent's first objection was : "When the stage of love (*mahabbat*), which was higher than the stage of *khullat* (friendship), had been attained, what was the point of acquiring the stage of friendship (*khullat*)?" Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz answered that the critic had himself admitted that Prophet Muhammad had called himself *khalīl*. The Prophet had attained the stage of love (*mahabbat*), but had it not also been essential to acquire the stage of *khullat*, he would not have been proud of achieving it and would not have called himself *khalīl*. The critic had also mentioned the Prophet's other achievements. Some of these were higher and some were not so high. The Shāh's statement showed that, despite reaching the highest stages of achievement, the attainment of the lower stages was also essential. In these circumstances, when the achievement of the higher stages was dependent on first acquiring the lower stages, the attainment of the latter stages was necessary.

258 *Maktūbāt*, III, pp. 52-54.

259 S. W. T., pp. 267-68.

Objection : When Prophet Muhammad had already attained the stage of *khullat*, what was the sense in re-acquiring it after one thousand years?

Answer : It was true that, according to authentic *ahādith*, Prophet Muhammad had already attained the stage of *khullat* and it was also true that it was prior to the stage of *mahabbat*. *Khullat* was an intermediate stage and the achievement of *mahabbat* was dependent on its prior acquisition. However, it was predestined that after one thousand years someone would control the stage of *khullat* and he would enable seekers to reach that stage without any intermediary and would lay down the rules and regulations for its attainment. For example, the *khilāfat* (viceregency) of the entire earth from east to west and north to south had theoretically been attained by Prophet Muhammad and he was given the keys to earth's treasures. This, however, did not actually eventuate either during the Prophet's own lifetime or under the righteous caliphs. For example, India was conquered by Mahmūd of Ghazna, Turkistān was won by others, and Turkey fell to the Ottomans and their successors. Up till his (the Shāh's) own time Abyssinia, China and Cathay had not fallen under the Prophet's rule. God willing those lands would be conquered in the age of Christ and the Mahdī.²⁶⁰ The caliphate of the entire earth was the Prophet's great heritage, but it would be attained only through the members of the Prophet's community fighting in the army of Christ and Mahdī. It was clear that the Prophet was endowed with all perfections but his control over them was obtained through the members of his community. Further the Prophet was endowed with all knowledge, both that possessed by his predecessors and that which his successors would acquire. However, control over *kalām* (scholastic theology) was gained by Shaykh Abū'l-Hasan Ash'arī, Shaykh Abū Mansūr Māturīdī, Ustād Abū'l-Ishāq Isfarāyīnī²⁶¹, Imām Ghazālī, Imām Rāzī and others. Likewise control over *fiqh* and the *sharī'a* ordinances was gained through Imām-i A'zam (Abū Hanīfa) and Imām Shāfi'i. The Prophet had gained control over the rules of *sūfism*, *sūfī* practices, *awrād* (remembrance formulae), loud and silent *dhikr* and *murāqaba* but their perfection in concrete form was manifested through Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī, Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband²⁶², and Khwāja Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī.²⁶³

260 For Shāh Walī-Allāh's different views see S. W. T., pp. 253-54.

261 Abū Ishāq bin Muhammad al-Isfarāyīnī was an Ash'arī 'ālim and Shāfi'i jurist. He died in 418/1027. His views on Allāh were more abstract and closer to Mu'tazilas.

262 Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (718/1318-791/1389) was the founder of the Naqshbandiyya branch of the Silsila-i Khwājgān of Central Asia.

263 Khwāja Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī (d. 633/1236) was the founder of the Chishtiyya silsila in India. He died in Ajmir and his tomb is deeply venerated.

The stage of *khullat* and the other stages of *wilāyat* (friendship or sainthood) were radically different. There were three reasons for that. Firstly, the Prophet had either openly stated or alluded to the signs of the other stages and had detailed the methods for acquiring them. Secondly, the other stages of *wilāyat* had been fully practised from the time of Prophet Muhammad, his companions and their followers till the era of *Junayd*²⁶⁴ and the foundation of the other *sūfī* orders such as Qādiriyya and Chishtiyya. Conversely, the rules of *khullat* were neither foretold nor practised. They remained unknown for one thousand years until Allāh decided to reveal the stage of *khullat*, which was latent in the Prophet's secret nature, through the Mujaddid. Thousands of seekers of the *sūfī* path acquired the rules for attaining *khullat* through him.

It was therefore imperative to describe the salient features of the Mujaddidiyya discipline. Before the Mujaddid the *sūfī* first traversed the road of *mahabbat* (love) and ultimately reached the stage of being loved (*mahbūbiyat*). They followed minutely the requirements of love viz., vocal *dhikr*, *wajd* (ecstasy) *shawq* (love for God), humility, self-abasement, resignation to the Divine Will, trust in God, acquiescence to the Divine Will, *murāqaba* (spiritual communion with the divine attributes) especially comprehension, and becoming absorbed and immersed into the *Tawhīd-i Wujūdī* (*Wahdat al-Wujūd*). They considered themselves like corpses in the hands of corpse washers when in the divine hands. They tried to extinguish their own attributes and those of others in the divine attributes. Their highest achievement was to realise the evanescence of their individuality into Being, and sight the divine beauty and all forms of God's manifestations. In short, at the beginning of the mystic path, *sūfī* benefited from divine light and theophany and finally realised evanescence (*fanā'*) and subsistence (*baqā'*) in God. They felt themselves to be united with God. The *sūfī*s followed this path until Khwāja Ghujduwānī²⁶⁵ was taught the techniques of silent *dhikr* by Khwāja Khidr²⁶⁶. In other words the Khwāja was the founder of the Mujaddidiyya discipline. In Khwāja Naqshband's time the discipline made further progress, but in Khwāja Ahrār's (d. 895/1490) day the traditions of *Tawhīd* (*Wahdat al-*

264 Junayd, Abu'l-Qāsim (d. 298/910) of Baghdād was one of the greatest exponents of the "sober" (*sahw*) type of *sūfism*.

265 Khwāja 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghujduwānī (d. 617/1220) a leading *sūfī* of the silsila-i Khwājgān invented eight important rules for *sūfī* rituals which also became an integral part of the Naqshbandiyya discipline.

266 No direct reference to Khidr (Khadir) is found in the Qur'ān but some authors of Qur'ānic exegesis refer to him in their commentaries on verses 59 to 81 of the XVIII chapter of the Qur'ān. Khidr is believed to have discovered and drunk at the fountain of life. Many *sūfī*s are believed to have obtained initiation into *dhikr* and *sūfī* practices from Khidr.

Wujūd) entered the discipline and became predominant. The Mujaddid assimilated them into his heart and exhibited the signs for "Beloved" described therein, relegating the earlier techniques to the background. According to the Mujaddid *sūfism* centred on the spirit, heart, *sirr* (the ground of the soul), *khafī* (concealed in the spirit), *akhfā* (rendering invisible) the elements and the body. Divine light and theophany entered the seeker's heart from his own heart and gradually he achieved the stage of *khullat*. *Mahabbat* meant the condition of being a lover (*'āshiqī*), *mahbūbiyat* meant being loved (*ma'shūqī*) and *khullat* meant friendship. The Mujaddidiyya discipline directed its devotees to indulge in friendly conversations with God, while former disciplines had directed them to the ecstasy of lover and being loved. The Mujaddidiyya discipline led to intimate conversations between God and the devotee, whereas the discipline of love led to passionate cries, restlessness and the devotee hitting his head against a wall. It was imperative for those who craved for the *sūfic* stage of *khullat* to associate with the Mujaddidiyyas for some years in order to realise the change in their *sūfic* attainments.

Thirdly, *khullat* included the conditions of being a lover and being beloved. The relationship between the stage of *khullat* and *mahabbat* (love) and *mahbūbiyat* (being loved) might be compared with that between compound and simple. The simple preceded the compound in all respects. The *Wahdat al-Wujūd sūfic* journey started with the simple love of God and ended with being superficially loved by Him. After the realisation of those simple stages, the acquisition of *khullat* as a compound commenced. Although the Prophet's community was not apparently blessed with the Mujaddidiyya technique until a very late stage, its origin was very old for it was associated with Abū Bakr Siddiq. He was the first caliph and first mature person to embrace Islam. However, it did not mean that the followers of the Mujaddid were necessarily superior to the eminent *sūfis* of past centuries. Firstly, the *khullat* path was not superior to the other *sūfic* paths; *mahbūbiyat* (being loved) was superior to *khullat*. Secondly, superiority depended on personal eminence, not on the stages of *khullat* or *mahbūbiyat*. For example the rulers and the aristocracy had their respective friends who always associated with them and with whom they indulged in private conversations, and these however were not superior to the governors, commanders of troops, superintendents of *kārkhānas* (imperial workshops) and accountants. Thirdly, the perfect *sūfis* of all the *silsilas* were permanently present before God. However, the disciples of the Mujaddidiyya discipline might be superior to others in ascetic exercises, *sūfic* revelations and miracles.

Objection : Why in the last one thousand years had not the thousands of *sūfi* saints and righteous caliphs attained the stage of *khullat* and the eminence that the Mujaddid had gained?

Answer : The objection was absurd for the critic must know that the divine will had predestined the achievements of different objectives at fixed times by a definite personality. There could be no objection in this matter. None could question why God chose Khwāja Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī to guide the Indians and why he came to be called the *walī al-Hind* (leading sūfī of India). There was no sense in asking why the thousands of sūfīs and righteous caliphs could not achieve what the Khwāja did six hundred years after the Prophet's death. Similarly, questions as to why the great caliphs and sultāns did not conquer India as Mahmūd of Ghazni did, were pointless.

Objection : Where were the signs of the achievements of the Mujaddid which were associated with Prophet Muhammad?

Answer : The signs of the perfection associated with Prophet Muhammad were the purification of the heart and devotion to Allāh's *dhikr*. These had been so completely realised through following the Mujaddid that their signs shone like the sun. Bukhārā, Samarqand, Balkh, Badakhshān, Qandahār, Kābul, Ghazni, Tāshqand, Yārqand, Sabz Shahr, Hisār Shādmān were Muslims. No Hindu, Christian or Rāfidī was found there. In these places only the Mujaddidiyya order was found. God had commissioned the Mujaddid to protect the Prophet's community. The truth of the Mujaddid's claim could be demonstrated by a physical analogy. For example if a physician stated that a noted doctor had deputed him to act for him and he succeeded in curing people, then his claim was definitely correct. Prophet Muhammad had stated that a mediator (*silā*) would arise in his community. According to Shaykh Badr al-Dīn²⁶⁷ that prophecy was fulfilled through the Mujaddid for he was the mediator between the 'ulamā', who were hostile to the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the sūfīs who were devoted to it. To the Mujaddid it was a semantic dispute. No one before the Mujaddid was known as *silā* and the *ahādīth* suggested that the Mujaddid's mediation would enable thousands of people to be forgiven for their sins. The Mujaddid had thus earned the gratitude of the Prophet's community.²⁶⁸

Visions

Like his father, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz believed that the sūfī life of piety and righteousness, which embodied the true Islamic faith, enabled men to rise from the sinful life of the material world (*nāsūt*), apprehended through the physical senses, to the angelic world perceived through the spiritual

267 Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī was an eminent disciple of the Mujaddid. He was the author of many biographical dictionaries of sūfīs. His *Hadarāt al-quds* is an important monograph on the Mujaddid.

268 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 231-42.

faculties. In the latter state the *sūfis*, both in their visions and in their wakeful life, saw such spiritual events as were not perceived by ordinary people with their physical eyes. In a short treatise entitled the *Tahqīq al-rūyā* (Research into Visions), Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, when explaining the differences between the viewpoints of the Muslim peripatetics, the *ishrāqīs*²⁶⁹ and the *sūfis* in relation to dreams, says that the *sūfis* give several causes of true visions. These include full concentration on God and the world of pure spirit (*'ālam al-arwāh*), habitually speaking the truth, shedding immoral habits, becoming ethically perfect, abandoning evil intentions, having a healthy body, being fully engrossed in prayers and worship and in a continual state of *wudū*²⁷⁰ (ablutions involving complete body control) and never sleeping while performing *dhikr*. The *sūfis* consider the following factors responsible for false dreams: wicked thoughts and an evil mind; and lasciviousness and sensual thoughts. These, according to the *sūfis*, pollute the self and prevent it from rising to a sublime spiritual status.²⁷¹

Both Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz were confident of the truth of their visions. Shāh Walī-Allāh's *Fuyūd al-Haramayn*²⁷² contains a detailed account of the visions which he saw in Mecca and Medina. These serve to show how he believed his religious and social theories and his particular stance on contemporary sectarian, legal and mystic controversies, were divinely inspired. One of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's visions which created considerable Shī'i-Sunnī disagreement concerns 'Alī bin Abī Tālib's special treatment of him. In this vision the Shāh found himself in a vast field covered in white linen. A large number of saintly persons with luminous faces were awaiting 'Alī's arrival. The Shāh sat down. 'Alī appeared from the west. Everyone including the Shāh stood up to show him respect. 'Alī crossed through the crowd and, coming to the

269 The followers of the *Hikmat al-ishrāq* (Philosophy of illumination) founded by Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Yahya Suhrāwardī Maqtūl (549/1154-587/1191). The *ishrāqī* philosophy is designed to integrate Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy with Zoroastrian angelology and Hermetic ideals and to reconcile the above complex structure with Islam. In the world-view of Shaykh Maqtūl, spiritual and meta-physical Light (*Nūr*) is replaced by existence, the highest degree of Light being *Nūr al-anwār* (Light of all lights) and the lowest being darkness (*zulmāt*); H. Corbin (ed), *Opera Metaphysica et Mystica*, Tehran 1952, II, pp. 106-21; S. W. T., pp. 59-66.

270 The ablution is made before prayers but it is meritorious to control acts which break *wudū*; for instance passing urine, wind from the anus, evacuating the bowels and sleeping. Washing the following parts of the body is imperative for *wudū*: the face from the top of the forehead to the chin and as far as each ear; the hands and arms up to elbow and rubbing with a wet hand a fourth part of the head. The Sunnis wash their feet at the end of *wudū* but the Shī'is only wipe or rub them with wet hands (*masah*).

271 *Tahqīq al-rūyā*, Delhi 1350/1931-32, pp. 5, 29-31.

272 S. W. T., pp. 216-20.

Shāh, sat down. The Shāh also sat down. 'Alī talked to no one except the Shāh who took advantage of the occasion to ask some questions. 'Alī, however, first questioned the Shāh as to whether he was aware that a book had been written in Pushto containing insulting remarks about him ('Alī). The Shāh pleaded his ignorance of Pushto but promised to make enquiries. Then the Shāh asked 'Alī to tell him which of the four schools of Sunnī fiqh he preferred. 'Alī said he commended none of them and none of them followed his path. All of them had distorted his teachings or acted carelessly. The Shāh then questioned him as to which *sūfi* order was compatible with his ('Alī's) practices. Again 'Alī gave the same reply i.e. each one of them had interpolated unauthorised accretions and had excluded many things originally in his *sūfi* path. For example, in his own days three exercises were known and practised i.e. *dhikr*, the recitation of the Qur'ān and *namāz*. Later the *sūfis* had devoted themselves to *sūfi* exercises and had ignored the Qur'ān and *namāz*. On Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's request, 'Alī explained the way to use the Qur'ān and *namāz* as mystical exercises and succeeded in arousing the same mystical state in the Shāh's spirit. Then the Shāh said that he was connected with 'Alī through a number of *sūfi* orders but he wished to take advantage of the occasion to perform *bay'a*²⁷³ personally with his hands. 'Alī then extended his own hands, took hold of the Shāh's hands and confirmed the *bay'a*. The Shāh then asked 'Alī the nature of the opposition against him ('Alī) exhibited by most of Prophet Muhammad's companions, particularly the Qurayshis, and the attitude which he (the Shāh) should adopt towards them. 'Alī replied that he was only as displeased with them as two brothers could be with each other; ignorant people had made very far-fetched interpretations which exaggerated their differences. The Shāh then asked, "Were the claims made by members of a certain (Shī'i) sect that they were his ('Alī's) descendants correct?" 'Alī rejected their claim, the Shāh goes on to say, calling them liars. He then left in the direction from which he had appeared.

The vision seems to have received considerable publicity and both Sunnis and Shi'is made their own respective interpretations. Some words were also incorrectly reported and doubts were cast on the vision's authenticity. Seven years later, when confirming that the vision was basically correct, the Shāh tried to explain to both the jurists and the *sūfis* what was really meant by 'Alī's statement that they had departed from his path. He tried to show them by examples that 'Alī did not mean

273 An act by which the authority of a head of state or an imām or a *sūfi* is individually or collectively recognised. It is performed solely by agreement and no sacramental form is imperative. Following the pre-Islamic custom of clasping hands after the conclusion of a sale-agreement, the *bay'a* in Islamic times was also concluded by clasping hands.

that all the four schools were wrong but that he had criticized only those points of law which were incorporated by different schools on the basis of secondary authorities. The Shāh told the sūfīs that 'Alī meant only to criticise the innovations in sūfī customs and not the basic *sūfic* practices themselves.

The Shī'īs did not question the authenticity of the vision but construed it to mean that 'Alī had rejected all the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence and sūfī orders. Naturally to them it meant that only their sect was right and they were jubilant. The Sunnis however were greatly disappointed. However, the Shāh wrote that there was nothing in the vision to please the Shī'īs. In it 'Alī did show consideration to him (the Shāh), conversed with him, allowed him to perform *bay'a* and had instructed him in the mystic exercises of *namāz* and Qur'ānic recitations. This should make the Shī'īs feel very sad. By concentrating on some words in the vision which apparently favoured them, the Shī'īs were acting in the same manner as those who tried to forsake praying on the basis of the first clause of the Qur'ānic verse: "Draw not near unto prayer when ye are drunken."²⁷⁴ The Shī'ī claim was wrong, for, besides *namāz* and the recitation of the Qur'ān, they did not perform any other spiritual exercise. They ignored *sunna*²⁷⁵ prayers and considered *nawāfil*²⁷⁶ baseless. As the Qur'ān was compiled by 'Uthmān, the Shī'īs thought it full of interpolations (*tahrif*) like the books of Moses and Jesus. Moreover the spiritual exercises of *namāz* and the Qur'ānic recitations mentioned in the vision were within the framework of sūfī spiritual exercises which the Shī'īs totally rejected. The Shī'ī accusation that the Sunni jurists had given rulings contrary to 'Alī's traditions on certain matters was uncalled for because no *mujtahid* had made any rulings without a subtle *shari'a* basis. In these cases there was nothing wrong in acting against the Prophet's 'companions' traditions. The Shī'ī 'ulamā', the Shāh added, had also wilfully rejected many of 'Alī's traditions simply because they had been adopted by the Sunnis. The Shāh concluded that all these points had been convincingly discussed in the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā 'Ashariyya* and the Shī'ī sect had been condemned as false.²⁷⁷

Likewise the Shī'ī interpreted as a firm proof of the truth of their sect the vision of Sultān Burhān Nizām Shāh (914/1508-961/1554) of Ahmad-nagar, in which he is said to have been informed by the Prophet Muhammad that his (Burhān's) son, who was on his deathbed, would recover

274 *Qur'ān*, IV, 43.

275 Supererogatory prayers founded on the practice of Prophet Muhammad.

276 Voluntary performance of *namāz* which could be omitted without sin.

277 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 80-88.

provided that he did not ignore Shāh Tāhīr's²⁷⁸ instructions, Shāh Tāhīr had already made Burhān Nizām Shāh swear that, should his son recover, the Sultān would replace the names of the righteous caliphs with the twelve Imāms in the *khutba*²⁷⁹ and would endeavour to propagate their religion. The miraculous recovery of his son prompted Burhān Nizām Shāh to make Shī'ism the state religion of his kingdom. The Sunnis naturally urged Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and his brothers to re-interpret the story of the conversion. The Shāh wrote that this matter had been put to him many times but that he did not have copies of his earlier replies with him; however he was writing another statement which should end the controversy. The Shāh invited his readers to first pay attention to the differences between knowledge (*'ilm*), divine revelation (*kashf*), inspiration (*ilhām*) and dreams (*rūyā*). He asserted that, according to the '*Aqā'id-i Nasafiyya*²⁸⁰, the most authentic Sunni catechism, knowledge (*'ilm*) was dependent on healthy senses, correct *ahādīth* and reason; inspiration (*ilhām*) was not a source of knowledge and did not prove the truth of anything. According to the Sunni jurists, the Qur'ān, *Sunna*, *ijmā'*²⁸¹, and *qiyās*²⁸² were the basis of the Shari'a. Thus *ilhām*, *kashf* and *rūyā* had a very minor function both in the realm of knowledge and in the shari'a. They were neither a basis for shari'a ordinances nor actual facts. Conversely, should *ilhām*, *kashf* or *rūyā* contradict the shari'a ordinances or sound reasoning, the former should be rejected; particularly as *ilhām*, *kashf* and *rūyā* were prone to misunderstanding and misrepresentation. Of the examples given by the Shāh, one from Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī states that once someone had a vision of Prophet

278 Shāh Tāhīr, son of Shāh Radī al-Dīn, belonged to an influential family of Shī'i 'ulamā' from Iran. His ancestors had settled in Qazwīn and had been preaching the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya Shī'i faith for the last three hundred years. The Shī'is of Egypt, Bukhārā and Samarqand were very highly impressed with his learning. In the reign of Shāh Ismā'il Safavī (907/1501-930/1524) he left Iran and travelling for several years, finally settled at Ahmadnagar in 928/1521-22. His influence at the Ahmadnagar court made the Shī'i faith very popular in the Deccan. He died in 956/1549. Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Lucknow n.d., *maqāla* III, *rawda* II, pp. 110-18; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, New Delhi 1975, pp. 48-49.

279 Oration delivered on Fridays at the time of *zuhr* or meridian prayers and in the morning of the '*id al-fitr* and '*id al-adhha* prayers. Although the preachers are free to compile the text of the *khutba* themselves, it must include praise of Allāh and prayers for Muhammad, his family, companions and the monarch. In the Shī'i *khutba*, the prayer for the companions is replaced by prayers for the twelve Imāms.

280 The first abridged form of the Sunni creed according to scholastic methods by Abū Hafs 'Umar Najm al-Dīn (d. 537/1142).

281 Agreement of the *mujtahids* or of those who have a right, by virtue of their knowledge, to form an independent judgment of their own.

282 Deduction by analogy.

Muhammad ordering him to drink wine. The 'ulamā' thereupon gave the ruling that as wine was prohibited by a clear Qur'ānic injunction and as the vision was seen by only one person, the Prophet's command must have been misunderstood. The Prophet must have ordered him not to drink wine. In the case of Burhān Nizām Shāh, the Shāh says, the Prophet probably meant that since his son was cured he should not pay attention to Tāhir's words. However, as Burhān Shāh's mind was overwhelmed by Shāh Tāhir's message, he instantly misunderstood the Prophet's communication and jumped to the conclusion that he had been ordered to drink wine (i.e. become Shi'i) although he was prohibited by the Prophet from doing so.

Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir, interpreting the dream differently, wrote that the Prophet had asked Burhān Nizām Shāh to act according to Shāh Tāhir's instructions but he was not asked by the Prophet to act according to Shāh Tāhir's will. Tāhir had asked Burhān to accept the faith of the twelve Imāms which the Sunnis accepted as a true religion. The Sunnis follow the rules of the twelve Imāms in their prayers and sūfī exercises and many sūfī orders trace their origin from them. By adopting the rules of the twelve Imāms, the Prophet meant to urge Burhān to follow the sūfī path which combines worship with inner light, rather than become Shi'i.

Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn based his arguments on the Prophet's tradition which stated that anyone who had a vision of the Prophet actually saw him, for Satan could not assume the Prophet's form. However, Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn added, the above hadīth did not mean that Satan could not impersonate him. The hadīth, according to Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn, could be interpreted in three different ways. Some authorities were of the opinion that Satan could not assume the Prophet's form as it was on his deathbed. Others considered that Satan could not assume the Prophet's form as it was during his tenure of Prophethood. The third view was even more general stating that Satan could not imitate the Prophet's appearance as it was during his entire life. However, according to the Shāh, the scholars believed that no form seen in a vision could be truly identified as the Prophet's form and on that basis the vision could not be treated as valid. Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn also added that the correct traditions of the Prophet were those which had been heard directly from him by reliable persons and had been retold from generation to generation during their lifetime. In the case of Burhān Nizām Shāh, Satan, knowing that the Sultān's son was about to recover, impersonated the Prophet and misled the king.²⁸³

283 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 78-88.

Teaching Methods

The burden of teaching in the Shāh Wali-Allāh seminary fell on Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn and Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir. Instructions in *kalām* and the meta-physical aspects of sūfism were given by Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn. The Shāh's *Takmil al-adhhān* (The Perfection of Intellects) in Arabic is the continuation of Shāh Wali-Allāh's Persian *Risāla-i dānishmandī*. The *dānishmandī* (acquisition of wisdom or scholarship) was designed to propagate the following educational methods :

1. The teacher should thoroughly research the books to be studied.
2. He should teach on the basis of his researches and explain the truth contained in the books to his students.
3. He should write commentaries or glosses on them.²⁸⁴

Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn wrote that in the past learning by rote had been preferred to thinking but his father had formulated rules for teaching in order to promote the true understanding of books.²⁸⁵ The real aim of studying the prevalent sciences was to gain insight into them. The student should be able to penetrate into the essence of a problem discarding superficialities. The attainment of these objectives enabled the student to obtain control and perfection in the sciences. The cultivation of the faculty of thinking made him capable of discriminating between perfect and imperfect books and teachers.

The above teaching methods, the Shāh added, called upon students to learn five techniques: polemics, lecturing, discipleship, authorship and study. Polemics were essential to convince the sceptics, and lecturing and discipleship helped those who were ready to learn. For authorship and studies, proficiency in writing was essential.

The principal aim of polemics was to reveal the truth. It was essential that the teacher should fully comprehend the obscure, enigmatic and often absurd arguments of the disputants and order them in a logical sequence so that they could be effectively refuted. The teacher should research the different faiths and be accurate in quoting his authorities.²⁸⁶ He should be a master of syllogistic reasoning and the refutation of illogical premises. He should be able to expose the disputant's distortion of truth.²⁸⁷

Lecturing, according to the Shāh, was the art of developing the comprehension of books through speech. Unintelligent people should be taught only the translation. Those who were of a higher understanding should be taught only as much as they could retain in their memory for use when required. A perspicacious student should be taught the minute

284 S. W. T., pp. 382-83.

285 Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, *Takmil al-adhhān*, Gujrānwālā (Pākistān), n. d., p. 83.

286 *Ibid*, pp. 84-85.

287 *Ibid*, pp. 86-87.

points of the subjects and the ingenious student should be shown the detailed aspects of it. Lecturers should start their lectures with the classical texts in order to clarify the technical terms and basic principles of the subject. The diacritical marks of Arabic words should be discussed in detail ; unfamiliar vocabulary and technical terms should be explained. Analogies and arguments should be used to explicate the intricate problems. Research into grammatical rules²⁸⁸ was also useful. The reasons for the classification of the chapters and their interdependence should be explained. The contradictory statements about faith should be reconciled with each other and the unity of faith should be noted. The exceptions should be discussed and the obvious fallacies removed. Obscure statements should be analysed and discussed and the correct perspective should be explained. The grounds of preference for different types of notes should be carefully described. The reasons for the departure from the more famous styles in the text should be given. Questions and answers relevant to the books should be fixed and a summary of the text should be discussed. Translations should also be made into the student's mother tongue.

To Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn, discipleship meant comprehension of the book by listening to the teacher's declamations. It called, on the student's part, for motivation, application, love of study, understanding, memory, diligence, assiduity and faith in the teacher, the subject and the book.²⁸⁹

Prospective authors, writing either in prose or in poetry, should have a full understanding of their subject and the related and dependent sciences. An author should be expert in the rules of grammar, prosody, old and new styles and possess the ability to clarify obscure expressions and change prose into poetry. He should be competent to translate books from one language into another. His father, the Shāh adds, had also devised rules for translation.²⁹⁰

Study, for the Shāh, amounted to comprehending the book. After mastering the vocabulary and the meanings of the technical terms, and becoming proficient in its translation, the study of a book should enable the student to extract the real sense the author intended to convey and relate it to the apparent meaning of the text. A student who had studied a book should be able to critically evaluate the work and discover its defects.²⁹¹

For both Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn, *tatbiq* (to harmonize and reconcile) as applied to settling the differences between the various schools of Sunnī thought and fiqh, was the *sine qua non* of religious teaching.

288 *Takmil al-adhhān*, pp. 88-89.

289 *Ibid*, p. 90.

290 *Ibid*, p. 91.

291 S. W. T., pp. 229, 231-32, *Takmil al-adhhān*, pp. 93-98.

Shāh Walī-Allāh believed that of the gifts bestowed exclusively upon him by God was being endowed with the capacity to perform *tatbiq*. According to Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, this ability was the highest objective in the perfection of intellectual capacities. The fourth chapter of the *Takmil al-adhhān* comprehensively deals with this aspect. Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn wrote that the emergence of the different schools of jurisprudence (*madhāhib*) and their mutual attacks and counter-attacks gave rise to the incurable disease of bewilderment and doubt and there was no way out of the impasse in the present circumstances. The common people, who fanatically adhered to *taqlid* (unquestioning obedience) and were unable to discriminate between the needs of the past and the present, were sunk into a state of perplexity and doubt. In his *al-Durar al-darā'i*²⁹² Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn had discussed the causes of these differences and had laid down a yardstick by which to measure the truth. He had also detailed the rules for *tatbiq*. He was repeating the same material in the *Takmil al-adhhān* in order to benefit the Allāh's devotees²⁹³.

The Shāh continued that *tatbiq* did not mean that only one of two contradictory views should be accepted and the rival one totally rejected. It also did not imply that the intentions of one party should be ascribed to the real sense of the other. *Tatbiq* also did not entail that all principal and subsidiary rules of the different religions should be deemed correct. *Tatbiq* called for the capacity to discover the aspects of truth and falsehood in the various religions and viewpoints and attempting to unearth the causes of any departure from the truth. This procedure should be based on works containing the rules of the rival faiths in order fully to satisfy oneself.

The chapter in the *Takmil al-adhhān* dealing with the yardstick for research into conflicting beliefs states that this knowledge is acquired through reasoning, from traditional accounts and by divine revelations. Sense and feeling also play a part in the acquisition of knowledge. Rational truths, traditional accounts or divine revelations depend on innumerable factors, and nothing is correct without qualification. The experts in all these branches had been too complacent about their respective techniques. The peripatetic philosophers depended exclusively on reason, the scholars of hadith were immersed in their quest for *ahādith* and the later *sūfis* considered divine revelation the sole guide. The *mutakallimīn* (scholastic theologians) had indiscreetly mixed reason and tradition together and the *ishrāqīs* had thoughtlessly combined reason with revelation. Those who could maintain a balance in harmonizing them were rare.²⁹⁴

292 The work was not available to me.

293 *Takmil al-adhhān*, pp. 117-18.

294 *Ibid*, pp. 125-27.

The causes of the differences between the various religions and the schools of jurisprudence were both general and particular. The main reason that had led the Hindus to misunderstand heavenly actions and had prompted them to worship the sun, stars and other natural and supernatural objects, was the dullness of their mind which prevented them from forsaking their faith and seeing the light. The difference in the Hindu natural propensities and inclinations and the fact that Hindus lived in a country which was very far away from Islamic lands, were also responsible for preventing them from appreciating the Arab way of life and thought process. The Divine and Compassionate Benevolence (God) deputed prophets who both warned and gave glad tidings in different lands at various times, and tried to stop people from adopting various kinds of wrong belief in accordance with the Qur'ānic statement:

"Mankind were one community, and Allāh sent (unto them) Prophets as bearers of good tidings and as warners, and revealed therewith the Scripture with the truth that it might judge between mankind concerning that wherein they differed. And only those unto whom (the Scripture) was given differed concerning it, after clear proofs had come unto them, through hatred one of another. And Allāh by His Will guideth those who believe unto the truth of that concerning which they differed. Allāh guideth whom He will unto a straight path."²⁹⁵

However, liars, impostors, seducers, the mentally perverted and innovators of religious practices misled people through deceit and promises of wealth, power and position. Many impostors practised witchcraft and sorcery. The benefits conferred by God on obstinate sinners were misunderstood by people and they followed these evil-doers.²⁹⁶

The disagreements among the seekers after truth and jurisprudence were also accentuated by linguistic variations and the different customs in different places. The researchers also disagreed, because of the range in interpretation of technical terms and obscure words. The later commentaries and glosses on classical works also widened the gulf of dissent.²⁹⁷

Those who wish to perform *tatbiq*, the Shāh asserted, should pay attention to the differences of time and place in controversial issues on the exegesis of the Qur'ān, hadith, fiqh and sūfism.²⁹⁸ Finally, in the *Takmil al-adhhān*, the Shāh sought to reconcile the contradictions in *ahādith* related to

295 *Qur'ān*, II, 213.

296 *Takmil al-adhhān*, pp. 130-131.

297 *Ibid*, pp. 133-37.

298 *Ibid*, pp. 144-48.

topics such as hands should be raised in prayers (*rafa' al-yadayn*)²⁹⁹ or not, the differences in the schools of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*, the conflicts between the 'ulamā' and the sūfīs, and the rationalists and the followers of the shari'a.³⁰⁰ He considered all these differences were reconcilable with each other and with the shari'a.

299 See controversies on the issue, *infra*, chapter VII.

300 *Takmil al-adhhān*, pp. 148-68.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Responses to the Social, Religious, Economic and Political Challenges

The political upheavals of the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries gave rise to complex social, economic and religious challenges besides escalating the Shi'i-Sunni confrontations on the ideological front. Naturally justifications were as eagerly sought by the new rising social and economic groups to strengthen their position, as they were in demand by those who were losing their previous social and economic status. Many Sunnis approached Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz to obtain guidance. Although the questions put to him were of a seemingly hypothetical nature, they reflected the actual tensions which plagued society. The Shāh based his opinions on the standard works of fiqh but did not ignore the importance of customary law or local usage (*'āda*, *'urf* or *dastūr*) in deciding the legality of the controversial issues. In many cases he took a moderate stance and did not unnecessarily assert extreme puritanical views.

Social Structure

Islam abolished pre-Islamic Arab tribal taboos and prejudices relating to nobility of birth and hereditary status. The division of mankind into nations and tribes, according to the Qur'ān, was designed to help people identify each other ; while the corner-stone of nobility in God's sight is piety. The Qur'ān says :

“O mankind! Lo! we have created you male and female, and have made you nations (*shu'ūb*) and tribes (*qabā'il*) that you may know one another, Lo! the noblest of you, in the sight of Allāh, is the best in conduct. Lo! Allāh is Knower, Aware.”¹

1 Qur'ān, XLIX. 13.

Further, the believers "are naught else than brothers".² A famous hadith says "There are no genealogies in Islam" and other hadith prohibits pride in ancestry³. In early Islam the distinctions of birth were levelled but other criterion such as kinship with the Prophet, or membership of the Quraysh tribe or belonging to the body of *muhājirs* (emigrants) and *ansārs* (helpers) took the place of pre-Islamic hierarchies.⁴ The second caliph, 'Umar divided the Arabs into several classes for distributing booty. Those inhabitants of a conquered territory who accepted Islam were affiliated to one of the victorious Arab tribes. They were known as *mawālī* (clients) and were subjected to innumerable discriminatory laws.⁵ Later generations, however, were not slow in ascribing *ahādīth* to Prophet Muhammad in order to bolster their respective claims of superiority. For example a hadith ascribed to the Prophet says,

"The best of mankind are the Arabs ; the best of the Arabs are Quraysh ; the best of Quraysh are the Banī Hāshim. The best of the non-Arabs are the Persians ; the best of the blacks are the Nubians ; the best of pigments is safflower ; the best of property is real estate ; and the best of dyes is henna."⁶

The Turks boasted of a divine promise that so long as the sword was in their hands the jurispruden^{ce} established by Abū Hanifā of Kūfa would not die.⁷ Like the Islamicized Īrānians, the Islamicized Turks also considered that the division of society into four classes [1. priests, 2. warriors, 3. scribes and bureaucrats, and 4. artisans and peasants] as it existed in Sasanian Īrān,⁸ ideally served their interests. Ibn al-Faḳīh, the 3rd/9th century Īrānian geographer, wrote :

"Al-Fadl ibn Yahya said, 'Men are divided into four classes : kings, raised up by their right to rule ; viziers, distinguished by understanding and judgement ; upper classes, raised up by affluence ; the middle classes, linked with them by education. The rest of mankind are vanishing scum, floating refuse, vile men and women bound to meanness, whose only concern is to eat and to sleep'.⁹

2 *Qur'ān*, XLIX, 10.

3 Ahmad bin Hanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313/1895-96, pt. I, 301 ; II, 366 ; IV, 134.

4 *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Bulāq 1285/1868-69, XIV, 110 ; XVIII, 198.

5 Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Leipzig 1864, pp. 286, 712.

6 Bernard Lewis, *Islam*, New York 1974, II, p. 196.

7 al-Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-sudūr wa āyat al-surūr*, London 1921, pp. 17-18.

8 R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, London, second impression 1965, p. 54.

9 *Islam*, II, p. 198.

The Hindu class and caste divisions gave considerable ideological support to the Turkish sultāns of Delhi and they became fiercely intolerant of those talented members of the newly converted Muslim society who, by dint of their ability, occupied high positions. According to Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī (d. after 1357), Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-633/1211-1236) dismissed thirty-three high-ranking officials of the finance and postal ministry mainly on the ground that it had been established that they were of lowly origin. The lineage of the vizier, Nizām al-Mulk Junaydī, was also investigated, for it was believed that, had he been of noble descent, he would not have appointed lowly-born officers to the ministries under him. It was discovered that one of his grandfather's maternal uncles belonged to the weaver class. The vizier was not dismissed but he lost his prestige being condemned as a "weaver"¹⁰. Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664-686/1266-1287) was even more prejudiced against men of ignoble birth. The Sultān believed that he was descended from Afrāsiyāb, the Tūrānian hero of the Īrānian epic *Shāh-nāma*, and that God had given him the gift of preventing lowly-born people from achieving high offices in the government.¹¹ Baranī¹² himself was fiercely hostile to the policy of appointing common people of Hindu descent to high positions in the government.

From the first century of Islam onwards aspects of the idea of nobility were expressed through the terms *hasab wa nasab* and *sharīf* (plural *ashraf* or *shurafā'*) and *sharāfat*. These terms were part of the pre-Islamic social ethics of the Arabs. After Islam they were absorbed into Islamic morality but their connotations changed. Meritorious deeds and courageous exploits formed the basis of *hasab*. A person endowed with *hasab* (*hasīb*) was someone who had acquired importance either personally through his meritorious deeds or who had inherited it from some renowned ancestor. According to the pre-Islamic rules a person who had inherited *hasab* was expected to perform virtuous deeds in order to enhance his ancestor's reputation. Tribal members would boast of a collective *hasab* on the basis of the virtuous exploits of past and present members of the tribe.

Nasab was based on the genealogy of an individual or a tribe on either

10 Ziyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-91, pp. 38-39.

11 *Ibid*, p. 44.

12 He was a disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and an eminent author. His uncle, father and grandfather held very senior positions under the Delhi sultāns. He was himself a *nadīm* (boon companion) of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlq (725-752/1325-1351). Nizāmī wrongly tries to gloss over the impact of the ideas of class distinction on the contemporary governing classes. K. A. Nizāmī, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Aligarh 1961, pp. 109-10. In fact prejudices against the Muslim lower classes increased and did not decrease as we shall later on see.

the paternal or maternal side but more importantly on the paternal side. In pre-Islamic Arabia the unstained *nasab* of important tribes went back to the distant past. The Prophet prohibited attacks on the real or imaginary defects of people's ancestors and also forbade boasting concerning *nasab*. The Prophet, however, urged believers to study genealogies to the extent that they were essential for knowledge of their *ahsāb* (collective worth) and for the fulfilment of family obligations. The *ahādīth* ascribed to the Prophet use the term *hasab* in a very wide sense. According to one *hadīth*, *hasab* means moral qualities but, in another, it means wealth. Ibn al-Sikkit, (d. 244/858), a celebrated Arabic philologist and lexicographer, says :

“A man may possess *hasab* and generosity (*karam*) even if he has no ancestors of nobility (*sharaf*), whereas *sharaf* and glory (*madjd*) exist only through the ancestors : the Prophet thus substituted wealth (*māl*), for the nobility of the individual (*al-nafs*) or of his ancestors, which means that the poor man with *hasab* is neither respected nor esteemed, whereas the rich man who is without it is respected.”¹³

Sharīf (noble, exalted) means primarily a free-born person who can claim a distinguished position because of his descent from illustrious ancestors. In the early centuries of Islam the heads of prominent families were also known as *ashrāf*. They regarded themselves as the aristocrats in contrast to the rude and ignoble masses (*arādhil* or *radhil*). *Sharīf* also means a person of importance as opposed to someone of a low social status (*da'if*, *wadī*).¹⁴

The controversies centring on *hasab*, *nasab* and *sharāfat* never died out in India. In the eighteenth century the declining economic position of the Muslims made them determinedly proud of their *hasab*, *nasab* and *sharāfat*. Some of them urged Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz to explain the real nature of these terms. The Shāh wrote that family eminence determined *hasab* provided that it could be traced from close forefathers and was within seven generations ; for example a person directly descended from kings, or eminent noblemen or great Shaykhs or famous 'alims. The status from *nasab* (genealogy) depended upon the position of the family in the remote past; for example, a Husayni (a descendant of Imām Husayn), a Hāshimi (a descendant of the Prophet's ancestor Hāshim), an 'Alwi (descended from 'Alī bin Abī Tālib), a Qurayshi (descended from the Quraysh tribes) or an Ibrāhimi (descendant of Abraham) possessed illustrious ancestry. Some people were endowed with eminence

13 E. I.², p. 239.

14 *Shorter Encyclopaedia*, pp. 529-32.

in both *hasab* and *nasab*, for example the descendants of Ghawth al-A'zam Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī are Sayyids¹⁵ as well as descendants of an eminent saint. Some are noted for *hasab* and not *nasab*, such as the Timūrids, Rājputs, and the descendants of Imām-i A'zam Abū Hanīfa; some were strong in *nasab* but not in *hasab* such as the boorish Qidwā'is¹⁶ and Bārahā Sayyids¹⁷. In general parlance *sharāfat* and *najābat* (nobility) are used in the sense of *nasab*¹⁸. In another *fatwa* the Shāh identifies Muslim class divisions with Hindu caste distinctions and deems their shari'a basis sound and just. He says that the different Hindu castes such as the Kāyasthas, Khattris (Shattriyas) and Mahājans have been practising separate religious rules for a long time. In the pre-Islamic shari'a different rules were prescribed for various castes; for example the various Israelite tribes followed their own different rules. And in the Islamic shari'a also the rules were classified. Thus, the Banī Hāshims (members of the Prophet's tribe) were entitled to collect *khums*¹⁹ but were not allowed to obtain *zakāt*.²⁰ A special share of the *ghanima* (booty) was also given to them for meritorious service. Only the Quraysh could be appointed caliphs. The polytheists of Arabia could not be granted protection (even though they paid *jizya* or (poll-tax). If they failed to embrace Islam they were annihilated.²¹

Long before Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's time, a leading noble from the court of Sultān Sikandar Lodī (894/1489-923/1517), Miyān Husayn Farmulī, who had deserted to the formidable Rājput chief, Rāna Sānga of Mewār, had made a similar comparison. He said that the Shaykhzādas (descen-

15 Descendants of the Prophet's grandsons Imām Hasan and Imām Husayn by his daughter Fātima. 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib was their father.

16 An eminent family of the Shaykh's which had settled in Bārābankī near Lucknow in the thirteenth century. From then on they held positions as *qādīs* and teachers. They enjoyed considerable *madaad-i ma'āsh* and, under the Mughals, some Qidwā'ī leaders were recognised as *zamīndārs*. From the early eighteenth century their growing influence in the vicinity of Lucknow made them politically very strong.

17 The name applied from Akbar's reign onwards to the Sayyids who possessed a group of twelve villages in the *doāb* (Muzaffarnagar district, U. P.) They were greatly patronized by the Mughals for their reckless bravery in war but their manners were rude. With Bārahā as a nucleus, they owned extensive *jāgīrs*. In 1124/1712, the Sayyid brothers raised Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1124-1131/1713-1719) to the throne of Delhi. In 1720 they were killed but some Bārahā Sayyids survived and retained their power. Most of them were Shī'is but some were Sunnis. The Sunni Sayyid families, such as that of the wife of Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī, who lived in their neighbourhood, were deeply interested in preventing the Shī'ī Sayyids from regaining political power. E. I. (supplement), p. 126.

18 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 189.

19 "A fifth"; the fifth of the booty or *ghanima*.

20 A portion (2½%) from a specific category and amount of property (*nisāb*) bestowed in alms, as a sanctification of the remainder of the property.

21 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 141.

dants of *sūfī pīrs*) were the counterparts of the Brahmans among the Muslims and he considered the Afghān Shaykhzādas superior to the Indian-born Shaykhzādas.²²

Strangely enough the Shāh applies the term *ajlāf* (ignoble, commonly used by the Indian Muslim for the low class Muslims, opposed to *shurafā'* or *asharāf*) even to the early Arab soldiers who conquered Īrān, Syria and Egypt. They seized the kingdoms of the Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and idol-worshippers during the reign of the first three caliphs of the Prophet (11-35/632-656). Describing the miserable conditions to which the conquered nations were reduced, the Shāh says,

"Their virgin girls were taken to their beds by the *adānī* (plural of *adna*, the lowest, vilest, most ignoble or contemptible) Muslims and their children became slaves of the *ajlāf-i Arab* (mean or ignoble Arabs)."²³

It would seem that the Shāh's prejudices relating to the Indian Muslim social stratification or Hindu-type caste divisions were not different from those of other members of the Muslim aristocracy. Although the *sharī'a* guaranteed equality and brotherhood amongst Muslims, to the Shāh, an ordinary soldier was socially inferior to those of a higher military rank.

Customary Law ('Āda, 'Urf or Rawāj)

The expansion of Muslims to all parts of the world had contributed to the assimilation of a large number of the local social customs into the body-politic of Islam. In India both the Hanafī and Shāfi'i schools of jurisprudence endeavoured to reconcile the local customs with the *sharī'a*. The local traditions predominated in the rules of succession; in the distribution of inheritance, wills and legacies; and in the marriage and divorce laws and the procedure for the adoption of children. We shall soon discuss some of these as practised by the Hanafis. Let us now give an example from the matriarchal Mopla society on the Mālābār coast which followed the Shāfi'i law. This was reported by Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's followers, who in 1236/1821 travelled to Mecca via Mālābār. The Mālābār coast was frequently visited by ships from different countries such as China, Turkey and other parts of India. When the ships arrived a large number of women with interpreters came down and visited the ships in the harbour. The interpreters asked the passengers on board if they wished to marry any of those women. The travellers, on the basis of the women's faces, would choose one for a wife. The passenger and the woman then went to the

22 Shaykh Rizq-Allāh Mushtāqī, *Waqī'āt-i Mushtāqī*, British Museum Ms., pp. 121-22.

23 *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, Lucknow 1295/1878, p. 4.

qādi and the man paid half of an agreed dower sum (*mahr*) to the *qādi* who performed the wedding ceremony (*nikāh*). The traveller then lived with his wife in her house. When the time for the ship's departure was announced the woman took her husband to the *qādi*. The *qādi* would tell him that as he would be leaving two or three days later, he should pay the remaining half of the *mahr* and also his wife's expenses for the period of *'idda*, the waiting period for a widow or divorced woman. For a divorced woman it is three months if she is not pregnant. If she is pregnant she should not marry for forty days after the birth of the child. After making the above payments the man should declare three times that he had divorced her. If he did not wish to divorce her he should pay her expenses for two and a half years. The woman would remain his wife for that period but, if he failed to return before that time had passed, the marriage would be deemed dissolved. A considerable number of travellers married those pretty women and both lived like husband and wife as permitted by the shari'a. Before the ship's departure the passengers divorced their wives. The custom led to the birth of innumerable children each year. Since these children never knew their fathers, they called themselves their mother's children (*māpilla* or *mopla*). However, the mosques on the Mālābār coast were flourishing and the Muslim women wore veils in the streets like the Mecca and Medina women. The non-Muslim women, because of the excessive heat, went stark naked.²⁴

By the fifteenth century the Indian Hanafis associated with rulers and noblemen whose ancestors belonged to the heterogeneous racial groups, were completely Indianized and, along with the Hindu converts to Islam, had carved out a distinctive pattern as a society of Indian Muslims. They looked with horror at the customs of the fifteenth-century Afghān rulers. Most Afghāns were deeply sensitive to the value and importance of their tribal customs and considered those Afghāns who had lived for a generation in Northern India as alienated from true Afghān customs. These latter tried to conserve the purity of their race and allowed no deviation from their marriage customs. Even Sultān Sikandar Lodī was unable to marry the daughter of Miyān Ismā'il Jalwāni, for the Afghāns married their daughters only to those Afghāns whose father and mother had both been Afghāns, and the Sultān's mother was a goldsmith's daughter²⁵. The Sultān himself married his daughters to suitable Afghān youths. The beauty of the daughter of Ilāhdād Sanbal, a Niyāzi Afghān chief, had so enamoured Mubārak Khān Sūr, a nephew of Sher Shāh, that he was prepared to seize her forcibly. Nevertheless, Ilāhdād refused to marry her to Mubārak Khān. Unable to bear Mubārak Khān's persistent harass-

24 Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī, *Makhzan-i Ahmadi*, Agra 1299/1881-82, pp. 82-83.

25 Muhammad Kabīr, *Afsāna-i Shāhān*, British Museum Ms. Add 24, 409, f. 40b.

ment, Ilāhdād's cousins offered their own daughters and submitted that, although Afghān marriages between the Sanbal and the Sūrs were customary, the conditions were that only those of pure blood on both the father's and mother's side could marry each other. The sons and daughters of concubines must only marry among their own kind. As the mother of Ilāhdād's daughter was an Afghān, he would never agree to marry his daughter to Mubārak Khān Sūr who was born of a concubine. However, those of his daughters who were born of a concubine were free to marry him. Mubārak Khān was warned not to break Afghān customary law but he refused to listen to reason. Sher Shāh took Mubārak Khān's side to save the honour of his own Sūr tribe, and not long after his death open war broke out between Niyāzis and Sher Shāh's successor.²⁶ The Sayyids, Shaykhs, Mughals, Pathāns and the artisans and craftsmen also started practising endogamy and the *ashraf* and *ajlaf* developed their own social ethics which sometimes violated the shari'a and sometimes were only barely sanctioned by it.

A letter to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz gives a detailed description of the conflicts between the shari'a and the customary law. The letter says :

"From the beginning of Islam to the present day, the *shurafā'* among the Indian Muslims follow certain customs which are contrary to the shari'a. People prefer custom and family traditions to the shari'a. Among these customary practices is the prohibition on the remarriage of widows. In case where a widow wishes to remarry, her guardians because of their sense of nobility (*sharafat*), do not allow her to do so. Secondly the *shurafā'* do not utter such words in their speech as may cause them to be suspected of divorcing their wives. Should anyone from stubbornness and boldness make such statements, he is condemned by all and excluded from community relationships. Thirdly, the women in the family do not demand their share in their father's property from their brothers or male cousins. They also do not ask for a share in the inheritance of their female cousins, which is their right, even if there are no male cousins. The land then remains the property only of the male heir although legally it may not be the land of the *madad-i ma'ash* whose distribution depends on the judgment of the ruler's administrative officers. These people (*shurafā'*) do not consider the deceased's grandson excluded from a share in the property although the grandson's father had died during the deceased's lifetime and the deceased had left other sons. These customs are followed in a large number of towns in the name of '*urf*' (custom) despite the presence of pious '*ulamā'*' there. Conversely,

26 'Abhās Khān Sarwānī, *Tārīkh-i Shīr Shāhī*, Dacca 1964, pp. 232-238.

the works of fiqh say that, in the presence of definite shari'a injunctions, 'urf has no value."²⁷

In a long letter, a correspondent defending the customs and manners of the Indian *shurafā'* wrote :

"The *Ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir*²⁸ says that the 'ādat (custom) is the deciding factor and, on the basis of it, judgements equal in force to the shari'a can be passed. In other words, according to the laws of the shari'a, the honouring of 'āda (custom) is permissible. The Prophet also remarked that whatever the Muslims considered better for themselves, Allāh also considered better. The *Ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir* also says that 'āda and 'urf are given credence in many problems of fiqh, so much so that the 'ulamā' have recognised them as basic legal principles. According to the *Sharh al-Mughnī*²⁹ by al-Huda, 'ādat consists of rules which sound minds have chosen to adopt and which have been properly practised. One example is the matter of sale and purchase. If, according to 'urf, something is sold on the basis of weight, the transaction is also permitted by the shari'a. However, if the shari'a prescribes rules about its sale on the basis of measurement, 'urf, according to Imām Abū Hanīfa and Imām Muhammad, would not apply. However, Abū Yūsuf considers 'urf would be applicable even in that case. The *Ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir* states that in the event of conflict between 'urf and the shari'a, preference should be given to 'urf in matters of general usage. For instance, if someone swears not to eat meat, he should not be treated as a perjurer if he eats fish although the Qur'ān refers to fish in the sense of meat."

The correspondent suggests that as it is now known that 'urf is preferred over the shari'a, unless a clear injunction is violated, 'āda should be applied to the specific question raised earlier in the letter. Those widows who do not remarry because of their firm religious convictions, their self-control and their sense of honour (the infidels despise remarriage considering it the custom of low caste and vile women) will obtain a high and respectable place before Allāh. Such widows will be considered similar to the pious

27 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 128-29.

28 Ibn Nujaym or Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Ibrāhīm (926/1520-970/1563) of Cairo was a prolific scholar of fiqh. Of his works *Kitāb al-ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir* (Calcutta 1240/1825) systematically deals with all aspects of fiqh and was very popular with the scholars.

29 *al-Mughnī fī al-usūl*, on the principles of Hanafite jurisprudence was written by Jalāl al-Dīn 'Umar ibn Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Khabbāzī al-Khujandī (d. 691/1292). Many scholars wrote commentaries on this work.

widows of Prophet Muhammad. However, if they are stopped remarrying by someone else the above rewards will not follow. If they are willing to remarry but their guardians prevent them, their guardians do not violate the shari'a by doing so. The reason is that it is not wrong to transgress the bounds of the shari'a if, by following them, honour and nobility are undermined and scandal results because 'urf condemns such practices. The following hadith by Abū Hurayra³⁰ confirms the above conclusion. According to it Sa'd bin 'Ubāda said to the Prophet, "If I find someone in bed with my wife will I not fight him immediately without waiting for four witnesses?" When the Prophet said "Yes", Sa'd replied "I will remedy the matter at once" (i. e. kill the seducer). The Prophet remarked that people rightly said that he (Sa'd) was very jealous of his honour but that he (the Prophet) was more jealous and God was more jealous than both of them (the Prophet and Sa'd both). According to the hadith, Sa'd had decided to retaliate to defend his honour and the Prophet praised him for it. In a different hadith the Prophet remarked that because of the spur of jealousy in protecting honour, God had made all violent acts, done either openly or secretly, illegal. When a widow's remarriage is only *mubāh* (allowed) and marriage or remarriage makes no difference to family honour, its prohibition by her guardian is not more offensive than Sa'd bin 'Ubāda's choice of retaliatory action.

The Muslim *shurafā'* in India avoid using ambiguous words which could indicate divorce mainly as a precautionary measure for they consider the marriage of a divorced woman to another man abominable and they do not allow it. A divorce in these circumstances amounts to killing a woman. Although divorce is *mubāh*, it is not desirable. Hence to avoid it is a virtuous act. Ibn 'Umar³¹ related a tradition from Prophet Muhammad which says that among those things which are allowed, the most undesirable before God is divorce. A second hadith addressed by the Prophet to his companion Ma'ādh says Allāh has not created anything more desirable than freeing a slave or anything less desirable than divorce.

30 Abū Hurayra al-Dawsī al-Yamanī became Muslim in 7/629. 'Umar appointed him Governor of Bahrayn, but deposed him and confiscated the large sum of money in his possession. He died in c. 58/678 or 59. Although he became a Muslim less than four years before the Prophet's death, about 3,500 *ahādīth* narrated by Abū Hurayra are deemed correct as Sunnī canonical *ahādīth*. According to Sprenger he was a pious humbug of the first water, but Robson says, "He may be little more than a convenient authority to whom inventions of a later period have been attributed. Abū Hurayra presumably did tell many stories about Muhammad, but the authentic ones may be only a small amount of the huge number of traditions traced to him". E², III, p. 129.

31 'Abd-Allāh, the son of the second Caliph 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, is known for his piety and care in narrating *ahādīth*. He died in 73/693.

The reason for not giving a share to a girl in her deceased father's property if there is a son to succeed him, is not the result of a desire to imitate the Indian infidels or violate the verses in the shari'a relating to inheritance, or else females would be completely excluded from inheritance if there were other male relatives. The main reason is that, impressed by the Hindu customs, Muslim girls out of love for their brothers, voluntarily renounce their share. The sentence in Hindi that it was better for a girl to have a severed tongue than to claim her share, is on the lips of all the noble (*sharif*) Indian Muslim girls. This custom is so prevalent that it has become a firm 'āda. The *Ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir* says, "The right of a man in whose favour a will is made and the right of the heir is not conclusive before the actual division of the property. It becomes void if its rightful owner makes it invalid." The favour shown by the females is reciprocated by their brothers when the latter's sons are born or when the latter get married. On those occasions the brothers offer sumptuous gifts to their sisters, and sometimes the latter please their brothers by bargaining for more valuable presents than their brothers had originally intended to give.

If further research were made into the works of fiqh, more precedents might be discovered confirming the prevalent custom of daughters foregoing their share in their inheritance in favour of their brothers. Cases of females demanding their share of their father's property are very rare and therefore no law can be enacted to cover that eventuality. In such cases the young men have always compromised with their sisters. Similarly it is understood that male cousins do not take their share of their female cousins' inheritance even if the latter do not have any brothers. After obtaining the girls' portion of their own father's estate, the sons think it shameful to demand a share in their female cousins' inheritance, although it may be their legal due. This custom is prevalent everywhere in India and, if the cousins do not willingly demand their rightful share, the shari'a is not violated. Therefore, if the sister does not claim her share from her brother and the inheritance remains in his possession, after the death of both of them, the sister's children or grandchildren cannot demand her share from her brother's heirs.

The *shurafā* among Indian Muslims follow a humanitarian custom in giving a share to the wife and children of a son who died during his father's lifetime. For example, suppose a man had two sons, and one died while his father was still alive, leaving a wife and children. According to custom the father would distribute his property to his children during his lifetime but, because of *sharāfat* (nobility), the deceased son's wife and children would not be excluded from a share. Since the father is master of his property he divides it according to his discretion. This custom therefore does not violate the shari'a laws. It makes provision for the livelihood

and protects the honour of orphans and those widows who do not remarry. Islamic ethics commend those who care for widows and orphans. According to a hadith those who look after widows and the helpless are like those who fight *jihād*. The *shurafā'* should be congratulated for introducing this humanitarian custom. It is also traditional in India that if someone dies before distributing his property without disqualifying the wife or children of his deceased son, either verbally or in writing, the surviving sons of the latter, although exempted from inheritance from the shari'a point of view, receive a share. If other sons or grandsons contest the claims of the deceased son's children, the leaders of their town intervene and arrange for the latter to receive some portion of the property according to '*urf*'. This custom is also prevalent in the families of many pious '*ulamā'* and their property is distributed in this manner.

The *Ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir* states that '*urf*' amounts to what is agreed. Thus, if a father gives something to his daughter as a dowry and later on claims that he had given it as a loan and there was no authoritative witness, judgment will be made according to the prevalent '*urf*'. If custom dictates that a father makes his daughter the master of the dowry and does not give it as a loan, the father's claim will not be accepted. However, if the '*urf*' is not unilateral but is equally divided with Shari'a the father's claim will be accepted. Ibn Dayyān³² in the *Sharh al-manzūma* endorses this opinion. Qādī Khan's³³ view is that if the father belongs to the *shurafā'* class, his claim will be rejected, but, if he belongs to the average class of people (*awsat al-nās*), judgment will be made in his favour. Qādī Khan wrote in the *Kubra* that, should the daughter die, the decision would favour her husband's claims. If her father did not accept her husband's claim, he would have to produce a witness to support him.

To this long letter Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote an equally long reply, adopting a moderate pro-shari'a tone. He wrote :

“The *faqīhs* acknowledge the importance of '*āda*' and '*urf*' but, if they violate the shari'a, they are not legal. If the inhabitants of a town do not perform *namāz* and remain stark naked, they will not be left alone but will be ordered to give up their custom. '*Āda*' and '*urf*' are applicable only in those circumstances when the shari'a rules are not conclusively known, and on such occasions when the real nature of the reference is obscure as to whether it is meant to be applied in the sense of the shari'a or '*urf*'. For example, in matters relating to oaths, farming, renting, sale or purchase, where no

32 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Dayyān flourished around 667/1268-69.

33 Fakhr al-Dīn Abu'l Mahāsīn al-Hasan b. al-Mansūr al-Uzjandī al-Farghānī (d. 592/1196) was the author of the *Fatāwā Qādī Khān*.

specific Qur'ānic injunctions are available, interpretations can be made according to *'urf* and its terminology. Conversely, terms used in connection with divorce, setting slaves free and matrimony have a definite connotation in the Qur'ānic injunctions and the interpretations should be made on the shari'a basis. Should someone postulate a different intention or meaning it would not be acceptable. The rule in the *Ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir* that in the event of conflict between the shari'a and *'urf*, preference should be given to *'urf* in matters of general usage, is not universal. It relates only to conflicts which are not specifically covered by the shari'a, because what is lawful cannot be made unlawful and *vice versa*."

The Shāh does not question the validity of the examples given by the correspondent, but says that they are not instances of any real conflict. Concerning the question of widows remarrying, he says: "Widows who do not remarry because they wish to look after their deceased husband's young children, will be very highly rewarded in heaven." According to an authentic hadīth, among the men and women whom the Prophet would like to see in heaven would be widows who do not remarry and look after their daughters. However, those guardians of widows who prevent them from remarrying clearly violate the following Qur'ānic injunction:

"And when ye have divorced women and they reach their term, place not difficulties in the way of their marrying their husbands if it is agreed between them in kindness. This is an admonition for him among you who believeth in Allāh and the Last Day. That is more virtuous for you, and cleaner. Allāh knoweth, ye know not."³⁴
 "And marry such of you as are solitary and the pious of your slaves and maid-servants."³⁵

Further the given example of the Prophet's widows not being allowed to remarry is wrong for this was an exceptional case and cannot be made the rule. A man cannot marry more than four wives in imitation of the Prophet's example. However, if widows do not remarry in imitation of the Prophet's widows, they deserve a due reward but their guardians are not entitled forcibly to prevent them from marriage. No stigma should be attached to those widows, for, among the Prophet's wives, Khadija al-Kubra, Umm Salama, Umm Habiba and Zaynab bint Jahsh were widows before marrying the Prophet. Likewise the daughters of Imām

³⁴ *Qur'ān*, II, 232.

³⁵ *Qur'ān*, XXIV, 32.

Hasan and Imām Husayn and some other companions of the Prophet were married more than once. In short, if a widow and her future husband are both willing to marry each other, they should be allowed to do so.

The Shāh also gives a different interpretation of the story of Sa'd bin 'Ubāda. According to him Sa'd's reaction was quite natural and did not transgress the bounds of the shari'a. However in the event of a charge of homicide being brought against him, he would be unable to save himself without producing four witnesses. The Prophet, according to the Shāh, said "Yes" to remind Sa'd that under the law of retaliation, the presence of four witnesses was imperative. The hadith also says that he who dies defending his wife's chastity, dies a martyr's death. The Prophet's reference to Sa'd being jealous of his honour is in the sense that he did not care if he were killed according to the law of retaliation in order to save his honour. The Shāh gives several arguments to prove that the case of Sa'd has no relevance to the subject of widow's remarriage.

The Shāh accepts the correspondent's arguments regarding divorce, but sees no reason for boycotting those who, within the laws of the shari'a divorce their wives. It is not permissible to sever relations or insult a brother Muslim without sound shari'a reasons. The Shāh also agrees with the correspondent's views about daughters not demanding their share of their father's property from their brothers and the males not claiming their portion from their female cousins. He also commends those brothers who, according to custom, offer gifts to their sisters. The Shāh, however, warns the correspondent that only those Muslim girls who renounce their inheritance in favour of their brothers out of affection and idealism, and not out of a wish to imitate the Hindu girls, should be commended.³⁶

Although Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz does not fully endorse the arguments of the zealous protagonist of 'āda amongst the Muslim *shurafā'* community, he does not ignore the merits of the prevailing customs so long as they do not violate specific Qur'ānic injunctions. It should not be forgotten that the remarriage of widows had become taboo when the local customs were more honoured than the shari'a. Many orthodox Muslims who examined the situation realistically found that even the keenest reformers were not prepared to take any practical steps themselves. For instance, once a vizier of Gujarāt suggested to the great scholar and purist, Shaykh 'Ali Muttaqi (d. 975/1567), that the remarriage of widows should be popularized. The Shaykh replied that the vizier should marry his widowed mother to him, so that others might follow in his footsteps. The vizier was deeply annoyed by such a suggestion but the Shaykh reminded him that he was

36 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 128-38. The arguments have been summarised.

simply inviting him to follow the shari'a rules. Were he not prepared to set an example himself, it was no use exhorting other people to do so.³⁷

Aspects of Muslim Popular Beliefs and Practices

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's ideas about the popular Muslim practices of visiting tombs, prostrating oneself before the graves of the sūfi saints and making vows there were not different from those of the puritanical sūfis such as Makhdūm Jahāniyān (d. 785/1384) and the Mujaddid and their followers. Orthodox Muslims generally blamed the women for their persistence in anti-Islamic customs, although the men themselves had not exactly given up the ancient social customs of their Hindu environment either. For instance, Shaykh Budh, the leading 'ālim of Islām Shāh's reign (952/1545-960/1552), replying to Shaykh 'Alā'i's criticism of unorthodox Islamic practices in his house, said that "Certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustān are of such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatsoever, worldly injury and loss, both physical and spiritual would inevitably result to the prohibitor; also the women of Hindustān, who as a class are worthless, consider that loss the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case, legalising incontinence is probably a lesser sin than legalising infidelity."³⁸

In the seventeenth century Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni gave a long list of the un-Islamic customs prevalent among Muslim women in India. Of these, the most important were :

1. Seeking the intercession of idols and demons, particularly through the sinful Hindu practices performed to ward off or cure smallpox or *shitla* ;
2. The celebration of Hindu festivals, specially *diwāli* when, like the Hindus, they painted their pots, filled them with coloured rice and sent them as gifts to their daughters and sisters.
3. Making vows to sacrifice animals at the graves of sūfis.
4. Keeping fasts in the name of fictitious saints and pious ladies, breaking these fasts for reasons invented by themselves, and fixing their own dates and periods for fasting.³⁹

The list of sinful innovations given by the Mujaddid is by no means exhaustive. Earlier Makhdūm Jahāniyān had strongly condemned the Muslim festivities of *shab-i barāt*, and the custom of white-washing graves

37 Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī, *Ẓād al-muttaqīn*, B. M., Or, 217, ff. 17a-b.

38 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, English translation by G. S. A. Ranking, Calcutta 1895/99, pp. 516-17.

39 Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni, *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Karāchi 1972, Vol. III, letter no. 41.

and lighting lamps on them.⁴⁰ Nevertheless Makhdūm Jahāniyān's disciple, Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq (752-790/1351-1388) celebrated the *shab-i-barāt* as a state festival with a display of fireworks and crackers, music, boat races and other activities.⁴¹

The first visit to the tomb of the legendary Ghāzi Miyān in Bahra'ich (Eastern U. P.) was undertaken by Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq (725-752/1325-1351)⁴². Fīrūz Tughluq on his visit to the tomb in 776/1374 went to the extent of having his head shaved like a sūfi disciple.⁴³ Sultān Sikandar Lodī banned processions of pilgrims carrying spears,⁴⁴ but the custom does not seem to have been eradicated from all parts of the Lodī empire. Early in Akbar's reign, big processions were seen marching in the month of Jayth (May-June); the participants stayed in town for several days and organised various festivities.⁴⁵

Both orthodox and unorthodox sūfis helped the Muslims to communicate with the spirit world. To Ghazālī, the spirit world was real and the belief that *jinn*⁴⁶ (fairy bodies who were intelligent, imperceptible, capable of appearing under different forms and of carrying out heavy labour) and *shaytān*⁴⁷ (the proud and rebellious among the *jinn*, men and animals) controlled the spirit world had a far-reaching impact upon Muslim society all over the world. We find in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995) detailed references to both licit and illicit magic (*sihr*),⁴⁸ as well as an extensive account of Egyptian magic. It also mentioned the magic of Indians, Chinese and Turks. Both authentic and spurious records relating to the thirteenth and fourteenth century sūfis are full of accounts of the magical practices of the qalandars, Haydaris and Jawāliqis. Both Bābā Farid (569/1173-4 or 571/1175-6—664/1265) and Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (636/1238-725/1325) believed that one of their long illnesses was the result of insidious witchcraft and ultimately both of them were cured by magicians more powerful than the earlier antagonistic sorcerers. Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' thought that even one hair from Bābā Farid's beard had miraculous healing powers.⁴⁹ Bābā Farid's popularity created such pressures on him that he was obliged to assign the

40 H. S. I., I, p. 280.

41 Shams Sirāj 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-91.

42 *Voyages d'Ibn Botoutah*, par C. Defremery et B. R. Sangumetti, Tome II, p. 355.

43 Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, pp. 327-73.

44 Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1913, I, p. 336.

45 Abu'l Fadl, *Akbar-nāma*, Calcutta 1873-87, Vol. II, p. 145.

46 E. I., II, pp. 546-53.

47 *Shorter encyclopaedia of Islam*; pp. 523-24.

48 *Ibid*, pp. 345-46.

49 Amīr Hasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-fu'ād*, Bulandshahr 1272/1855-56, p. 228.

duty of writing *ta'widh* (amulet) to one of his disciples. Other *sūfī khānqāhs* also continued to be centres for the distribution of amulets, charms and talismans. Lay *sūfis* or *mullas* and the custodians of the graves of both real and fictitious legendary martyrs and *pīrs* were said to be endowed with supernatural powers. Their intercession was also sought for all types of worldly problems, including illness, theft and severe treatment by the local chieftain. The form of showing reverence at the local graves did not differ greatly from the forms of local Hindu idol-worship.

By the end of the eighteenth century the puritanical Wāhhābī ideas of Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wāhhāb (1115/1703-1201/1787) were infiltrating India through Indian pilgrims and other visitors and many Indian Sunnis had been influenced by Wāhhābī ideas. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz largely followed the puritanical line of the Mujaddid, but strongly opposed the puritanical reforms of ibn Taymiyya (661/1263-728/1328) whose teachings had been adopted by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wāhhāb. The Shāh wrote, "Some of ibn Taymiyya's statements embodied in his works such as *Minhāj al-sunna al-nabawiyya* are very alarming; for example his attempt to belittle the importance of the *Ahl al-Bayt*; prohibitions regarding visits to Prophet Muhammad's tomb, the rejection of the existence of *ghawth*, *qutb* and *abdāl*⁵⁰ and the condemnation of the *sūfis*. Many other ideas like these are found in his works and I have copied some excerpts. Ibn Taymiyya's contemporary 'ulamā' in Syria, Morocco and Egypt have refuted his theories. Ibn Qayyim (al-Jawziyya 691/1292-751/1350), ibn Taymiyya's principal disciple, has made great efforts to gloss over his teacher's writings but they were not accepted by the 'ulamā'. My father's contemporary, Makhdūm Mu'in al-Dīn Sindī (d. 1161/1748), has also written a treatise invalidating ibn Taymiyya's theories. The Sunni 'ulamā' also consider them untrue hence the Sunnis cannot be blamed for his writings."⁵¹

In a *fatwa*, the Shāh wrote that specifying any particular date for visiting tombs is *bid'a* (innovation) but the visit is lawful. In the past the time was not fixed. There is no harm in determining the date for the 'urs (death anniversary) of a saintly person in order that he may not be forgotten and there is no objection to praying to him on that occasion. However, the fixing of a specific date for prayer is *bid'a*.⁵²

To the question from a different correspondent as to whether fixing a particular day for visiting the tomb of *sūfī* saints was lawful, the Shāh

50 An hierarchy of *sūfis* through whom God has manifested prophetic evidence. Through them the signs of the Truth and the proof of Muhammad's veracity may continue to be clearly seen.

51 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 77-78.

52 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 94.

replied, "This question has three different aspects. Firstly, one or two people may fix a day for visiting a grave and may go there but they should not go there in large numbers. According to the *ahādith*, at the beginning of each year, Prophet Muhammad used to visit graves and pray for the peace of the souls of those who were buried there. Secondly, a large number of people may assemble, recite the whole of the Qur'ān and *fātiha*⁵³ and distribute sweets and food to those who are present. This custom was not prevalent either in the Prophet's time or that of the Righteous Caliphs but there is no harm in doing this for it revives the memory of pious, deceased souls. Thirdly, on a fixed day people assemble in large numbers, wearing expensive and beautiful clothes, observe festivities like those of 'id, dance and sing to musical instruments and indulge in many sinful innovations such as prostrating themselves before the graves and circumambulating them. All these customs are unlawful and forbidden. Some people are so enthusiastic that their exaggerated festivities on these occasions become heretical.⁵⁴

In another *fatwa* the Shāh wrote that circumambulating the graves of pious people and *sūfī* saints was an innovation, for in early Islam this practice did not occur. It is controversial whether this custom is *harām* (unlawful) or *mubāh* (permissible) but the correct position, the Shāh says, is that it is not *mubāh* for this practice resembles that of idol-worshippers. Then, the *shari'a* ordains circumambulation only at Ka'ba and it is improper to identify the saints' graves with Ka'ba. However it is not correct to condemn those people who walk around the graves of pious people as heretics. It is equally improper to consider those people heretic who judge this practice unorthodox.⁵⁵

In a *fatwa* the Shāh describes how the visitor's heart at a pious Muslim's grave could become imbued with the blessings of that person's spirit.⁵⁶ In another *fatwa* he wrote that, after reciting certain verses, should the visitor find his heart filled with peace and light, he could conclude that the person buried there was a holy soul. In order to obtain help from the spirit of a perfect *sūfī* saint, the visitor should put his fingers on the grave near the head of the dead body, and recite certain verses and then near the foot of the grave, recite other specific verses (all from the Qur'ān prescribed by the Shāh) and should say, "Your holiness! we have been praying to God for such and such matter. Will you also help us with

53 Literally the opening one or the first chapter of the Qur'ān; to the Muslims its recitation is a great blessing both for the alive and the dead.

54 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 41.

55 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 103.

56 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 106.

your prayers and intercession (*shifā'at*)”⁵⁷ Then he should face the *qibla* and repeat his wishes to God.⁵⁸

To questions regarding making vows to the dead and covering their graves with a length of cloth, the Shāh quotes an excerpt from the *Kitāb al-Sawm* in the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya*. It says, “Generally people go to the grave of a saintly person and raising the cover say ‘O Sayyid, should my needs be fulfilled I make a vow of so many rupees to you.’ This type of vow is unanimously considered wrong. However, if a suppliant says, ‘O God! I vow that if my patient is cured or my needs answered, I will feed so many beggars who throng the tomb of such and such a Sayyid’, it is acceptable. Otherwise the votary can vow to buy carpets or pay money to the mosque servants. The intention of the vow made to God, in which the *sūfī* saint is mentioned, is to spend a fixed amount of money on the poor who depend for their living on that *sūfī* saint’s tomb. A poor *'ālim* living there can also receive the money but not a rich person.”

Truly it is senseless to cover the grave with a cloth and to build four walls or a roof over the grave are also meaningless. Nevertheless, the wall protects the grave from wild animals and the roof shields it from the excretions of birds. To Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, the Prophet’s *hadīth* “O God! don’t make my grave an idol for worship”, means that a visitor to his grave should not carry out idolatrous practices there.⁵⁹

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz considered the legality of the different forms of vows controversial but not the vow itself. It was perfectly correct to believe that the spirits of holy saints are instruments for granting prayers. Vows to them could be compared with spectacles which improve the eye-sight. However a vow made in the belief that the *sūfī* saint’s recommendations would force Allāh to grant the votary’s wishes, was polytheism. Hence the belief and the vow were two different things. A belief in the authority of a *sūfī* saint did not invalidate the vow.⁶⁰

However, the educated Hindu reaction to the Muslim veneration at graves and prayers for the intercession of *sūfī* saints is also very interesting. A letter to the Shāh describes this point of view. It says, “An idol-worshipper was seeking an idol’s intercession for his needs when an *'ālim* tried to prevent him, calling his acts polytheistic. The Hindu said, ‘If I worship an idol considering it to be equal to God, it is undoubtedly

57 Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz says, *shifā'at* (intercession) is sought both for crimes and sins. *Shifā'at* for crimes can be made by one person to another or by a subordinate to his master, *Shifā'at* for sins would be made by the Prophet either directly or through someone else. A *pīr* could recommend a disciple’s case and a teacher that of his student, to the Prophet. (*Fatāwā*, I, p. 15.)

58 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 186.

59 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 95-96.

60 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 103.

polytheism (*shirk*). However, if I worship idols considering them created beings, how can this be polytheism?" The 'ālim said that the Qur'ān repeatedly enjoins us not to seek help from anyone but God. The idol-worshipper asked, 'Why do human beings seek help from each other?' The 'ālim said, 'Human beings are alive. It is not prohibited to ask for something from them. Your idols such as Kanhayya and Kālīka etc., are dead. They do not control anything.' The idolater said, 'Then you are also polytheists for you seek help from dead people in their graves and ask for their *shifā'at* (intercession). In short our motives in seeking help from the forms of Kanhayya and Kālīka are identical to yours who seek help from dead people in their graves. Obviously neither the people in their graves nor the idols have any power. You say that the spiritual power of the people in their graves solves problems, the idols also fulfil this function, in many cases. You say that you pray to the dead holy people to intercede for you but we also make identical prayers to idols.''' The correspondent concludes that if it is permissible to seek help at gravesides, how can the Muslims of feeble faith restrain themselves from worshipping *Shītlā* and *Masānī*.⁶¹

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz replied, "There are many misinterpretations in the Hindu's objections which should be carefully noted. Firstly, seeking help and worship are two different acts. The common Muslims, contrary to the *sharī'a* ordinances, seek help from the people in their graves but they do not worship them. The idolaters worship as well as seek assistance from their idols. The worship involves prostration, circumambulation or repetition of names to seek the favour of the named one, or the sacrifice of an animal in someone's name or calling oneself the named one's slave. All the illiterate Muslims who perform the above acts become infidels and do not remain Muslims.

Secondly, seeking help takes two forms. Firstly, servants and beggars in their need seek help from kings and noblemen as the common people ask the *sūfī* saints to pray to God for the fulfilment of their needs. This type of help can be sought both from the living and the dead. Secondly prayers are made for such things as the birth of a child, rain, warding off diseases, longevity etc., which can be granted by God alone. Were these prayers made to some living being and it was not intended that the latter should pray to God to grant those prayers, the person originally making the prayer was guilty of an illegal act and heresy. Were a Muslim to pray to a living or a dead *sūfī* saint, thinking him omnipotent, he would no longer be a Muslim. The idol-worshippers also made similar illegal prayers to their false gods.

The idol-worshipper's statements that Muslims seek intercession

61 Popular Hindu goddesses worshipped to cure small-pox.

(*shifā'at*) from their prophets and *sūfī* saints and the Hindus do likewise from their idols, is fraudulent and deceitful for the idol-worshippers in no case seek intercession (*shifā'at*). They do not even know the meaning of intercession nor do they think of it in their heart. *Shifā'at* means *sifārish* (recommendation) which involves the presentation of one's need to an authority through someone else. The idol-worshippers while praying to their idols do not have this procedure in their minds and do not ask their gods to recommend their case to Almighty God to have their needs fulfilled by Him. They pray directly to the idol. The idol-worshipper's assertion that his motives in seeking help from the forms of Kanhayya and Kālīka are identical to those activating the Muslim prayers to the dead people in their graves, is totally erroneous. So far as the dead are concerned, their spirits have some connection with their bodies for they resided in their bodies for a long time. The idol-worshippers do not show veneration to their gods' graves but themselves choose stones, trees and rivers and make them their gods' representatives although there is no connection between those gods and their spirits. The gods were not even cremated there. Their fantasies have no basis. God in His mercy answers the prayers of His slaves but the idol-worshippers believe that their idols offer these benefits to them. God knows all hidden things and is aware of everything about His slaves. He grants their wishes in their lifetime through whatever source they seek His help, as answering prayers is a divine grace. We may take the analogy of a kind father who knows the wants of his child. Whenever the child needs something he asks his servant or nurse but they have no means to satisfy his desires; it is the father who, through them, gives things to the child. Idols, and even dead holy people in their graves, themselves have no power.

As to the question of whether if seeking help from people in their graves were lawful, Muslims of feeble belief could be restrained from worshipping *Shitlā* and *Masānī*; there are several differences between the two. Firstly, the dead buried in their graves are recognised *sūfī* saints and pious people while *Shitlā* and *Masānī* are imaginary objects and their actual existence is absolutely unproveable. Secondly, if they had ever existed, they would have been known as the malevolent spirits of devils whose main function was to harm people. How can they be compared with the holy spirits of prophets and *sūfī* saints? Thirdly, the help required from the dead saints takes the form of prayers calling upon them to request God to satisfy needs. Conversely *Shitlā* and *Masānī* are worshipped on the basis of a belief in their independent power, which is infidelity to God.⁶²

Another correspondent asked the *Shāh* whether it was right to have food cooked in the month of *Rabī' I* to please God and to dedicate the

62 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 34-35.

reward to the Prophet?⁶³ Similarly was it correct to prepare food in Muharram⁶⁴ and to dedicate its merits to Imām Husayn and the Prophet's pious progeny? The Shāh replied that a man was free to dedicate the reward for his righteous acts to pious people but to fix a time, date or month for it was an innovation. However, there was no harm in performing holy acts in months in which a greater reward was obtained. For example in the month of Ramadān⁶⁵, all righteous acts were rewarded seventy times more than in other months.⁶⁶

In another *fatwa* he wrote that it was right to cook food for the *fātiha* of some religious man or martyr and to distribute it to others in order to devote the merit from the act to their spirit. It was permissible for rich men to eat food dedicated to pious people but not that offered to God. Dedication to God was made in the form of a vow when a sick person was cured or a relative returned safely from his travels. The votary then cooked food for distribution to the poor only.⁶⁷

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz condemned spirits such as Shaykh Saddū, who were popularly revered by the common Muslims, as devils whose main objective, according to him, was to harass human beings until they considered them gods and worshipped them. These should not be identified with the spirits of holy men and *sūfī* saints. It was better to avoid eating the meat of an animal sacrificed in Shaykh Saddū's name even though it had been killed in accordance with strict Islamic rites.⁶⁸

The Shāh condemned the lighting of *menhdi*⁶⁹ in the name of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī on 11 Rabi' I as an abominable innovation (*bid'at-i sai'yā'a*). Although it was not unlawful to recite *fātiha* for the soul of the Shaykh, the recitation of *fātiha* near *menhdi* was illegal.⁷⁰ The Shāh also pronounced unfavourably upon *ta'ziyadāri* (mourning ceremonies for the martyrdom of Imām Husayn) during the first ten days of the month of Muharram, which by that time had become common even among the Sunnis. By legal *ta'ziyadāri* he meant the renunciation of pleasure and adornment so as to appear afflicted and distressed. This entails retiring into seclusion like an unhappy woman although the shari'a does not

63 Rabi' I is the month of the Prophet's birth.

64 First month of the Hijra calendar. On 10 Muharram 61/10 October 680, Imām Husayn and his seventy-two followers were martyred at Karbalā in 'Irāq.

65 Ninth month of the Hijra calendar dedicated to fasting.

66 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 99.

67 *Ibid*, I, p. 41.

68 *Ibid*, I, pp. 23-25, 47-53.

69 Myrtle ; the leaves of this plant yield a colour with which Indian females stain the palms of their hands, the soles of their feet and their nails. The *menhdi* is sent to the bride's house by the bridegroom's family before the wedding. Lighted candles are placed around the *menhdi*.

70 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 74-75.

permit men to do this. Only a widow can mourn the death of her husband for four months and ten days, otherwise a woman is not allowed to sit lamenting the death of her near relations for more than three days. The construction of *ta'ziya*⁷¹, *darih*⁷², and *'alam*⁷³ is an abominable innovation (*bid'at-i sai'i'a*) and everyone associated with it is a sinner. Recognition of these models is forbidden, for no object of religious significance exists there. The *ta'ziyas* are only a handful of wood-pieces which should be destroyed. According to a hadith, ceremonies performed against the shari'a should be stopped. If this is not possible these ceremonies should be orally prohibited. If sermonizing is impossible these ceremonies should be considered evil at heart.

It is not permissible to go to assemblies where untrue facts or distorted elegies concerning Imām Husayn's martyrdom are recited. However, if true facts or elegies are narrated, there is no harm in attending them, but no Sunni should behave like an innovator or else he will also be blame-worthy as the following hadith says, "He who imitates innovators is included in the class of the latter". Although the recitation of *fātiha* and *durūd*⁷⁴ are desirable in their own right, their recitation at *ta'ziya* assemblies is not a commendable act. It is however correct to intone *fātiha* and other Qur'ānic verses over food meant for distribution to please the Imāms' spirits. That food is a source of blessings and may be eaten but to place it before *ta'ziyas* or even on the actual grave is an imitation of infidel worship and therefore undesirable. Any material or moral assistance regarding a *ta'ziyadāri* ceremony amounts to assistance in sinning and furniture and utensils should not be lent for this purpose.⁷⁵

In a letter dated 1238/1822-23, Shāh 'Abd al-Aziz wrote about two assemblies which he used to hold in his own house and considered perfectly legal from the shari'a point of view. One was held on the anniversary of Prophet Muhammad's death and the other to commemorate the martyrdom of Imām Hasan and Imām Husayn. The latter meeting was held annually on the tenth of Muharram or a day or two earlier. From four to five hundred and up to one thousand people gathered there. They recited *durūd*. After the Shāh's own arrival, the greatness of Imām Hasan and Imām Husayn, as related in the works of hadith, was described. The prophecies concerning their martyrdom, the circumstances that led

71 A model of the tomb of Imām Husayn and the martyrs of Karbalā made of a light frame of wood or bamboo, covered with ornamental paper.

72 *Darihs* (pronounced *Ẓarihs*) are also models of the sepulchre of Imām Husayn and the martyrs of Karbalā.

73 Models of the standards of Imām Husayn; S. W. T., pp. 190-94.

74 A benediction or prayer in a memory. The *durūd* formula contains prayers for mercy on the Prophet, his descendants and companions.

75 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 72-75.

to it and the wickedness of those who killed them were also recounted. The elegies on their martyrdom which Umm Salama⁷⁶ and the companions of the Prophet had heard are also described. Those dreadful visions, which ibn 'Abbās and the Prophet's other companions saw relating to the Prophet's anguish at his grandson's tragic death were also recited. The session concluded with the intoning of the Qur'ān and *fātiha* over whatever food was available. Those who could recite a *salām*⁷⁷ or an elegy melodiously did so. Those present, including Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, wept.⁷⁸

In a short treatise entitled the *Sirr al-shahādātayn* (The Mystery of Two Martyrdoms), the Shāh wrote that Prophet Muhammad was the summation of all the attributes enjoyed by the individual prophets. He was deprived of the glory and joys of martyrdom as his untimely death would have destroyed Islam's power in the crucial early part of its history and it would have lost its initial thrust. Moreover, had he been secretly martyred, it would have sown confusion in the new faith. Its benefits would have been lost, for the effects of death in tragic and distressing circumstances were far-reaching. In order to have Muhammad's prophethood completed in all respects, God bestowed upon his grandsons the honour of martyrdom; the elder one (Imām Hasan) was killed secretly through a conspiracy hatched by one of his wives. His younger brother, Imām Husayn⁷⁹, was martyred in tragic circumstances in broad daylight. Calling the Umayyad Caliph, Yazid I (60/680-64/683), a scoundrel, a drunkard and a tyrant, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz justified Husayn's refusal to swear allegiance to the Caliph and traced the history of his departure from Mecca to the time of his martyrdom. He then quoted the tradition that Gabriel had forecast his grandson's martyrdom to Prophet Muhammad and had handed him a handful of earth from the place where he was destined to be killed. Distraught, the Prophet begged his companions to help Imām Husayn if they happened to be close to him at the time of his death. At the same time that Husayn was killed, Muhammad's widow, Umm-i Salama, who was in Medina, dreamed that her dead husband, his head and beard smeared with dust, told her that he was returning from the battlefield where Husayn had been killed. The Shāh also quoted many Sunnī traditionists who embellished the story by adding that on the day of Imām Husayn's martyrdom, blood fell as rain and, on the following morning, the murderers' domestic utensils were found brimming with blood. In Jerusalem people witnessed blood gushing from stones.⁸⁰

The writer of another letter to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz commented that

76 One of the Prophet's wives.

77 Poems praying for the peace of the soul of the Imāms and the martyrs of Karbalā.

78 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 110-111.

79 *Sirr al-Shahādātayn*, Lucknow 1286/1869-70, pp. 3-5.

80 *Ibid*, pp. 28-29.

there was nothing in *ahādith* which legitimized revolt against tyrants who had usurped kingdoms, hence the justification for Imām Husayn's war against Yazīd was unquestionable. The Shāh answered that Imām Husayn's war was not designed to challenge the righteous caliphate which had expired thirty years after the Prophet's death. His objective was to liberate people from a tyrant's hands for it was incumbent on Muslims to help the oppressed against a tyrant. The hadīth in the *Mishkāt al masābih* ascribed to the Prophet, prohibiting rebellion against a ruling monarch although he might be a tyrant, was conditional. According to this tradition, the Shāh added, the dictators who should not be resisted were those who had achieved complete domination, for opposition against them was futile. At the time Imām Husayn challenged the caliphate of flagitious (*palid*) Yazīd⁸¹, the people of Mecca, Medina and Kūfa had not accepted his rule. Moreover important leaders such as 'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Abbās, 'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Umar and 'Abd-Allāh ibn Zubayr, like Imām Husayn, had not yet recognised Yazīd as caliph. Imām Husayn's movement was designed to avert (*dafa'*) Yazīd's domination and not to overthrow (*rafa'*)⁸² his fully established rule. Hadīth prohibits revolt to overthrow a legitimate ruler but, according to fiqh, there is a vast difference between averting (*dafa'*) and overthrowing (*rafa'*).

According to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, *sunna* and love for the *Ahl al-bayt* (the Prophet's family) make it imperative to condemn and curse Marwān⁸³ ("May Allāh curse him"), from the heart's core because of the atrocities he committed and the resolute enmity he maintained against Imām Husayn and the *Ahl al-Bayt*. However, Mu'āwiya bin Abī-Sufyān (41/661-60/680) the father of Yazīd and the founder of the Umayyad caliphate, about whom the Sunnī 'ulamā' are divided, was one of the Prophet's companions to whom some of the *ahādith* were addressed. The 'ulamā' in Transoxiana and some authors of Qur'ānic exegesis and fiqh works considered Mu'āwiya's wars against 'Alī an error of judgment (*khatā'i ijtihādī*). Scholars of hadīth, on the basis of their research into the true traditions of the Prophet, consider that these wars were not free from personal motives but emanated from the pro-'Uthmān loyalties treasured by the

81 Yazīd I (60-64/680-683) was the son and successor of Mu'āwiya bin Abū-Sufyān (41-60/661-680). In 56/675-76 Mu'āwiya appointed Yazīd his successor but Imām Husayn, ibn Zubayr, ibn 'Umar and 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abū Bakr and 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Abbās refused to accept the nomination. Mu'āwiya went to Medina to force them to accept Yazīd as his successor but failed to make them change their mind. Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin Jarīr al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusūl wa'l-mulūk*, Cairo n. d. V, pp. 301-7.

82 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 22.

83 Marwān bin al-Hakam (d. 65/685) the father of the Marwānīd caliphs advised his successor at Medina, to employ force against Imām Husayn for his refusal to recognize Yazīd as caliph.

Umayyads. Consequently, Mu'āwiya was guilty of serious crimes and was a rebel. However, it was also recognised as true that sinners should not be cursed.⁸⁴ If cursing entailed abuse, then Sunnis must pray to God to protect them from indulging in such undesirable behaviour. God's forgiveness must be implored for sinners. So cursing is unlawful (*harām*), particularly with regard to Mu'āwiya who was one of the Prophet's companions. It was hoped that 'Alī would also forgive him.⁸⁵

However, in another *fatwa* the Shāh exhibited reservations even about cursing Yazīd. He wrote that conflicting traditions were available regarding Yazīd's reaction to Imām Husayn's martyrdom. Some said that Yazīd was pleased that the Imām had been killed and grossly insulted the Prophet's family. Those 'ulamā' who considered this view correct, had cursed Yazīd. Among these were Ahmad bin Hanbal and some Shāfi'i 'ulamā'. Some traditionists believed that Yazīd was upset at the Imām's martyrdom and had cursed ibn Ziyād⁸⁶ and his supporters for killing the Imām. He regretted that his governor had committed such an atrocity. Those 'ulamā' who considered the latter tradition correct had forbidden the cursing of Yazīd. For example Hujjat al-Islām Imām Ghazālī, some Shāfi'i 'ulamā' and the majority of the Hanafiyya 'ulamā' belonged to that class. Those 'ulamā' who were dismayed at the conflict and the contradiction in the traditions kept their opinion quiet for, according to Imām Abū Hanīfa, it was not permissible to freely express a personal view on such controversial matters. However, it was definitely correct to curse Shimr⁸⁷ (*Shamīr*) and ibn Ziyād.⁸⁸

The Tafdīliyyas

Shāh Wali-Allāh in his *Izālat al-khafā'* and *Qurrat al-'aynayn* had established that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were superior to 'Alī but the Tafdīliyya Sunnis, who considered 'Alī to be the greater, were not convinced. The problem was repeatedly posed to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and he wrote replies following his father's line.⁸⁹ In a letter to the ruler of Bukhārā he divided the Tafdīliyyas into two categories. He states that those belonging to the first class consider 'Alī superior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar but fervently love and respect the latter. Like the Sunnis, they are dedicated to the traditions

84 *Infra*, pp. 298, 456.

85 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 193-94.

86 In 60/679-80 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn Ziyād, a favourite of Mu'āwiya was appointed by Yazīd as governor of Kūfa in addition to his governorship of Basra. He was killed by the Shī'i leader Ibrāhīm bīn al-Ashtar in a battle near Mawsil in 67/686.

87 When Imām Husayn fell down from the horse at Karbalā, Shimr severed the Imām's head.

88 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 106.

89 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 12-21, 192.

of Abū Bakr and 'Umar and praise their achievements. However, in view of their belief in 'Alī's superiority over them, they are ardently devoted to him and enthusiastically follow his words and deeds. The Tafdiliyyas in this category are in fact Sunnis but, because of their delight in 'Alī's superiority, they have strayed from the true path. Their differences with the Sunnis are identical to the differences between the Ash'aris and Māturidis. It is acceptable to offer prayers behind a Tafdiliyya imām. Many Sunni 'ulamā' and sūfis are known to have followed the Tafdiliyya path, such as 'Abd al-Razzāq Muhaddith⁹⁰, Salmān Fārsi⁹¹, Hassān bin Thābit⁹² and several other companions of the Prophet.

The second type of Tafdiliyyas believe love for 'Alī and his descendants is sufficient for them. They say that they do not criticise Abū Bakr, 'Umar and the Prophet's other companions for they are not interested in them. They maintain that they neither love nor hate them. They are neither devoted to the traditions of Abū Bakr and 'Umar nor do they repudiate them. These types of Tafdiliyyas, the Shāh says, are definitely *bid'ati* (innovators) and the rules for accepting other *bid'atis* as prayer leaders should be applied to them⁹³ (i.e. prayers should not be offered behind a Tafdiliyya imām).

After completing the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, the Shāh wrote a treatise *al-Sirr al-jalil dar fadilat-i Shaykhayn*. This work is a continuation of his father's *Izālat al-khafā' 'an khilāfat al-khulafā'* and the *Qurrat al-'aynayn fi tafdil-i Shaykhayn*. In order to refute the Tafdiliyya beliefs about 'Alī's superiority over Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the Shāh first prefaces his discussion with nine grounds⁹⁴ for deciding who was the superior and then tries to prove Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's superiority over 'Alī even in *jihād*. First the Shāh quotes the following verse:

"Those of the believers who sit still, other than those who have a (disabling) hurt, are not on an equality with those who strive (*mujā-*

90 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Humām b. Nāfi' al-Sam'ānī al-Himyaorī (d. 211/826) was the author of *al-Musannaf*, *al-Maghāzī* and *al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr*. According to 'Abd al-Hayy b. al-'Imād, he was accused of being a Shī'i. *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, Cairo 1350/1931, p. 27.

91 Salmān al-Fārsī was an Irānian and a very important companion of the Prophet. It was he who suggested that Muhammad should dig a ditch around Medina in order to save it from the invasion of the Meccans in 5/627.

92 Hassān bin Thābit bin al-Mundhir bin Haram of the Khazraj tribe of Yathrib (Medina) was a prominent poet and had established his reputation in pre-Islamic Arabia. After conversion to Islam he praised Islam ardently and in 9/630 a large number of delegations who had called on the Prophet are said to have embraced Islam after listening to his eulogies on Islam. He died between 40/660 and 54/673.

93 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 193.

94 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 81-87.

hadina) in the way of Allāh with their wealth and lives. Allāh hath conferred on those who strive with their wealth and lives a rank above the sedentary. Unto each Allāh hath promised good, but He hath bestowed on those who strive a great reward above the sedentary."⁹⁵

The Shāh asserts that there are three kinds of *jihād*. Firstly there is the oral *jihād*, which means propagating Islam by teaching the shari'a laws and sermonizing, admonishing, persuading, inspiring respect for Islam, and satisfying enemy doubts about Islam through sound reasoning. The second form of *jihād* relates to the collection of war materials, such as horses, camels and weapons, playing an active role in war councils, demoralizing the enemy by brilliant tactics, collecting soldiers, inducing the *mujāhids* (strivers or warriors) to fights, increasing the strength of the Islamic army and driving a wedge into the enemy ranks. The third type of *jihād* is actually wielding a sword and spear, engaging warriors in single combat and wrestling with the enemy. Undoubtedly the Prophet had only fought the first two types of *jihād*. The third kind is definitely inferior to the first two, for the Prophet was directed to perform only these. Thus the Qur'ānic verses say:

"O Prophet! Strive against the disbelievers and hypocrites! Be harsh with them (*jāhidi'l Kuffāra*)."⁹⁶

"So fight (O Muhammad) in the way of Allāh—Thou are not taxed (with the responsibility for anyone) except for thyself."⁹⁷

In the first two types of *jihād* the role of Abū Bakr and 'Umar was superior to the rest of the Prophet's companions. From the beginning of Islam, Abū Bakr's preaching converted such men to Islam as became the Prophet's devoted companions. From the day 'Umar embraced Islam its prestige and domination escalated. 'Umar openly introduced Islamic forms of worship; while in the counsels both he and Abū Bakr were the Prophet's advisers and viziers. None of the Prophet's battles were fought without consulting them and they always played the most important part in the recruiting of warriors. So successful were they in causing chaos in the enemy ranks that the infidels were very frightened of them. Any false rumours of their death always made their enemies jubilant and once, when Abū Sufyān⁹⁸ was informed that they were still alive and had mis-

95 *Qur'ān*, IV, 95.

96 *Qur'ān*, IX, 73.

97 *Qur'ān*, IV, 84.

98 Abū Sufyān bin Harb bin Umayya, the father of Mu'āwiya and the founder of the Umayyad dynasty was a merchant and banker in Mecca. After Prophet Muham-

takenly been reported killed, he became very despondent. Lastly, Prophet Muhammad, who was the bravest of men, chose to fight the first two types of *jihād*. This proves that the form of *jihād* that Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān were involved in is more important than that of 'Alī and the Prophet's other companions such as Zubayr, Musa'b, Abū Talha, Abū Qadada, Sa'd bin Ma'ādh and Samāk bin Harb. Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's form of *jihād* was even more valuable than that of Hamza.⁹⁹ It is also a proven fact that Abū Bakr was the leader who organised the Prophet's army for battle, while 'Umar also participated in the third type of *jihād*.¹⁰⁰

Disputing 'Alī's superiority in knowledge, the Shāh says his inferiority can be proved by two factors. The first criterion is the number of Prophetic traditions and the number of *fatwas* contributed. The second is holding a position which required superior knowledge in judicial and administrative duties, for the Prophet offered positions only to the most suitable people. It is an established fact that he appointed Abū Bakr as the leader of prayers, *hajj* and *jihād*. He appointed 'Umar as the collector of *sadaqāt* (taxes). Discussing the number of *ahādith* related by the three, the Shāh considers that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were more prolific than 'Alī. In the realm of contributions to Islamic beliefs, *sūfism* and Qur'ānic exegesis, the Shāh considered 'Alī inferior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar. He draws his follower's attention to his father's *Izālat al-Khafā'* which, the Shāh says, conclusively establishes that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were more valuable than 'Alī.¹⁰¹

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz also contests the Tafdiliyya's claims of 'Alī's superiority in ascetic matters. He says that 'Alī can be given credit only for his personal asceticism for during his caliphate he made his relations and descendants affluent by giving them very high offices. The Shāh admits that the latter deserved these positions, but contends that the relations of

(F. N. 98 *Contd.*)

mad's emigration to Medina he used to lead the Meccan caravans to Syria. He led the Meccan armies against the Prophet in all the major battles but also took an active part in surrendering Mecca to the Prophet in 8/629. The Prophet gave him very liberal terms and ordered that those who had taken refuge with him should be guaranteed security. He did not favour Abū Bakr's appointment as a caliph and died about 32/653, aged 88.

- 99 Hamza bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, the Prophet's uncle was the most outstanding champion of Islam. He fought valiantly in the battle of Badr in 2/624 but fell next year fighting during the battle of Uhud. His body was barbarously mutilated and his liver was chewed by Mu'āwiya's mother, Hind. The Prophet bitterly mourned Hamza's martyrdom.

100 *Fatāwā*, II, 86-88.

101 *Ibid*, II, p. 98.

Abū Bakr and 'Umar were similarly competent. The Shāh therefore concludes that Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's asceticism was superior to that of 'Alī. The Shāh goes on to say that 'Alī did not observe the rules of asceticism in matters of land, property, wives and slaves. 'Alī could not compete with 'Uthmān's charitable activities, nor was he equal to Abū Bakr and 'Umar in this respect.¹⁰²

The Tafdiliyya claim that 'Alī never worshipped idols, was trivial to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz. He wrote that from his childhood, 'Alī brought up in Prophet Muhammad's house, hated idols even before Muhammad's becoming a Prophet. Children always followed the example of other family members. Should idol-worship be made a criterion of superiority, every child born into a Muslim family would be superior to the Prophet's uncle Hamza, his cousin Ja'far and his companions, Salmān, Miqdād and 'Ammār, which is wrong.¹⁰³ Among the factors relating to Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's great worth were their diplomatic and administrative competence as caliphs, which enabled other Muslims to live virtuous lives. Under Abū Bakr the rebellion by the *murtids* (apostates) was crushed, the Muslims were victorious in warfare and 'Irāq and Fārs were converted into *dār al-Islam* (abode of Islam). The poor and indigent became rich and the Muslims were affluent. Any differences among the Muslims had been resolved and each one dedicated himself to the solving of religious problems, prayers and worship. Under 'Umar, dedication to these virtues reached their apogee. Conversely, under 'Alī, not many conquests were made, Muslims were plunged into civil war and the enthusiasm for the recitation of the Qur'ān and prayers and worship declined. The Muslims began to find fault with eminent Islamic personalities and complained about each other. It must now be fully evident that Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's dedication to *jihād*, knowledge, Qur'ānic recitation, asceticism, piety, fear of God, charity, diplomacy, competence in the duties pertaining to the caliphate, obedience to God and the Prophet, propagation of the faith and the promulgation of the shari'a rules, was superior to that of the rest of the Prophet's supporters. According to the shari'a only those actions mentioned above were marks of superiority, the honour of being a Sayyid or a near relation to the Prophet, and the possession of eloquence, rhetoric, bravery and swordsmanship were controversial matters.

However, the 'ulamā' were divided in deciding who was the superior between 'Uthmān and 'Alī and, in fact, this is impossible, for both were equally eminent. 'Uthmān was the greater in that he compiled the Qur'ān and quoted it frequently. 'Alī's superiority lay in giving *fatwas*, performing *ijtihād* and relating *ahādīth*. 'Alī exceeded 'Uthmān in that he personally

102 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 90-91.

103 *Ibid*, II, pp. 91-92.

fought *jihād* and in his swordsmanship, while 'Uthmān surpassed him in the amount of money spent on *jihād*. Both made equally important contributions in this respect. 'Uthmān was so deeply concerned over the shedding of Muslim blood that he preferred being besieged in his own house and killed to embarking on civil war. 'Alī exhibited greatness in refusing to condemn even his enemies. In the matter of family relationships to the Prophet, they were equal. In short, to the Shāh, the Tafdiliyya arguments were frivolous and did not merit any attention.¹⁰⁴

In his letter to the ruler of Bukhārā, however, the Shāh's posture towards the question of 'Alī's superiority in *jihād* was different. He wrote that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were not more important than 'Alī in all respects. According to the 'ulamā' who had carefully researched the problem, it was not possible to determine the superior between Abū Bakr and 'Umar. However, 'Alī was superior to all, including Abū Bakr, in fighting *jihād*, making judicial decisions (*fann-i qadā*) and narrating a large number of *ahādīth*. 'Alī was also more eminent because he was a Hāshimite and a Hanif.¹⁰⁵ Moreover he was the husband of Fātima, the Prophet's daughter. 'Alī was definitely superior to 'Umar in taking precedence in reciting *namāz* and was converted to Islam before him. Abū Bakr and 'Umar were superior to 'Alī in effectively running the government of the *umma*, protecting the faith, wiping out sedition, promulgating shari'a rules, propagating Islam in different countries and establishing shari'a criminal law and punishments. They performed those duties exactly like the Prophet. Their actions coincided with the principal objectives of the great Caliphate (*Khilāfat-i Kubrā*). On the above grounds the Prophet's eminent companions considered Abū Bakr and 'Umar superior to 'Alī. Works such as *Sawā'iq muhraqa* and other books of *ahādīth* quote Prophet Muhammad as saying that he had urged Allāh to grant preference to 'Alī over Abū Bakr but that Allāh had ordered him to reverse his choice and asked him to prefer Abū Bakr over 'Alī.¹⁰⁶

Are the Shi'is Muslims?

We shall be discussing Sunni-Shi'i polemics in the next two chapters. Here we deal with the Shāh's views regarding the controversy over whether the Shi'is are Muslims. In a *fatwa*, the Shāh says that different Shi'i sects follow different beliefs. Some Shi'is merely think that 'Alī was superior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Some believe that Abū Bakr, 'Umar and their supporters acted wrongly. Others think that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were sinners and *bid'atis*. A section of Imāmiyya Shi'is believe

104 *Fatāwā*, II, 92-94.

105 Those who in pre-Islamic Arabia practised a monotheistic religion.

106 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 192-93.

that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were heretics. These differences make a uniform judgment on them difficult.¹⁰⁷

In his letter to the ruler of Bukhārā the Shāh wrote that the Imāmiyya sect (Shi'i Ithnā' 'Ashari) did not consider Abū Bakr a caliph. According to fiqh works those who did not accept this were guilty of rejecting the *ijmā'*. Consequently, they were *kāfirs* (heretics). According to the *Fatāwā-i 'Ālamgiriyya*, the *Rāfidi* (Shi'i) who reviled Abū Bakr and 'Umar was a heretic. Even if he did not revile them he was a *bid'ati* (innovator). Shi'is who abused 'Ā'isha were also heretics. The same *fatwa* also said that some 'ulamā' considered the Shi'is who insulted Abū Bakr and 'Umar to be *bid'atis* but the correct view was that they were heretics. The *Fatāwā-i 'Ālamgiriyya* added that the Rawāfids were not Muslims and the rules relating to *murtadd* (apostates) should be applied to them.¹⁰⁸ Answering a second question from the ruler of Bukhārā, the Shāh wrote that those who reviled 'Ā'isha should, along with witnesses, be taken to the *qādi* and killed according to the laws of retaliation.¹⁰⁹

In the *Sirr al-Jalil*, the Shāh writes that to reproach Abū Bakr and 'Umar are not acts of heresy but the Shi'i belief that it is lawful to do so is heresy. In the same treatise, the Shāh goes on to say that those who reproach them believe that Abū Bakr and 'Umar (God forbid) were not Muslims, violated Prophet Muhammad's will and had usurped the rights of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. They compare them with the Pharaoh and his vizier. Those who hold such beliefs are heretics for they do not believe the Prophet's words that Abū Bakr and 'Umar would go to heaven. In short, those who do not believe them to be caliphs are apostates.

The Shāh advised those who were present in any assembly where the Prophet's companions were reviled to stop it by words or physical force, for the Prophet said that those who saw something contrary to the shari'a should personally destroy it. The Shāh added that if they could not stop it then they should leave the assembly, for Allāh says:

"And when thou seest those who meddle with Our revelations, withdraw from them until they meddle with another topic. And if the devil cause thee to forget, sit not, after the remembrance, with the congregation of wrongdoers."¹¹⁰

However, if someone was unable to stage a walkout for fear of his life, he should be patient and abuse in his heart those who were condemning the Prophet's companions. A hadith from the Prophet says:

107 *Ibid*, I, p. 819.

108 *Ibid*, I, pp. 191-92.

109 *Ibid*, I, p. 92.

110 *Qur'ān*, VI, 68.

“If you see people reviling our companions you may say, ‘May Allāh curse them and their wickedness’. This rule also applies to the use of other prohibited articles.”

According to the Shāh only in unavoidable circumstances should a Sunni perform *namāz* behind a Shī'i imām and then only on the condition that the Shī'i imām performed *wudū* according to the Sunni rules.¹¹¹

In a short treatise entitled the *Wasilat al-najāt*, the Shāh wrote that the Sunni and Shī'i literature about the superiority of their respective sects should be ignored. First of all the basic rules of both sects should be discovered. Only those rules which were compatible with the Qur'ān were correct. The Sunni sect was based on the belief that Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī and the thousands of the *Muhājirs* and *Ansārs* were ardently devoted to their beliefs, led a pious life and were friends. They lived with the Prophet, performed *jihād* with him and recited *namāz* behind him. They sincerely helped the Prophet in his lifetime and when Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān were appointed caliphs they acted with truth and justice. They loved and served the *Ahl al-Bayt*. 'Alī was their associate and fought *jihād* with them and performed *namāz* behind them. He blessed them after their death and was impressed with their achievements. Conversely, the Shi'is believe that the first three Caliphs of the Prophet and thousands of his companions were hypocrites. They emigrated from Mecca to Medina for worldly lust and their *jihād* and worship were false. After the Prophet's death they harassed the *Ahl al-Bayt*, usurped 'Alī's rightful position and did not help the Prophet's family. 'Alī through fear of them, was forced to perform *taqiya* (dissimulation). However the Qur'ānic verses did not support the Shī'i theories, only those of the Sunnis were reconcilable with them.¹¹²

The Shāh gave six facts as evidence for the correctness of the Sunni sect:

1. In Ka'ba only the Sunni faith was followed.
2. In Medina too the Sunni faith was dominant.
3. Only the Sunnis could memorize the Qur'ān. The Shi'is could only learn a few parts and their labours were always wasted for they could not retain what they had memorized.
4. Only the Sunnis believed that *wilāyat* (sainthood) followed the prophethood.
5. Only the Sunnis performed Friday and 'id congregational prayers.
6. Only the Sunnis introduced *jihād* into India. Sultan Mahmūd

111 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 94-96.

112 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 216-30.

(388/998-421/1030) and Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī (d. 602/1206) were Sunnis.¹¹³

Notwithstanding the injunctions in the *fatāwā* literature to the effect that those who did not believe in the caliphate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar were heretics, outstanding Sunni purists such as Ghazālī held a different view. In a testament Ghazālī wrote that as far as possible *ahl al-qibla* (people praying towards Ka'ba) should not be called apostates. As long as someone says "There is no God but Allāh and Muhammad is His Prophet" and is not hypocritical about it, he should not be called a heretic. According to Ghazālī, hypocrisy means making a confession of faith falsely or with some ulterior motive. In other words, the profession did not come from the heart but was only oral. It should also be noted that a declaration of apostasy was a risky matter but silence did not involve any danger. According to the shari'a, there were only three basic principles of faith: faith in Allāh, the Prophet and the Day of Judgment. The violation of subsidiary rules did not entail heresy. Some transgressions of the shari'a amount to errors and others to *bida't* (innovations). Mistakes could be committed relating to *imāma* and the Prophet's companions' histories. The error relating to *imāma* consisted in fixing the number of imāms, the conditions regarding their appointment and related matters. These however did not involve heresy. The belief of those people who held an exaggerated notion of *imāma* and considered that faith in the imāms was equivalent to faith in Allāh and the Prophet, were wrong. Similarly, the belief of their enemies that they were heretics, mainly because of their exaggerated notions of *imāma*, were also wrong.¹¹⁴

In his letter to the ruler of Bukhārā the Shāh wrote that since the Shi'is according to the rulings of fiqh, were heretics, the Sunnis should apply to them the same social norms as were customary for other apostates. They should not greet the Shi'is first unless they thought that by not doing so they would suffer great loss. In that case there was no harm in initiating the greeting. Should the Shi'is greet the Sunnis first, their response should not be warm but very formal. Should the Shi'is show excessive respect such as was not compatible with the shari'a, the Sunnis should respond only according to shari'a limitations. The above principles should be applied to all dealings with Shi'is such as visiting them when sick, extending condolences and congratulations and accepting invitations to their entertainments. These guidelines, added the Shāh, should also be followed in social relationships with the Hindus.¹¹⁵

113 *Malfūzāt*, p. 10.

114 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 116.

115 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 192.

Irrespective of the fact that the Shi'is were apostates or heretics, the Shāh advised the Sunnis not to marry a Shi'i girl. Mixed marriages, according to him, destroyed the purity of faith of the family and children and there could be no lasting family unity.¹¹⁶ He also urged Sunnis to avoid taking food in Shi'i houses and eating animals slaughtered by them.¹¹⁷ The Shāh said that once a Muslim who earned his livelihood by keeping a brothel insisted, contrary to his (the Shāh's) protestations, on sending him some food. The Shāh was worried about how to dispose of it. He could not eat it himself and he did not wish to give it to any other Sunni. While he was in this predicament, some of his close relations who were fanatical Shi'is arrived. The Shāh offered them the food and they ate it happily.¹¹⁸ Perhaps he did not tell them the food had come from a brothel-keeper.

Hinduism

Indian Muslims in the light of Qur'ānic verses believed that prophets had been sent to India. Mirzā Jān-i Jānān Mazhar considered the *Vedas* to be divinely inspired books and Rāma and Krishna genuine prophets.¹¹⁹ He identified Hindu idol worship with the sūfi practice of meditation while mentally contemplating the form of a *pir* (*rābita*); the only difference being that the sūfis did not make a physical representation. According to him the Arab pagan idol worship was different from that of Hindu idol worship and the Hindu prostration before idols could be considered more similar to the prostration before parents or teachers in place of a greeting. To him even a belief in the transmigration of souls was not infidelity or polytheism.¹²⁰ However, he believed that Hindus and other religious communities who, after the advent of Prophet Muhammad persisted in their ancestral faith, were misguided and infidels.¹²¹

A question put to the Shāh also shows that the Muslim interest in Hinduism was largely related to their own beliefs in the prophets and divinely revealed scriptures. The true nature of Muslim concern is reflected in this question to the Shāh:

"The historical accounts and traditions prove that in the past a large number of people have been sent by God as His incarnation. The Hindus call them Creators and consider them worthy of worship. India is known to have been ruled by many great and powerful

116 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 12 ; *Malḡūzāt*, p. 8.

117 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 96.

118 *Malḡūzāt*, I, p. 37.

119 S. W. T., pp. 330-35.

120 S. W. T., p. 334.

121 S. W. T., p. 333.

Hindu rulers. Now the question is who was raised as a prophet among them and what book was sent for their guidance? Was it in Hindi (Sanskrit) or in some other language? Or else was no prophet sent for their guidance and why was this so?"

The Shāh wrote that the Qur'ān says "...and there is not a nation but a warner hath passed among them."¹²² This means that someone has been sent to every nation to warn them against doing evil deeds and usurping other's rights. This warner can be a prophet, an 'ālim, a preacher, a wali (protégé of God or a saint) or agnostic. The people of Rome, Ethiopia, Turkistān, northern China and Tārtary cannot point out any prophet who might have appeared in their nation. It is also true that a large number of people might not be aware of the meaning of a prophet. What is deeply rooted in their heart is the belief in the value of recluses, ascetics, anchorites and hermits. God treats every nation differently depending on its respective intellectual character. In Arabia, from Yemen to Syria and Egypt, the mode of divine guidance was of one uniform type. There the prophets and messengers were sent endowed with miraculous powers and produced heavenly books. The people in these territories were aware only of this mode of obtaining divine messages. It entailed the arrival of a messenger bringing oral messages or a letter. However, they thoroughly investigated his credentials. The practice is still prevalent among rulers, their noblemen and high officials. When they send a letter by their messengers, they also send palanquins, or an elephant or an army with him in order to prove his credentials. Thus God used this method to guide the Arabs. Since the Hindus did not follow this procedure of receiving messages, they were guided according to a different pattern. They believe that God manifests Himself in certain objects and these are then able to speak with the divine tongue. These objects perform such supernatural feats as are associated with divine power, taking the form of miracles and exhibiting aspects of divine rule. The Hindus consider them God's viceregents. Accordingly they receive guidance on that pattern. Their teachings are recorded. The Hindus have followed this tradition of obtaining guidance for a long time as is shown by the *Joga Basishta* (*Yoga-Vasishta*), *Rāmāyana* and *Bhāgwat*.

After Biyās¹²³ appeared among them, the devil misled the Hindus and destroyed their faith. Biyās introduced polytheism and idol-worship. In short the various incarnations of God in Hinduism are divine symbols whether they are found in the form of human beings or animals or fishes.

122 *Qur'ān*, XXXV, 24.

123 The *Purāna*, Hindu classics, containing the legendary account of ancient India mention nearly thirty Vyāsas. Several ancient Sanskrit religious classics, written in

In the pre-Islamic shari'a also, Moses' rod and Prophet Sālih's she-camel were divine symbols.¹²⁴ Because of their ignorance, the Hindus do not differentiate between the symbol and reality and misguidedly consider everything part of God. Among the Muslims also, those who worship ta'ziyas or tomb-keepers or Jalālis or Madāris¹²⁵ have, because of their stupidity, been misled.¹²⁶

The Badā'ūn-born 7th/13th century hadīth scholar, Mawlānā Radī al-Dīn Hasan Sāghānī, rejected the *ahādīth* narrated on the authority of Bābā Ratan or Hājji Bābā Ratan in his treatise, *Risāla fī'l-ahādīth al-mawdū'ah*¹²⁷ concerning the Prophet's miracle. However, the sūfis and even the eminent Egyptian hadīth scholar and historian, ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī (773/1372-852/1449) did not consider Bābā Ratan a mythical figure or even a pious fabrication. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz gave a new colour to the legend. According to him the *Tārīkh-i Firishta*¹²⁸ (*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*) and other works stated that Rāja Bhoj of Ujjain, a descendant of Rāja Bikramājī (Vikramāditya), saw with his own eyes the Prophet's miracle of "rending the moon asunder".¹²⁹ He consulted his astrologers but they said that no such eclipse was recorded in their books. He was not satisfied. Later various people told him that someone in Arabia, claiming to be a prophet, had, at the people's request, performed the miracle of "rending the moon asunder". This miracle was the most convincing evidence of the truth of the Prophet's claim for the heavens could not be moved by magicians. The Rāja became enamoured of Islam and he sent a deputation to the Prophet consisting of his cook, Bābā Ratan Brahmin, and two other people. The Rāja sent a pair of trousers and betel leaves as gifts and, in order to test the veracity of the Prophet's claim, he asked the members

(F. N. 123 *Contd.*)

different centuries, are said to have been written by a sage called Vyāsa. The *Vedas* and the *Mahābhārata* are also believed to have been arranged by a Vyāsa. The invention of the Vedānta philosophy is also ascribed to a Vyāsa. A Vyāsa (c. A. D. 600) wrote a commentary of Pātanjali's *Yoga-sūtra*. To the Shāh and his Muslim predecessors, who translated Sanskrit classics, Vyāsa was the counterpart of *al-Sāmīrī* (the Samaritan) who tempted the Israelites to worship the golden calf. (*Qur'ān*, II, 45-48, XX, 85-87, 95).

124 *Supra*, p. 118.

125 *Supra*, p. 118.

126 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 140.

127 M. Ishāq, *India's contribution to the study of hadīth literature*, Dacca 1955, p. 227.

128 The *Tārīkh-i Firishta* gives an account of Rāja Bikramājī (Vikramāditya c. B. C. 95-A. D. 78) and Rāja Bhoj but does not mention the legend referred to by the Shāh. Perhaps the manuscript he read contained the story or perhaps he had forgotten his source.

129 *Qur'ān*, LIV. The exegesis writers differ widely in their interpretation of the process. To some it was a peculiar kind of lunar eclipse; others tell that the rending asunder of the moon would take place near the day of Judgment.

of the deputation to converse with the Prophet in Hindi. When they saw the Prophet, he enquired about their welfare in Hindi, "*Khem Kusal*", and demanded the gifts sent to him. Other members of the deputation returned to India but Bābā Ratan stayed with Prophet Muhammad until the latter's death. Later he also returned to India. He died and was buried in a famous Indian town. Other Rājas too, the Shāh added, had seen the miracle.¹³⁰

Land rights and other disputes

Land rights and the payment of land revenue on different categories of land by various classes of people had always been very controversial issues in India. In Akbar's reign a reasonable degree of uniformity in defining the rights and obligations of various types of land owners was introduced through the *ā'in* (regulations) and *dastūr al-'amal* (administrative manuals).

However, Muslim religious opinion remained divided. Shaykh Jalāl Thāneswarī (d. 989/1582) the most respected Chishtiyya sūfī of Akbar's reign, wrote a treatise in an attempt to end the controversy. According to the introduction to his treatise, a section of the 'ulamā' believed that, were an imām (Muslim ruler) to grant some deserving person a plot of land as *milk* (*madad-i ma'āsh* or revenue grant for subsistence), the grantee did not become its proprietor. According to the 'ulamā' the early Muslim conquerors of India had allowed the Hindu landowners to retain their land as they had no right themselves to give it to any deserving Muslim. Consequently the Muslim possession of *milk* granted by the Delhi sultāns was invalid. This judgement by the 'ulamā' was based on the precedent of the second caliph, 'Umar, who had left the land of the defeated Sawād¹³¹ territory in 'Irāq in the hands of its previous owners upon their agreement to pay *jizya* (poll tax). However, defending the right of Muslim owners Shaykh Jalāl pleaded that after the conquest of India by the Muslims, the real Hindu landowners were either killed or had fled. Other Hindus had then illegally seized their land; hence, as there was no real owner or heir, the land had reverted to the *bayt al-māl* (treasury of the Muslim state). The hypothesis that the present Hindu owners were the descendants of the original proprietors whom the Muslim conquerors had allowed to retain their lands was unacceptable for many reasons. For example, submission to the conqueror depended on the payment of *jizya* but the Indian infidels were stubborn enemies of Islam and did not

130 *Malfūzāt*, pp. 88-89.

131 The fertile land in 'Irāq. According to the *Fatāwā-al-'Ālamgiriyya* it encompassed the area from the boundaries of Mosul to 'Abādān in length and from Hulwān to the remotest part of Qādisiyya in breadth. *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya*, Deoband n. d. II, p. 272.

willingly pay tax. They continued to fight the Muslims until some were killed, some were imprisoned and others had fled. The status of their lands was uncertain and they could neither be distributed to those who deserved to receive booty nor be restored to the infidels by proclamation. After some time the Hindu landowners, who had escaped, reoccupied their houses. Some went to other places. Obviously 'Umar's precedent could not be applied to them, and, on the basis of the rulings by Imām Abū Hanīfā, they could not be treated as the legal owners. However, under the Shāfi'i law such land could be distributed to the deserving Muslims and a judgement in favour of a Muslim grantee, delivered by a distinguished Shāfi'i 'ālim, would be equally acceptable to the Hanafīs. They would also agree to the imām exempting the grantee from *kharāj* (land tax or tribute). Lastly, even if the Shāfi'i *fatwa* was ignored by the Hanafī 'ulamā', the imām was not bound to grant privileges to the *dhimmi*s (protected subjects) who did not adhere to their obligations. Summarising his argument, Shaykh Jalāl classified Indian lands into eight categories:

1. When the real owner died heirless and someone else took possession of it, his descendants could not claim proprietary rights over the land.
2. When the Islamic sultanate became weak, tyrants and usurpers forcibly expelled the real landowners and seized their property. For example, the Chawhāns in Thāneswar, and others, acted in this manner.
3. The land distributed by the imām, after the conquest of a kingdom, to those who were entitled to receive booty and other deserving people, came under their *milk*. On these lands 'ushr (tithe) was levied. Such lands were found in many towns and villages.
4. Uncultivated land became the *milk* of anyone who seized it if, although the previous owner was known, it was not in his possession at that time.
5. Uncultivated land whose previous owner was not known, could be occupied with the imām's permission and become the occupant's *milk*. If the imām's permission was not sought it was also, according to other Hanafī authorities, recognised as the occupant's *milk*. Only Abū Hanīfā did not recognise such occupations.
6. If land which had never been cultivated and did not have a known owner, was given to someone and exempted from *kharāj*, it became the grantee's *milk* and was free of *kharāj*.
7. If, after the conquest of a country, previously cultivated arable land, whose owner was not known, was granted by an imām to someone as *milk*, he became its owner. If it was not specified as *milk*, *kharāj* on it was payable and the grantee did not become its owner.

8. If an imām gave someone cultivated or uncultivated land for agricultural purposes and the owner was known, the grantee did not become its owner.

Shaykh Jalāl concluded that, since landownership in India was divided into different categories, *fatwa* for the proprietary rights should not be issued without full prior investigations into the history of the land and the nature of the grant.¹³²

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz in his answer on the position of land and the *zamīn-dāri* rights, examined them both from the shari'a point of view and that of the administrative traditions of the pre-Mughal and Mughal rulers. The Shāh wrote, "Should the imām grant any type of land belonging to the *bayt al-māl* to someone as *in'ām-i mu'abbad* (permanent *in'ām*)¹³³, it would fall under his proprietary rights. Should the imām grant the same land as *idrār*¹³⁴ or *istihqāq*¹³⁵, the land would remain in the grantee's possession only as a loan (*'āriyat*). There is no contradiction in the two types of grants, for the natures of the grants are different although the land is the same. Thus logically the situation gives rise to four different alternatives:—

1. The imām grants land permanently (*tābīd*) whether it is *haqīqī*¹³⁶ or *hukmī*.¹³⁷
2. The imām grants land in the form of *idrār* or *istihqāq*.
3. The imām grants land to any infidel (*dhimmī*) or Muslim permanently (*tābīd*).
4. The imām grants the land in the form of *idrār* and *istihqāq*.¹³⁸

The third alternative is only a logical hypothesis and is contrary to the shari'a. In the first category, the grantee becomes the proprietor of the *raqba-i zamīn* (area of land). Under the other two the grantee has the right to realise only *kharāj* or *'ushr*. However, the problem is that the country's custom is not reconcilable with the rules. The *zamīndārs* claim proprietary rights everywhere; this means that the *bayt al-māl* owns no land in this country. Likewise no land in India belongs to the *mawāt* or uncultivated category. Nor is there any land known to belong to the *bayt al-māl* either because there was no heir or because it was bought from

132 The original treatise in Arabic was published but it is full of mistakes. 'Aligarh University manuscript is also unreliable. The above summary has been made from the portions edited by Mawlānā Muftī Muhammad Shafī' *Islam kā nizām-i ārādī*, Karāchī 1383/1964, pp. 92-101.

133 The areas of land whose revenue was assigned as a mark of favour without any *mansab* or specific duties was known as *in'ām* land.

134 A pension.

135 Based on merit.

136 If the *farmāns* specifically mentioned *tābīd*, it was considered as *haqīqī* (real).

137 If *tābīd* was not mentioned in the *farmāns*, it was *hukmī* (unspecified).

138 The second and fourth are identical; something seems to be missing from the text.

the *kharāj* revenue. This means that the law relating to the proprietorship of the *bayt al-māl* cannot be applied at all. The instance pointed out by Shaykh Jalāl Thāneswarī in his treatise refers to the *sawād* of 'Irāq conquered by 'Umar. This belonged to the *bayt al-māl*. The same rule applied to the land which the Muslims seized in the early years of their Indian conquests. The *zamindārs* are entitled to retain the land only on a *tawliyat* (trusteeship basis), for agricultural purposes and for its protection. Apart from these rights, the *zamindārs* have no other privileges. The meaning of the word "*zamindār*" (holder of land), confirms the above definition. The actual implementation of the law also corroborates the above hypothesis. For example, the rulers transferred, appointed, confirmed and dismissed *zamindārs*, and granted land to Afghāns, Balūchs, Sayyids and Qidwā'is on the basis of *zamindārī* rights. This proves that land throughout India is the property of the *bayt al-māl* and it has only been assigned to *zamindārs* for agricultural purposes on a crop-sharing basis; half or less than half being paid to the *bayt al-māl* and the rest being retained by the *zamindārs*. Accordingly the land granted by the king permanently (*tābid*) on a *haqīqī* or *hukmī* basis comes under the grantee's proprietorship. The land granted by the king as *idrār* or *istihqāq*, is held as a loan (*'āriyat*). It is therefore imperative that the *farmāns* of old rulers should be examined in order to determine the true nature of land grants—whether they are permanent (*tābid*) or granted as *idrār* or *istihqāq*. Were the land granted free of *kharāj*, the latter cannot be levied for that makes the land freehold and its *kharāj* becomes the grantee's salary. If the land grant is not free of *kharāj*, the latter is payable by the grantee and the imām is entitled to realise its *kharāj*. However, all land rights in India are doubtful and the conditions under which a past king granted land cannot be definitely ascertained.

Some reliable *makhādīm*¹³⁹ assert that in most *qasbas* (towns) the land owned by the *shurafā'*¹⁴⁰ is called *mahdūd*.¹⁴¹ This land was brought under cultivation (*ihyā' numūdan*)¹⁴² with the imām's permission and the *shurafā'* became the proprietors. The proof of this assertion is that the *zamindārs* have no proprietary rights over these lands. The *shurafā'* control them and they cultivate the land personally or give it to others to tend for them. Such land can be sold by the *shurafā'* and bought by others but the *kharāj* on the land depends on the imām's permission. The type of control exercised by the Timūrid rulers, such as extracting *nadhr* (offerings for

139 The religious leaders enjoying *madad-i ma'āsh*.

140 *Supra*, pp. 175-79, here *madad-i ma'āsh* (revenue grant) holders are meant.

141 Excluded from the revenue assessment.

142 "Putting to use"; the *mawāt* (uncultivated land) is called "bringing to life" or *ihyā'*. Such lands are called *ihyā'ī*. The growth in agriculture led to the gradual disappearance of the *mawāt* or uncultivated land.

the *ma'āsh*—subsistence) and the prohibitions on assigning the land in lieu of the payment of *mahr* (a marriage portion settled upon the wife before marriage) or the ruler's right to interfere with the laws of succession and to prefer one heir to the other show that, in spite of the *shurafā's* claim, they have no proprietary rights over the land.

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz also wrote a *fatwa* on the nature of the *madad-i ma'āsh* called *milk*. He says, "The proprietary rights of the grantee over the *raqba* (area) of the land containing gardens or *imlāk* is not proven. The grantee is given only the *kharāj* (land tax) from the land and the proprietary rights of the *raqba* of land remain with its proprietor. The Indian 'ulamā' differ over the question of the proprietary rights on the *raqba* of land. The classical 'ulamā' are of the opinion that the proprietors of the *raqba* of the land of Indian *ārādī* (real estate) are the *zamīndārs* who call themselves *biswadārs*. Shaykh Jalāl Thāneswari has written a treatise on the Indian *ārādī*. In this he has marshalled evidence and arguments to reject the above claim (of the *zamīndārs*). His research shows that, as was the case with the *Sawād* in 'Irāq, the Indian *ārādī* is without qualification the property of the Muslims; in other words it belongs to the *bayt al-māl*. The *zamīndārs*' right is confined to the managership of the land. Qādi Muhammad A'la Thānawī has also written a treatise endorsing this theory. Even if, for argument's sake, the *zamīndārs* were accepted as the proprietors of the *ārādī* and the latter was declared free of *kharāj* by the ruler, because of the *zamīndār's* meritorious services (*istihqāq*), 'ushr would not be payable on it. *Kharāj*¹⁴³ land cannot become 'ushri land.¹⁴⁴

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwa* does not seem to have been correctly reproduced¹⁴⁵ and is incomplete. The question does not concern the levy of 'ushr or *kharāj*. In fact the views ascribed to Shaykh Jalāl were those held by the contemporary 'ulamā', and the Shaykh had disputed them. However, Shaykh Jalāl Thāneswari did not adopt a dogmatic posture. Similarly Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's views on the subject were not rigid and he was in favour of deciding the issue on the basis of the Mughal *farmāns*. In Awrangzib's *farmāns*, the *madad-i ma'āsh* lands were treated as loans ('*āriyat*).¹⁴⁶

143 Land on which *kharāj* (land tax) was levied. Terms *māl*, *māliyyāt* and *māliyyāt-i ardī*, (*arzī*), *māl wa jihāt wa wujūhāt* were also used for land-tax. In a ruined condition rulers were not supposed to impose *kharāj*.

144 Land on which 'ushr or the tithe was levied. 'Ushr was frequently used in the sense of *sadaqa* and *zakāt*. *Kharāj* and 'ushr could not be levied at the same time, any more than 'ushr and *zakāt* or *jizya*.

145 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 23.

146 Irfān Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, Bombay 1963, p. 301.

The Shāh's *fatāwā* show that a part or whole of a *zamindāri* could be mortgaged (*rahn*), be made a *hiba* (unconditional gift)¹⁴⁷ or sold (*bay'*). A question concerning the *rahn* of the *zamindāri* goes as follows, "'Umar mortgaged his village belonging to his *zamindāri* with Zayd who took possession of it. Zayd cultivated it, realized the revenue and appropriated the village income. Zayd did not deduct this income from the amount for which the village had been mortgaged. His contention was that he was enjoying the benefits of his labour as a revenue collector and was taking his wages. The village would be relinquished when the amount borrowed was totally paid off by 'Umar. When Zayd was reminded that the profits which he drew constituted usury, which is forbidden to Muslims, Zayd insisted that it was not usury as it was his wages. The question is whether this constitutes usury or not and whether Zayd sinned or not."

The Shāh replied that usury was atrocious and prohibited by law. The person committing the offence mentioned in the question was a sinner, for the *Durr al-Mukhtār*¹⁴⁸ says that it is wrong for the mortgagee to obtain profit from a mortgage although the mortgagor may have permitted him to do so. Taking the profit in the above case constitutes usury.¹⁴⁹

To a similar question from someone else the Shāh wrote, "It is legal to possess and retain the *ārādi* of a lawful owner in the form of a mortgage. The realization of its income is included in the possession of the *ārādi*. It is however necessary that the mortgagee should deduct the profit from the loan. At the time the account is finally settled, the entire income from the land should be deducted from the total amount of the loan and only the balance should be realized. This rule also applies to the rent from a house and the income from gardens. The mortgagee should let the house or garden and deduct that amount of rent from the loan."

The Shāh rejects all possibilities of mortgage being treated as *hiba* (a gift), for the mortgage is not under the proprietorship of the mortgagee and the mortgagor is the owner of the entire income drawn from the mortgage. A *hiba* is not legal unless the owner parts with the property and gives it to the person in whose favour it is made.¹⁵⁰

147 According to the *Fatāwā-i Barahna* quoted in the *Fatāwā-i 'Azīzī*, *hiba* (gift *inter vivos*) is the act of transferring the proprietary right of something to a donee with no considerations payable by the donee. The actual possession of the gift by the donee completes the transaction. It is not essential that the donor should hand over the gift. According to the Shāh it was also not necessary for the donor to declare that he had made the donation. *tjāb wa qabūl* (offer and acceptance) is not imperative; both the *hiba* and *bay'* (sale transactions) can be finalised without them. For example, the seller may accept the price and the buyer may take the article into his possession. They do not necessarily indulge in formal *tjāb wa qabūl*. (*Fatāwā*, II, pp. 23-24).

148 *Durr al-mukhtār* by al-Haskafī (d. 1088/1677) is a very famous work on Hanafī law.

149 *Fatāwā*, II, p. 22.

150 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 21-22.

Commenting on the prevailing custom of *hila*¹⁵¹ according to which the mortgagee gave the income to the mortgagor and the latter took it into his possession and then returned it to the mortgagee, the Shāh wrote that this was also in reality usury. The reason for this was that if the mortgagor did not return the money to the mortgagee, the latter would be annoyed and would cancel the mortgage.¹⁵²

A similar question put to the Shāh relating to the mortgage of a garden, pointed out that Zayd mortgaged his garden to Bakr. Zayd sold the fruits of the garden annually for fifteen to twenty rupees. Before the mortgage Bakr had agreed to provide the loan on the condition that Zayd gave the fruits to him as a gift. Finding no alternative Zayd made the gift of the profits from the sale of the fruit. A second suggestion was that Bakr told Zayd that he should take one rupee more than the total amount of the mortgage and then sell the produce to him. After the payment of the original amount of the loan, the garden would be relinquished irrespective of the time that had passed. The question was whether the sale of the fruit was correct or not. The Shāh replied that when the mortgagor had allowed the mortgagee to use the produce, although this did not legally violate the shari'a law, it was reprehensible (*makrūh*) for the mortgagee to enjoy it. The Shāh then quoted *Ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir*

151 *Hila* (plural *hiyal*) meaning artifice, device, expedient, stratagem, is discussed in considerable detail in works of military art and fiqh. In reference to fiqh, *hiyal* are legal devices, which form an integral part of Islamic law as applied in practice and can be described as legal means for extra-legal ends. These ends could not, whether they themselves were legal or illegal, be achieved directly with the means provided by the shari'a. They enabled persons, who would otherwise have had no choice but to act against the provisions of the sacred law, to attain their goal while actually conforming to the letter of the law. Schacht quotes the following example: "For instance the (prospective) debtor sells to the (prospective) creditor a slave for cash, and immediately buys the slave back from him for a greater amount payable at a future date ; this amounts to a loan with the slave as security, and the difference between the two prices represents the interest ; the transaction is called *mukhātara* (from which the term *mohatra* of the medieval law merchant is derived) or, more commonly, *'ina*. Euphemistically, it is also called *mu'āmala*, "transaction", and the money-lender *tādjir*, "trader", because traders also acted as money-lenders. This custom prevailed in Medina as early as in the time of Mālik (d. 179/795). There were hundreds of these devices, many of them concerned with highly technical points, but all with a scrupulous regard for the letter of the law. The acknowledgement (*iqrār*) plays a very important part in the construction of numerous *hiyal*, because it creates an abstract debt and is therefore particularly suitable for their purpose." E. I.² III, p. 511.

All fiqh works contain separate sections on *hiyal*. According to the *Fatāwā al-'Ālam-giriyya* all the forms of *hiyal* designed to invalidate or render dubious the rights of others should be avoided. The *hila* which is intended to get rid of *harām* (the unlawful) and leads to *halāl* (the lawful) is correct, *Fatāwā al-'Ālam-giriyya*, IV, p. 376.

152 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 98.

which says that the mortgagor could make the fruit lawful (*mubāh*) for the mortgagee. These allowances are made as to the enjoyment of the fruit of or living in the mortgaged house or using the milk of a mortgaged goat with the mortgagor's permission. There was no blame attached to the mortgagee and the mortgagor was even free to withdraw his consent. However, according to one legal opinion, the drawing of benefits by the mortgagee from mortgaged property was, despite the consent of the mortgagor, reprehensible (*makrūh*).¹⁵³

Another example in which a Hindu mortgaged his property to a Muslim is also very interesting. It says that Rūp Dās Gosā'in (a Hindu) mortgaged some *bighas* of his land with Bāqī Shāh (a Muslim) and agreed that he had willingly and without any pressures assigned the profit from the land to the mortgagee and had made it *hiba* (a gift). The agreement was to last until the revocation of the mortgage. After twelve years Rūp Dās Gosā'in began to press Bāqī Shāh to pay him the profit from the land. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz replied that according to the shari'a, the mortgaged land and its fruits and the profits from these belonged to Rūp Dās Gosā'in and Bāqī Shāh had no rights over them. *Hiba* of fruits and profits was illegal, for the latter were non-existent at the time of the deal and *hiba* of a non-existent item was not permissible. According to the *Sharh al-Waqāya*, the Shāh wrote, the *hiba* of a goat's milk until it was in her udder, wool until it was on the sheep's body, agricultural produce and trees as long as they had not been harvested and dates so long as they were on a tree, was illegal in the same way as the *hiba* of undivided property with several owners. The additions to the mortgaged items such as a goat's kid, milk, wool and fruit were the property of the mortgagor.

However, the Shāh added, although the above ruling was apparently correct, his own researches revealed that the *hiba* in the above example, according to local customs, was equivalent to *ibāhat* (rendered lawful). In these circumstances, the mortgagor permits the mortgagee to obtain benefits from the mortgaged property. When Rūp Dās Gosā'in gave away the profit from his land and the fruit of his trees to Bāqī Shāh, it meant that Rūp Dās Gosā'in had permitted Bāqī Shāh to obtain these benefits. According to the *fiqh* as quoted in the *Ashbāh wa'l-nazā'ir*, 'ādat (custom) finally decides the issue. According to 'urf and 'ādat (custom) when a mortgagor makes a declaration that the profits from the mortgaged property are lawful to the mortgagee, they are his legal right. But, the Shāh adds that, according to the principles of *fiqh*, the interpretation of the words in contracts depends on the real intention of the parties and the decision should not be based solely on the words. In the present dispute, as Rūp Dās Gosā'in, the mortgagor, had assigned the profits

153 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 21-22.

from the land as *hiba* (gifts) there was nothing illegal in Bāqī Shāh's appropriation of them. Since the profit and fruits differed from year to year and were not known at the time the *hiba* was made, the *hiba* was not correct. However, the profits and fruits were also not non-existent in the way that would render the *hiba* illegal as is the case with milk in the udder or wool on the skin of the sheep or a kid in the womb. These were potential although non-existent. Gifts of these were illegal but the type of present referred to in this question was different. Here, it resembled a free woman saying to a man that she had given herself to him as a *hiba*. This statement made them legally married, but, in reality, there was no *hiba* at all.

Rūp Dās's contract was valid in principle and, as long as he did not revoke the contract and demand the profit from the land and the fruit from the trees, it was lawful and right for Bāqī Shāh to obtain these. Rūp Dās Gosā'in had the right to revoke the validity of the *hiba* of the profit at any time within the twelve years' period, for there was no time limit in such cases. According to the *Durr al-Mukhtār*, the mortgagor could make it lawful for the mortgagee to eat the fruits of trees or to reside in the mortgaged house or to use the milk of the mortgaged goat. In these circumstances it was not the mortgagee's duty to pay the price of the fruit or milk to the mortgagor.¹⁵⁴

The grant of villages as *in'ām* (reward), in recognition of meritorious and loyal services, also made the grantee their proprietor. A question posed to the Shāh highlights an interesting dispute. According to the facts, Zayd and 'Umar acted meritoriously and bravely risked their lives out of loyalty to their commander. The commander's officials bestowed a village on them as an *in'ām*. On the basis of a mutual agreement between them only the name of Zayd was mentioned in the title-deed. Zayd in his turn wrote a title-deed in favour of 'Umar saying that they had obtained the village in recognition of their meritorious services from such and such a commander but, because of their friendship and the lack of differences between them, 'Umar's name was not entered on the document. This was done for fear that his brothers might make some claim on the village. They had agreed upon a partition allocating a certain tract of land to 'Umar and the rest to Zayd. Further, it was agreed that after Zayd's death, his share of the village would pass to his heirs and in the same way 'Umar's successors would inherit his specified tract of land. After Zayd's death, his heir, Khālīd wrote a title-deed in favour of 'Umar to the effect that Zayd and 'Umar had obtained the village as a reward for their meritorious services to such and such a commander. Further, that the grant was made for their personal expenses, the wages of their

servants and other disbursements. Khālīd stated that Zayd and 'Umar had mutually agreed that a specified tract would belong to 'Umar and the rest of the village would be Zayd's property. They had continued to understand this and no differences had arisen between them. Khālīd added that he also would follow the same tradition and would remain obedient to 'Umar. In view of this, could Khālīd subsequently refuse to give the specified tract to 'Umar asserting that the title-deed was not actually meant to be complied with and was written only because of his friendship with 'Umar, although Zayd had himself admitted that 'Umar had a legal share in the *in'ām* village and the title-deed partitioning the village was written down and endorsed by Khālīd? The Shāh's opinion was sought on the validity of 'Umar's claim on the crop.

The Shāh replied that the title-deed written by Zayd showed that the latter thought that 'Umar was associated with him in the meritorious services which led the commander to grant the village. Zayd, considering 'Umar his partner, had assigned a piece of land to him, retaining the rest for himself. If the title-deed was duly signed by witnesses, the piece of land under dispute was 'Umar's property. Reliable traditions in the works of *fiqh* confirmed the above ruling. For example, the *Fatāwā-i Qā'idī* says that if someone declared that he had given some property to his son, it was a true *hiba*, providing that it complied with the following two conditions. Firstly, the title-deed must have been attested by two witnesses. The signature and seal of the assignees were not sufficient for they could be forged. The *Fusūl al-'Imādī* says it was not lawful for a *qādi* to give his decision on ownership merely on the basis of the title-deed but that he should adhere to the *sharī'a* requirements which meant that the documents should have witnesses or be undisputed. The title-deed by itself provided no proof, for the handwriting could have been imitated and the document forged. This was also confirmed by the *Fatāwā al-Kāmil*. The second condition for the validity of the *hiba* in favour of 'Umar was his continued full possession of the piece of land as owner and not in the capacity of a deputy or an agent. This was corroborated by the *Sharh Waqāya*. It says, "The *hiba* is validated only by full possession. Full possession of immovable property is proved only when it is under the complete control of the beneficiary. If a house were assigned as a *hiba*, this would be proved by producing its key. When something divisible is made *hiba*, possession is proved when after its division control over his part is practised by the beneficiary. The permanent possession of the whole does not entail ownership of all its parts. If an indivisible article is obtained as *hiba*, only then is the possession of the whole sufficient proof of ownership."

In the dispute under question, the Shāh says, Khālīd wrote a title-deed confirming that his father continued to understand 'Umar's partnership

as correct. The word "understand" used in connection with land does not necessarily prove actual possession. Khālid would have had to be questioned about 'Umar's ownership and, should he have refused to acknowledge 'Umar's possession of the land, 'Umar would have had to prove it. If 'Umar could not have done this, Khālid's plea should have been accepted. This ruling, however, could be implemented only if Khālid were Zayd's sole heir. Were there another heir too, he also would have to be asked if he accepted Zayd's title-deed as authentic. If the other heir accepted its validity, 'Umar's claim would be judged correct. Should the other heir dispute it also, the burden of proving his ownership would rest on the plaintiff. If the plaintiff could produce no evidence, the defendant would be asked to swear an oath and a decision would be made according to its content. This procedure should have been applied to Zayd's heirs if Khālid contested the spirit of the deed and asserted that he did not mean to bind himself to act according to it but had written it only because of their intimacy. Khālid should then have been asked whether the deed was drawn up as a joke. If his answer was in the affirmative, it should not have been accepted, for the *Durr al-Mukhtār* says that the plea of a joke is not admissible. If Khālid had pleaded that he had lied out of expediency, 'Umar should have been asked to take an oath that Khālid was not lying and the decision should have been made in favour of 'Umar. Imām Abū Yūsuf had given the above ruling and many reliable works of fiqh endorsed it. According to the *Imām-i A'zam*, Khālid's plea was not admissible.¹⁵⁵

Inheritance from the sūfī saints and the correct appropriation and control of the villages and land assigned for the maintenance of a *dargāh* (sūfī tomb) were also the source of endemic dispute both among the family members of a sūfī saint and his disciples. A correspondent wrote to the Shāh that in India, *ārādi* and villages were assigned to the tombs of the sūfī saints and the income obtained from them was spent on the *dargāhs* (sūfī tombs) and on providing entertainment for the visitors. The question was whether, according to the shari'a, it was permissible for the saint's family to divide the *ārādi* and villages among themselves and appropriate their share according to the laws of inheritance. If they could not divide the income amongst themselves, who should then be appointed the keeper (*mutawallī*) and caretaker of the tomb and property?

Secondly, could the laws of inheritance be applied to the gifts and offerings made daily at the tomb? Could a daughter, a son or a real brother of the sūfī saint contest the right of the *sajjāda-nishīn*¹⁵⁶ or *khilāfat*

155 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 24-26.

156 *Sajjāda-nishīn* literally means sitting on the prayer-mat of a sūfī saint. The successors to the sūfī saints are known as *sajjāda-nishīn* and the succession itself is known as *sajjāda-nishīnī*.

(succession) and who would be entitled to the *sajjāda-nishīnī*? Could the *qādi* settle this dispute and that of the *khilāfat*? If not, how could it be resolved and *sajjāda-nishīn* appointed?

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz replied that the family members of a *sūfī* saint could not divide the land or villages assigned for the upkeep of the *dargāh* and the entertainment of the guests, on the basis of the laws of inheritance. They should appoint someone as a *mutawallī* (caretaker) on their behalf so that he might expend the income from the *ārādī* and villages according to the needs of the *dargāh*. However, if the *sūfī* saint's descendants had no source of income and, like the other servants and dependants of the *dargāh*, served it, they were entitled to a share according to their need. If, because of their personal quarrels, they did not appoint a keeper for the tomb, the *hākim-i 'ādil* (just ruler) of the place should give the position to some impartial and honest person from the *sūfī*'s descendants. He would act as keeper and expend the daily offerings and gifts on the *sūfī* saint's *dargāh*. The division should be made according to the principles for the distribution of booty collected in war. There was no harm in giving preference to those who were more needy or served the *dargāh* more assiduously or to those who had a greater following (*marja'īyyat-i khalā'iq*). This ruling was based on the analogy of awarding a higher share of the booty to those who discharged difficult duties in *jihād*.

The terms *sajjāda-nishīnī* and *khilāfat*, the Shāh went on to say, were used in two different senses. Firstly, they denoted administrative power such as over the collection of gifts and offerings and their distribution to the deserving poor, the appointment and dismissal of servants and the use of discretion in administrative priorities. This office was not hereditary but the people concerned with the *dargāh* themselves unanimously elected their head. If unanimity could not be reached, it was the *hākim-i 'ādil*'s duty to appoint a *sajjāda-nishīn*. The second use of the term *sajjāda-nishīnī* and *khilāfat* concerned obtaining *bay'a*, making disciples, giving instruction in *dhikr*, organizing *dhikr* and meditation parties and establishing Friday congregational prayers. Those were also not hereditary offices but depended on the competence of the candidate. There were three different methods for the selection of a suitable incumbent:—

1. The late *sajjāda-nishīn* has appointed his own *khalīfa* and granted him permission to obtain *bay'a* and direct meditational rituals.
2. A consensus among the late *sajjāda-nishīn*'s disciples in appointing a particular person as the *sajjāda-nishīn*.
3. *Shūra*, or the election of a candidate from the descendants or eminent disciples of the late *sajjāda-nishīn* by his experienced companions and disciples.

In the initial stages of the appointment of a *sajjāda-nishīn*, the *qādis* did not play any role in settling the dispute but advised the contestants to choose

among themselves the most competent person. The *qādi* could also choose some qualified persons and ask them to elect the ablest person as the *sajjāda-nishin*. However, if someone had been allocated that position by any of the above three methods and his appointment was challenged, the *qādi* had to examine the case and obtain statements from reliable witnesses. Should it be established that the appointment was correctly conducted, it was to be confirmed by the *qādi*. If the appointee's rivals complained that the elected *sajjāda-nishin* was incompetent and had changed the best traditions of the *dargāh*, the *qādi* should thoroughly investigate the allegations. If they were justified, the existing *sajjāda-nishin* should be dismissed and replaced by a competent one in accordance with any of the three rules.

In short, the rules of inheritance were not applicable in these cases; they applied only to the deceased's estate. If two candidates contested the *sajjāda-nishin* on the basis of the deceased *sūfi*'s alleged nomination or the alleged unanimous support of the *sūfi*'s leading disciples, the *qādi* was then empowered to investigate and deliver judgment.¹⁵⁷

Hiyal

The Hanafi, Māliki and Shāfi'i lawyers evolved numerous devices or *hiyal* in order to discover legal means for achieving lawful ends. The Hanafi works of fiqh excelled the other two in inventing *hiyal*. The Hanbalis were very cautious about supporting it. The *Kitāb al-hiyal* (book of *hiyal*) in the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya*, compiled under Emperor Awrangzib's personal supervision, suggests various *hiyal* for resolving problems ranging from overcoming the innumerable impediments to finding water for *wudū* to the fulfilment of obligations covering oaths and commercial transactions.¹⁵⁸ The Qur'ān specifically prohibits usury (*riba*)¹⁵⁹ and games of chance (*maysir*).¹⁶⁰ Those commercial transactions which resembled usury or games of chance were also forbidden. The expansion of the

157 *Fatāwā*, 1, 37-38.

158 *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya*, IV, pp. 376-98.

159 "Those who swallow usury cannot rise up save as he ariseth whom the devil hath prostrated by (his) touch. That is because they say : Trade is just like usury ; whereas Allāh permitteth trading and forbiddeth usury. He unto whom an admonition from his Lord cometh, and (he) refraineth (in obedience thereto), he shall keep (the profits of) that which is past, and his affair (henceforth) is with Allāh. As for him who returneth (to usury)—such are rightful owners of the Fire. They will abide therein." *Qur'ān*, II ; 275, p. 59.

160 "They question thee about strong drink and games of chance. Say : In both is great sin, and (some) utility for men ; but the sin of them is greater than their usefulness. And they ask thee what they ought to spend. Say : That which is superfluous. Thus Allāh maketh plain to you (His) revelations, that haply ye may reflect." *Qur'ān*, II, 219, pp. 52-53.

'Abbāsīd trade from the tenth to twelfth centuries made the Muslim dependence on local commercial customs indispensable and the need to discover legal means of achieving lawful ends increased enormously. The *Kitāb al-Hiyal*, compiled in about 400/1009, shows that the commercial laws of 'Irāq could not operate successfully without *hiyal*.

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatāwā* suggest *hiyal* for innumerable transactions. A very interesting one deals with *hundis* or bills of exchange which were necessary both for commercial transactions and the safe remittance of money. He says that the works of *fiqh* state that to convert money into *hundawī* or *hundi* is reprehensible. In Arabic they are called *suftaja* or *safatij*. For example *Sharh al-Waqāya* says, "*Suftaja* i.e. *hundawī* is detestable (*makrūh*)". The money given to someone as a loan in order that it may be remitted to a payee and not lost in transit is known as *hundawī*.

In India, the Shāh goes on to say, *hundawī* transactions take place in three different ways. Firstly, the *sāhūkārs* (bankers) who accept the money on the condition they safely remit it to some other person can enter the same amount in the *hundawī* which they undertake to remit it without charging any fees. It is also understood that, as long as the money is with them, they can use it in their commercial undertakings without making any payment for its use. Secondly, the *sāhūkārs* can enter a larger amount in the *hundawī* than they actually receive. They do so in order to use the money themselves before the *hundawī* is cashed. The payee actually receives the amount entered in the *hundawī*. This means that the remitter pays less and the payee receives more. Thirdly sometimes the *sāhūkārs* receive more and enter less in the *hundawī*, which indicates that they deduct some amount as fees and remit the balance to the payee. In the first transaction usury is not involved but in the second case the person instigating *hundawī* receives interest and in the third case he pays interest. However both the latter situations can be dealt with in such a way that neither the payment nor the receipt of interest is involved. For example, if someone has to obtain a *hundawī* for Rs. 100 and has to pay Rs. 10 to the *sāhūkār* as fee, he can pay Rs. 98 in silver to the *sāhūkār* and Rs. 12 in *paysas* (copper coins or change), telling him that only Rs. 2 in silver had been charged for *paysas* to the value of Rs. 12. This does not mean that Rs. 10 have been paid as interest to the *sāhūkār* because this part of the transaction falls under another category—that of "changing money". The *Mishkāt al-masābīh*¹⁶¹ says that a date vendor from Khaybar brought some excellent dates to the Prophet. The Prophet asked him whether all dates from the Khaybar were good. The vendor replied in the negative

161 *Mishkāt al-masābīh* by Walī al-Dīn (d. 747/1346) is a new edition of the collection of *ahādīth* made by al-Baghwī (d. 510/1117 or 516/1122). The work is a compendium of *ahādīth* from the *Sahīhs* by Bukhārī and Muslim. It is exceedingly popular.

and added that one *sa'* (bag) of good dates was bought for two *sa's* of bad dates. The Prophet remarked that to buy and sell the same type of article by paying more or less for its counterpart was usury. The best thing to do was to sell bad dates for *dirhams* (the silver unit of the Arab monetary system) and to buy better dates with these coins.

Returning to the example of the *hundawī*, the Shāh says that if someone obtains *hundawī* for Rs. 100 for remittance to his friend, and gets Rs. 5 from the *sāhūkār*, known as *phirat*, the person obtaining the *hundawī* is charging interest. However, to regularise it from the shari'a point of view, the person who obtains the *hundawī* for Rs. 100 should pay Rs. 90 to the *sāhūkār* and retain Rs. 10 himself. Then he should take *paysas* for Rs. 5 and pay them to the *sāhūkār*, retaining the other Rs. 5 himself. The *sāhūkār* will then remit Rs. 100 to the payee. In this transaction Rs. 10 were taken for Rs. 5 of *paysas*. As the rupees (silver coin) and the *paysas* (copper coins change) belong to different categories, the shari'a is not violated.

According to the Shāh, the 'ulamā' prescribed a different solution to eradicate the sin of usury. They suggested that the *sāhūkār* should not be told about the *hundawī*. He should be given the money as a loan and be asked to arrange for the remittance of the amount to the payee in the named town. The agreement should be made in writing. In that case, the Shāh argued, the detestation associated with *hundawī* was eliminated. In short the *hundawī* is reprehensible because of the profit enjoyed by the parties. Were the transaction unconditional, no question of usury arises.¹⁶²

The Dār al-Harb and the Dār al-Islam

The Qur'ān does not divide the world into the *dār al-harb* (abode of war) and the *dār al-Islam* (abode of Islam). In the *ahādīth* the term "*dār al-harb*" can be traced back from the period of Prophet Muhammad's emigration to Medina. The terms are closely linked with the Muslim duty of *jihād* and the *fiqh* works deal with the rules of the *dār al-harb* and the *dār al-Islam* at great length. The term had a deep bearing on the universality of Islam and became very important when Muslim power began to decline in the various parts of the world where they had been dominant.

The books of *fiqh* give the impression that the Muslims are expected to invite non-Muslims into Islam as part of their religious duties and the theory that the Muslim state was in a posture of perpetual warfare with the non-Muslim world does not hold water. Besides the *dār al-harb* and *dār al-Islam*, there is a third sort of territory the *dār al-sulh*. The latter is in a tributary relationship to Muslim rulers. However, Abū Hanifā does

not recognise the separate status of these intermediate territories and considers them a part of Islam and their non-Muslim subjects as rebels.¹⁶³ The fiqh books generally discuss moral behaviour in the *dār al-harb* and *dār al-Islam*. They consider the payment of debts, usury, sale and purchase (mainly of slaves) and the rights and duties of travellers to the different territories.¹⁶⁴

The Indian historical literature enthusiastically describes the wars of the Muslim invaders of Hindu territories as *jihād*. The trend changed slightly with those historians who followed the pattern of Abu'l-Fadl's *Akbar-nāma*. According to the traditional scholars, the whole of India was a *dār al-Islam* and the independent Hindu *rājas* were rebels. Shāh Walī-Allāh reminded the Muslims that, if they left *jihād*, and went behind cow's tails (co-operated with the Hindus), their humiliation was a foregone conclusion.¹⁶⁵ According to him failure to migrate from a *dār al-harb* to a *dār al-Islam* was a serious sin.¹⁶⁶ Before his death a large number of Indian territories ruled by the Mughals had been seized by the Jāts, Sikhs and Marāthas but the latter were considered rebels in what was still a *dār al-Islam* and therefore no migration was necessary. By the end of the nineteenth century almost all the Hindu rulers formerly under Mughal dominion, had become independent and the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam of Delhi was a pensioner of the Marāthas. The Sikhs now ruled the Panjāb. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz had written Arabic and Persian verses cursing the Sikh and Marāthā depredations¹⁶⁷ but theoretically this did not make their territories *dār al-harb*. After the British occupation of Delhi, the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam remained a pensioner and no radical change in his position occurred.

However, the Muslims, as mentioned earlier, were confused and the situation became volatile. Some Muslims wrote to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz to ask for his reaction. The Shāh wrote *fatwas* in response to specific questions. They are not dated but the first one in the series was issued in reply to the question, "Could a *dār al-Islam* become a *dār al-harb*?" The Shāh replied, "Reliable works say that a *dār al-Islam* could become a *dār al-harb* in three circumstances. Thus, according to the *Durr al-Mukhtār*, a *dār al-Islam* would not be transformed into a *dār al-harb* unless the following three conditions existed :

1. The laws of the *mushriks* (polytheists) were implemented there.
2. The *dār al-Islam* adjoined a *dār al-harb*.

163 E. I.², II, pp. 126-28, 131.

164 *Fatāwā-al-'Ālamgiriyya*, IV, pp. 301-3.

165 Shāh Walī-Allāh, *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha*, Karāchī, n. d., II, p. 487.

166 Shāh Walī-Allāh, *Qawl al-jamīl*, Delhi, n. d., p. 26.

167 *Supra*, pp. 79-80.

3. Muslims and *dhimmi*s (protected subjects) who had earlier been under Muslim protection were no longer safe there.

According to the *Kāfī*¹⁶⁸, those territories (*bilād*) where the orders of the Muslims (the imāms) were obeyed and which were under their control were called the *dār al-Islam*. In this city (Delhi) the Muslim's Imām (*Imām al-Muslimin*) is unable to enforce his orders; instead the Christian officers' orders are openly carried out. The implementation of the infidels' orders means that they are in full control of administrative matters. They govern the people, collect *kharāj* (land tax), *bāj* (toll levied by the road patrol), *'ushr* (tithe) on commercial goods, punish thieves and robbers and decide law-suits according to their own regulations. They (the Christian rulers) do not interfere with some Islamic ordinances such as those on Friday prayers, congregational prayers of two *'ids*, *adhān* (calling to prayers) and cow sacrifice only because they do not value the basic principles of these practices to which they are indifferent. They unhesitatingly demolish mosques. No Muslim or *dhimmi* can enter this city or its suburbs without seeking their protection. In their own interests they don't prohibit the entry of common visitors, travellers and merchants, but eminent people such as Shujā' al-Mulk and Wilāyatī Begum¹⁶⁹ cannot enter the city without their specific permission. Christian rule has been established from here to Calcutta. In some places such as Haydarābād, Lucknow and Rāmpūr, they have not established direct control for reasons of expediency due to the submission of the local rulers.

According to the *ahādīth*, the precedents of the Prophet's companions and the great caliphs, this situation would transform *dār al-Islam* into a *dār al-harb*. For example in the reign of Siddiq-i Akbar (Abū Bakr), Bani Yarbū' was declared a *dār al-harb* because of its inhabitants' refusal to pay *dhakāt* although Friday prayers, prayers of two *'ids* and *adhān* were prevalent there. Likewise Samāha and places around it were declared *dār al-harb* although Muslims were living in those towns. In the reign of the Righteous Caliphs the above three principles determined the status of a *dār al-harb*. Not only this but Prophet Muhammad had also declared Fadak¹⁷⁰ and Khaybar *dār al-harb* although Muslim merchants lived there and the people in the adjacent Wādī al-Qurra were Muslims. Fadak and Khaybar are quite close to Medina.

As to the question whether the infidels of a *dār al-harb* were free or slaves, opinions differ. According to some jurists, when the infidels of a *dār al-harb* were defeated, and brought to a *dār al-Islam*, they could be

168 *al-Kāfī* by al-Hakim al-Shahīd (d. 334/945) is an abridged version of the main works of al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805), a distinguished companion of Imām Abū Hanīfa.

169 The author could not get their details.

170 A small town near Khaybar in northern Hijāz, two or three days journey from Medina.

made slaves. According to some *faqīhs*, should the infidels of a *dār al-harb*, willingly or under compulsion, according to their prevalent custom, sell their children or relations, the latter were turned into slaves. According to the hadīth, the latter rule is more correct, for in the days of Prophet Muhammad most slaves were acquired according to this procedure. For example Zayd bin Hārith and Salmān Fārsi were bought in the above manner and the Prophet accepted their slavery.

According to the *Jāmi' al-rumūz*¹⁷¹, free infidels who are defeated or imprisoned are turned into slaves on the analogy of taking possession of lawful objects. If a king of a *dār al-harb* sends a free infidel of his country to a Muslim as a gift, the latter becomes the master of the infidel. If there is some relationship between the Muslim and the infidel, the former would not become the infidel's master. Should a Muslim enter a *dār al-harb* under infidel protection and purchase an infidel's son and forcibly bring him to the *dār al-Islam*, the Muslim would become the infidel boy's master. According to some authorities, however, who are accepted as correct, the Muslim would not become the boy's master in the *dār al-harb*. According to Imām Muhammad¹⁷², the Muslim, in order to become the master, would have to bring the boy to the *dār al-Islam*. However, according to Imām Abū Yūsuf¹⁷³ this would not be necessary. Imām Karkhī¹⁷⁴ says the sale would be correct only when such sale and purchase was prevalent there. The *Muhīt*¹⁷⁵ also confirms this latter view. Although the above discussion shows that infidels are free in the *dār al-harb*, this is not the case. They are slaves, although they are under nobody's control. The chapters on free men in works such as *Mustasfa*¹⁷⁶ assert this.¹⁷⁷

To a specific question: Were the territories over which the English or non-Muslim ruled a *dār al-harb*, the Shāh replied, "The view that a *dār al-Islam* could never become a *dār al-harb* is not very sound. The correct opinion is that a *dār al-Islam* could become a *dār al-harb* but there is a difference in judgment as to how it happens. A section of the 'ulamā' believes that if a single Islamic rule such as *adhān* or circumcision is forcibly

171 *Jāmi' al-rumūz* of al-Qūbistānī (d. 950/1543) enjoyed great respect among the *faqīhs* of Transoxiana.

172 Imām Muhammad b. Hasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804) was the author of *al-Jāmi' al-saghīr*. The work contains principal points of practical law indispensable to the *qādīs* and *muftīs*.

173 Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb bin Ibrāhīm al-Ansārī al-Kūfī (d. 113/731) was the most prominent disciple of Abū Hanīfa. Of his works, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, on public finances, taxation and criminal law, is the most significant.

174 Abū'l-Hasan 'Ubayd-Allāh b. al-Hasal al-Karkhī (d. 340/951-52) was the author of the *Kitāb al-mukhtasar fi'l-fiqh*.

175 *al-Muhīt* was written by Radī al-Dīn Muhammad al-Sarkhasī (d. 544/1149-50).

176 'Abd-Allāh ibn Ahmad al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310-11) was the author of *al-Mustasfa*.

177 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 17-18.

prohibited in the *dār al-Islām*, it is transformed into a *dār al-harb*. A different section of the 'ulamā' considers that this change does not depend on abolishing Islamic rules but on fearlessly and openly introducing infidel rules into a *dār al-Islām*. It does not matter if all the Islamic laws are followed there. A third section of the 'ulamā' has gone even further and asserts that a *dār al-harb* is a territory in which no Muslim or *dhimmi* can live peacefully on the basis of former protection rights. It does not matter if only a few Islamic rules have been abolished there or if the infidels' rules are openly followed. The leading scholars have given credence to the third opinion. On this basis, land under English rule or that of other non-Muslims is undoubtedly a *dār al-harb*.¹⁷⁸

In a third letter specific answers to three questions were sought :

1. Is the whole country ruled by Christians a *dār al-harb*? If the whole country is a *dār al-harb*, is it lawful for the Muslims to charge interest from Christians ?
2. After performing Friday congregational prayers in those territories ruled by infidels, is it essential to recite the obligatory *zuhr*¹⁷⁹ prayers ?
3. Is it lawful for Muslims to obtain interest on the loan they give to the infidels (Hindus) out of necessity ? Likewise is it lawful for the Muslims to give interest on the loan they obtain from the infidels (Hindus) ?

The Shāh wrote, "The conditions relating to the *dār al-harb* laid down in the works of fiqh should be studied. Some of these are given in this letter and they should be applied to the Christian-dominated territories. If they are applicable the territory is the *dār al-harb*. If something pertains to a whole situation then it is applicable on the remaining aspects. If an entire territory is a *dār al-harb*, the giving and taking of interest with regard to the infidels is lawful for the *Hidāya*¹⁸⁰ says that in a *dār al-harb* usury between Muslims and infidels is not unlawful. In fiqh all absolute orders are applicable without exception. Thus both giving and taking interest are not unlawful. As a precautionary measure, however, Muslims should avoid unnecessarily giving interest to the infidels belonging to a *dār al-harb*.

"As far as the rules about the establishment of Friday congregational prayers in the *dār al-harb* are concerned, they fall under the jurisdiction

178 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 115. The last sentence shows that, according to the Shāh, the territories ruled by other non-Muslims, such as the Marāthas, Sikhs and Rājputs were also *dār al-harb*. Although Shāh 'Ālam was a puppet ruler, the Marātha ascendancy according to the Shāh did not make Delhi a *dār al-harb*.

179 *Zuhr* prayers are performed at midday when the sun begins to decline.

180 The Sunnī handbook of fiqh by al-Marghīnānī (d. 953/1196) was very widely studied.

of the Muslim governor of the infidels at that place. If there is no Muslim governor, the Muslims living there should elect a reliable and honest person as their leader and perform Friday congregational prayers and the prayers of two 'ids under his authorization. The marriage of a minor without a guardian, the protection of heirless property and that of orphans, the settlement of disputes over inheritance and its distribution to lawful heirs, should be done under that leader's supervision. It would not be necessary for him to interfere in the administration of the country. However, should there be no Muslim governor and should there be no elected Muslim leader, the congregational Friday prayers should be followed by an offering of four *rak'ats*¹⁸¹ of obligatory *zuhr* prayers with the *niyah* (intention to offer prayer), "I offer four *rak'ats* of *zuhr* prayers not earlier offered by me but I do so finding time for the same."

However, reverting to the question of usury, the Shāh says that Imām Abū Yūsuf and Imām Shāfi'i reject the *Hidāya* rulings. They assert that this transaction cannot take place between an infidel who lives in a *dār al-Islam* under Muslim protection and its Muslim inhabitants. According to them the same law would apply to the infidel in a *dār al-harb* and therefore usury is unlawful between them. The Shāh, however, says that his own ruling is based on the hadith that in a *dār al-harb* usury is not unlawful between Muslims and infidels. Secondly, according to the hadith, the Shāh says, the property of infidels in the *dār al-harb* is lawful, provided that there is no breach of agreement between them. Conversely Muslims are prohibited from seizing the property of non-Muslims living under their protection in a *dār al-Islam*.

The Shāh then quotes the chapter relating to the dominance of infidels (*Istilā' al-kuffār*) in the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya*. This states that there is only one condition which turns a *dār al-harb* into a *dār al-Islam*. This is the introduction of Islamic ordinances into that country. Imām Muhammad says in the *Ẓiyādāt*¹⁸² that, according to Imām Abū Hanīfa, a *dār al-Islam* is transformed into a *dār al-harb* when the following three conditions prevail:

1. In a *dār al-Islam* the laws of infidels are obeyed and no Islamic law is followed.
2. The *dār al-harb* adjoins the *dār al-Islam* and no Islamic town is left between the two regions.
3. No Muslim enjoys the peace he did under Islam. Similarly no *dhimmi* infidel is able to live as peacefully as he had in the *dār al-Islam*.

181 An inclination of the head, so that the palms of the hands rest upon the knees when praying is known as *rukū'*.

182 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 33-34.

In actual practice a territory becomes a *dār al-harb* under the following conditions.

1. The infidels from a *dār al-harb* obtain domination over a *dār al-Islam*.
2. The Muslims of a town become apostate.
3. The *dhimmis* of the *dār al-Islam*, repudiating their agreement, obtain domination over it.

It is essential that all the three conditions set out by Imām Abū Hanīfa should apply, in order to transform a *dār al-Islam* into a *dār al-harb*. However, according to Imām Abū Yūsuf and Imām Muhammad, if Islamic ordinances are replaced by infidel ones, it becomes a *dār al-harb*; the other conditions are not necessary. The latter criterion, according to the *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya*, seems a logical interpretation of the situation. However, under the chapter "Friday", the same work says, "It is obligatory for Muslims to establish Friday congregational prayers in towns ruled by the infidels. The person selected by Muslims as the *qādi* of the place should be recognised as such. However, it is obligatory for Muslims to search for a legal Muslim ruler, as is mentioned in the *Mi'rāj al-darāya*"¹⁸³.

This problem of the situation during the period in which a *dār al-Islam* was changed into a *dār al-harb* also exercised the Muslims' minds. The Shāh was asked the hypothetical question : "The infidels forcibly seize a country and keep it under their rule for a long time. In that case when do the infidels become the masters of that country and what are the conditions in this connection ? Should the infidels give some part of it to a Muslim or make a *hiba* (gift) in a Muslim's favour, is it lawful for him ? Similarly, is it lawful for Muslims who have seized a country to give some part of it to another Muslim ? Should the infidels seize some pieces of a movable property and give them to someone else, is it lawful ?" Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz says that if infidels take some pieces of movable property and carry them to their own country, they become the owners of those objects. However, when infidels seize a Muslim country, the 'ulamā' differ on the question as to when it becomes a *dār al-harb*. The only condition under which this can occur is when it adjoins an infidel country. Some 'ulamā' say that as long as a single Islamic rule is practised openly, it remains a *dār al-Islam*. When all Islamic practices are totally obliterated it becomes a *dār al-harb*. Some 'ulamā' state that should the infidels abolish a single Islamic law it becomes a *dār al-harb*. The Shāh concludes that the most correct and preferable opinion is that a country remains a *dār al-Islam* as long as the war continues between Muslims and infidels. Although the Muslims cannot reoccupy their country as such, they do not surrender it to the infidels and refuse to become their subjects. Further, as long as the infidels are not so over-

whelmingly powerful that they are able to abolish whatever Islamic practice they like and the Muslims can survive without their protection and retain their property without their permission, the country remains a *dār al-Islam*. No attention should be paid to its temporary possession by infidels. When the Muslims are completely defeated and become the infidels' subjects, their country becomes a *dār al-harb* although they may be preparing for war and collecting military equipments. If the Muslims are unable to fight, and live in their country and retain their possessions and follow Islamic law, not because they are dominant but because the infidels are tolerant, the country becomes a *dār al-harb*, and *hiba* made by the infidels is lawful. When Muslims¹⁸⁴ become masters of an infidel country, Muslim control as permitted by the *shari'a* becomes lawful, and they are not permitted to seize any property.¹⁸⁴

In another question, the Shāh was urged to explain whether the payment of interest to infidels in a *dār al-harb* was lawful. The Shāh wrote, "The works of *fiqh* make a general statement on the giving and taking of interest. They say that in the *dār al-harb* usury is not prohibited between Muslims and infidels. Qādi Thanā'-Allāh of Pānīpat¹⁸⁵ has written a treatise explaining the legality of giving interest which, the Shāh says, he does not remember exactly. However, it is lawful to charge the infidel interest in a *dār al-harb* for, if there is no breach in the agreement, the infidel's property is lawful for Muslims. When the infidel willingly pays interest it is undoubtedly legal. The payment of interest to the infidels of a *dār al-harb* is also legitimate on the analogy that although it is not right to give unlawful food to Muslims to eat, there is no harm in giving it to non-Muslims as they are already unlawful food-eaters. However, the payment of interest to infidels (who are unlawful food-eaters) is prohibited in the *dār al-Islam* for it would make usury prevalent there. In a *dār al-harb* there is no such danger, hence it is permissible. However, the truth is that in the case of giving interest, no one else's money is taken; only one's own money is given. Giving one's own money leads to one's own loss, but is acceptable in unavoidable circumstances such as helping another or uprooting tyranny. According to the previous arguments however, usury is unlawful for two reasons. Firstly, the person paying interest is instrumental in performing an illegal act and the person receiving interest also acts illegitimately by eating illegal food from the one who proffers interest. Illegal payments such as bribing the *qādi* and other officials are unlawful for the same reason. Secondly such interest payment contributes to the introduction of usury into the *dār al-Islam*. Some authorities have allowed the payment of interest even in the *dār*

184 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 162-63.

185 *Infra*, Chapter 8, pp. 558-73.

al-Islam, in unavoidable circumstances (*idtirār*). However there is a great difference between charging and paying interest, although both are sinful undertakings.¹⁸⁶

The problem of the legal aspects of the sale and purchase of slaves from a *dār al-harb* was endemic. It would seem that the Shāh wrote the *Risāla-i bay'a kanizān* (sale and purchase of female slaves) before the British occupation of Delhi. In it he says "There are six different types of ownership of slaves. Firstly, Muslims from the *dār al-Islam* may go to the *dār al-harb* and forcibly seize the infidels, whether men or women, boys or girls and bring them to the *dār al-Islam* as slaves. Alternatively infidels from one *dār al-harb* may go to another *dār al-harb* and make the infidels their captives and bring them back to their own country. In both eventualities, Muslims or non-Muslims who seize men or women slaves become masters of their slaves. It is lawful to sell, mortgage or give as gifts (*hiba*) such slaves, and sexual intercourse without marrying the slave-girls is legal. Thus the *Sharh al-Waqāya* says, "When the infidels enslaved other infidel men and women and seized their property or their camels which might have fled to their side, or the infidels seized Muslim property and carried it back to the *dār al-harb*, the infidels would become the master of the slaves and property. When we (the Muslims) conquer them and seize their property, we also become their masters and owners of their property."

The *Durr al-Mukhtār* says, "When an infidel makes another infidel (man or woman) a slave and seizes his or her property, the former becomes the latter's master for he had seized the property legally. Whenever we conquer an infidel country and seize their property, we become the master of that property."

The second type of slaves (men and women) are those who are bought by Muslims from the infidels in a *dār al-harb* and taken to a *dār al-Islam*, or to their camp, whether in a *dār al-Islam* or a *dār al-harb*. The legality of the ownership in this case, the Shāh says, is disputed, but he asserts that the more correct view is that this type of ownership is also acceptable. Sexual intercourse without marriage with the slave-girls in this category, and their sale, purchase and use as a gift is permitted by the shari'a. A section of the 'ulamā', however, makes ownership subject to the condition that the sale of children should be prevalent among the infidels of the *dār al-harb* in question. However, the Shāh himself does not attach much importance to the customary law of the infidels and says that, according to the shari'a, such slaves are like wood for fuel and game animals. Those who acquire fuel-wood or seize game animals become their masters. The

same rule applies to the acquisition of slaves. However, the main condition is that the infidel who is seized from a *dār al-harb* be brought to a *dār al-Islam*. The *Hidāya* says, "The ownership of property is established after its transfer to the *dār al-Islam* and after obtaining full control over it. This ruling is based on the analogy that Muslims who seize unclaimed property which they can legally use become its owners. Ownership is also established after something is legally transferred to someone else." The *Muht* says, "If a Muslim enters a *dār al-harb* under the infidels' guaranteed protection and buys an infidel boy and forcibly brings him to a *dār al-Islam*, he becomes the boy's owner." The majority of legal authorities are correctly of the opinion that a Muslim cannot become an infidel's master in a *dār al-harb*. However, Karkhī considers that if such a purchase is permissible under the customary law of the infidels in the *dār al-harb*, then Muslims can enter into such transactions there. The *Ĵāmi' al-rumūz* says, "It is wrong to presume that the infidels are free in their country (the *dār al-harb*), they are slaves there although the country is not ruled by another power." The *Kitāb al-bay'a* of the Multaqat says, "It is not proper for a Muslim to enter into a *dār al-harb* and buy an infidel's son or daughter unless authorized by the customary law of the infidels."

The third type of slaves are the children of slave-girls. The works of *fiqh* point out that in the matter of their slavery children are dependent upon the status of their mother provided that they are not the offspring of their Muslim master or his blood relations.

The fourth type of slave ownership concerns the *dhimmī* infidel subject of a Muslim ruler who sells his children or relations to a Muslim. The children or relations of that *dhimmī* will not become the Muslim's slaves. If an infidel of a *dār al-harb* takes a *dhimmī* captive in a *dār al-Islam* and carries him back to his own country, neither the *dhimmī* infidel nor his children or relations will become slaves. The reason is that a *dhimmī* infidel is free in the *dār al-Islam*. In these circumstances if a Muslim or a *dhimmī* infidel buys or seizes a *dhimmī* infidel in a *dār al-Islam*, he does not become a slave. The *Durr al-Mukhtār* says, "If an infidel from a *dār al-harb* makes a *dhimmī* infidel resident in a *dār al-Islam* a slave, the latter will not be treated as a slave but as a free man."

The fifth type of ownership concerns a slave-girl whose history is unknown. If she is a minor, her owner's statement as to whether she is an infidel from a *dār al-harb* or is a *dhimmī* infidel will be accepted as true. However, if the girl is of age, her own assertion will be treated as correct.

The sixth situation relates to the purchase of the children of a Muslim who sells them to another Muslim because of famine. Although some authorities say that Muslim children can be treated as slaves, there is no accepted ruling on this and no precedents of it being practised are avail-

able. If someone has such a woman in his possession, sexual intercourse with her without legal marriage is not permissible.¹⁸⁷

In a *fatwa* discussing the sale and purchase of human beings, the Shāh sums up the position thus, "The shari'a legalizes the sale of men and women on three conditions. Firstly, the enslavement of the women and children of a group of infidels who have rebelled and withdrawn the payment of *kharāj* and *jizya* is permissible. For example, the sale of the women and children of the rebel Marāthas, Sikhs and Rājputīs residing in distant regions and those of the hill tribes is allowed by all authorities. Secondly, the sale of children from the hill tribes who are bought from them by merchants and then resold, is controversial. Some 'ulamā' consider it illegal and some do not but the more correct view is in favour of it being acceptable. For example Hagar was bought by the king of Egypt from the Copts and then given as a gift to Sāra, Abraham's wife. Thirdly, if someone owns a slave-girl of any of the above type and gives her in marriage to a stranger, the children born to the slave-girl will belong to her original owner. The master can sell the child or give it as a gift. However, if the slave-girl's owner marries her to one of his sons or to his brother, the child will be free, and it is illegal to sell it or give it as a gift.

"Two other types of child-sale exist but these are controversial. Firstly, during scarcities and famine, a Muslim may sell his child and another Muslim may buy it. For example during the famine in Egypt in Joseph's days, the Egyptians sold their children to Joseph. According to Mullā Ilāhdād, the commentator on the *Hidāya*¹⁸⁸, this sale is legal."

In another *fatwa*, the Shāh divides slave men and women into three categories:

1. Those seized as children by a group of Muslims invading infidel territory.
2. Those sold as children by the infidels from a *dār al-harb* to Muslims.
3. The owners of slave girls of both categories can enter into sexual intercourse with them without marrying them. If the slave-girl is married to anyone else, the child born to her will belong to her master. A master can have intercourse with his slave-woman's daughter without marrying her and providing that he was never intimate with the mother. No *fatwa* is available to support Mullā Ilāhdād, the commentator on the *Hidāya*, who states that boys and girls sold by Muslims because of hunger during times of famine also become slaves. They may be bought to relieve their parents

187 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 70-73.

188 A famous work of the Hanafī fiqh by 'Alī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197).

from hunger but they should not be treated like male and female slaves from a *dār al-harb*. It is not permissible to sell them, nor is sexual intercourse with the girl allowed without marriage.¹⁸⁹

Like the *Risāla-i bay'a-i kanizān*, the *fatwas* dealing with the purchase of slaves seem to have been written before the British occupation of Delhi.

In his first *fatwa* after the British conquered Delhi, the Shāh was critical of them. When British rule was consolidated, however, and the country became peaceful, the only objection that the Shāh could make against the British was that they were indifferent to religion. This did not, however, undermine Muslim religious, social and economic interests. The immediate decision in his favour on his plaint concerning the *madad-i ma'āsh* grant must have impressed him and his followers and on the whole they began to extend co-operation to the British. The problems that remained unsolved concerned usury. Nothing was said about *hijrat* from a *dār al-harb* even in the first *fatwa*, although, according to Shāh Walī Allāh, this was imperative for the Muslim resident of a *dār al-harb*, let alone asking the people to prepare for *jihād*. It was only during Sayyid Ahmad Shahid's *jihād* movement that the dimensions of war against the Sikhs and the British were added to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwa*. We shall be discussing this aspect in chapter seven. A correspondent wrote angrily to the Shāh, "They (the Shāh's disciples) call their native land a *dār al-harb* and violate the following injunctions in the Qur'ān.

'Was not Allāh's earth spacious that ye could have migrated therein?' "¹⁹⁰

The Shāh wrote that *hijrat* was imperative only from a *dār al-harb* in which the infidel rulers prohibited their Muslim subjects from preaching Islam, observing fasts and *namāz*, and performing congregational and Friday prayers, *adhān* and circumcision. It was not obligatory to migrate from a *dār al-harb* where Muslims were free to preach their religion unhesitatingly and to organize Friday and congregational prayers. In cases where *hijrat* was essential it was not imperative to perform it instantly but only when a place of refuge was available. For example, Prophet Muhammad, after receiving his call to the prophethood, stayed in Mecca for thirteen years before performing *hijrat* to Medina. He stayed despite the fact that the infidels of Mecca would stop him from preaching, oppress and maltreat Muslims and forbid them to perform *namāz* in the Ka'ba mosque. Only after thirteen years, when God made the *ansārs* of

189 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 41-42.

190 *Qur'ān*, IV, 97; *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 48-49.

Medina the Prophet's helpers and he thereby obtained a place to live in Medina, did he migrate there.¹⁹¹

The above *fatwa* leaves us in no doubt that to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, emigration from the territories under British occupation was not imperative and his *fatwa* was not designed to mobilize the Muslims against the British.

Co-operation with the Hindus and Christians, Service under them and English Education

The conversion of the Rājput, Jāts and other tribal groups even in Western Panjāb or Eastern Bengal, where Muslims greatly outnumbered Hindus, was a slow process and, even today, families in the same tribal groups have both Hindu and Muslim members. After their Islamicization the converts, according to the laws of the shari'a, were duty-bound to disown and renounce their earlier forms of worship. The extent of co-operation (*mawālāt*) with the infidels had always been controversial. To a question on this point the Shāh wrote, "It is not essential to repeat all that has been written on the subject by the jurists. In short *mawālāt* with the infidels in the sense of displaying interest in their religious beliefs is condemned unanimously as an act of infidelity. However, the natural love found in all human beings such as love for one's own infidel son or infidel wife is not prohibited. Apart from this, as far as possible no stone should be left unturned to insult their faith. The Qur'ānic verses on the subject are fully compatible with the tradition in the *ahādith*. For example the Qur'ān says:

"Let not the believers take disbelievers for their friends in preference to believers."¹⁹²

"Thou wilt not find folk who believe in Allāh and the Last Day loving those who oppose Allāh and His messenger,"

"He among you who taketh them for friends is (one) of them."¹⁹³

"Many other verses also repeat the above injunctions. *Mawālāt* in the sense of help and assistance in sins is prohibited as is shown by the verse, 'Help not one another unto sin and transgression.'¹⁹⁴ Sometimes this help is for remuneration such as for services and sometimes it is without wages when it is called aid or assistance. The commands regarding both are

191 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 51-52.

192 *Qur'ān*, III, 28.

193 *Qur'ān*, V, 51.

194 *Qur'ān*, V, 2.

the same. For instance, service to infidels who wish to fight against Muslims or conquer a Muslim country is unlawful. This kind of aid is a serious sin. Were the infidels to employ Muslims when fighting amongst themselves, that service is not forbidden. It is also permissible according to the shari'a for Muslims to be employed to protect infidel property or act as administrators in countries the infidels already possess. This applies to all types of commercial services for wages such as tailoring etc., when working for the infidels is permitted. This is confirmed by the traditions which inform us that saintly Muslims in the past accepted employment under them. However, in thinking over the matter in greater depth, these types of services are also not free from illegality especially at the time when they may endanger religion. More specifically their servants must be slow in condemning the infidel's evil practices. The Muslims employed by unbelievers also have to wish their masters well and have to endeavour to strengthen their power. Servants also have to show undue respect, call them lord and master and display infinite love towards them.

However, some types of services, according to the jurists, are legal. One of these is being employed by *sāhūkārs* (bankers) to protect them whilst travelling. In undertaking such services servants are not required to be in very much contact with infidels. However, if a Muslim servant is killed with the infidels while performing his duties, his death would count as a natural one occurring when his time was up and not martyrdom. He would gain neither religious blame nor praise. Such assistance is permissible without remuneration in return for help rendered previously to Muslims. For the Qur'ān says :

'Allāh forbiddeth you not those who warred not against you on account of religion and drove you not out from your homes, that ye should show them kindness and deal justly with them. Lo! Allāh loveth the just dealers.'¹⁹⁵

"The rules regarding obedience to those who are enemies of Islam are different from the rules relating to obedience to those who are not antagonists. Accordingly the rules for obedience to the English and the Sikhs are different from those defining obedience to the Marāthas. In other words obeying the infidel enemies of Islam is worse than obeying those infidels who are not enemies."¹⁹⁶

On this principle Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz allowed his nephew 'Abd al-Hayy

195 *Qur'ān*, LX, 8.

196 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 114-15.

to act as a *mufti*¹⁹⁷ under the English. Shāh Ghulām 'Alī, the leading Naqshbandiyya¹⁹⁸ *pir*, wrote to the Shāh, in utter disapproval, "Someone has informed us that the problem of obtaining employment as a *mufti* under the English is being discussed in our (*dervishes*') *madrassa* (seminary). God, who made poverty glorious for knowledge and made knowledge glorious for mankind, is witness, this *faqīr* (Ghulām 'Alī) is deeply pained. A high position under the rich is not better than the lowly position of *faqirs*. Mawlawī 'Abd al-Hayy should not embark upon this unfortunate undertaking and should be satisfied with a piece of bread (a life of poverty). He should teach students for Allāh's sake only and occupy himself in *dhikr* and meditation. We should renounce the world and, considering every breath our last, adhere to the traditions of our pious ancestors and dedicate ourselves to the remembrance of God." Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, disagreeing with Shāh Ghulām 'Alī, wrote, "Whatever you have learned about service with the English is partly correct and partly incorrect. The real fact is that Mawlawī Rī'āyat 'Alī Khān, the *mukhtār-kār* (commissioner) of the English, who is a very competent gentleman, has repeatedly written to me that an '*ālim* who is not corrupt and has a good knowledge of *fiqh* should be sent to him so that he may decide every dispute and law suit in accordance with the rulings of *fiqh*. I wrote to Rī'āyat 'Alī saying that as a servant of the English he was helpless. The English might issue orders against *shari'a* laws. The person whom I send might have to keep company with them and this might lead to the betrayal of Islamic ordinances. Rī'āyat 'Alī replied very firmly that the person sent by me would neither be ordered to do anything against the *shari'a* nor associate with the English. On the contrary, he would live independently in the city in a separate house, and he would boldly and without any reservations give opinions according to the Prophet's *shari'a*. When this type of assurance was repeatedly received, I considered very deeply the question of the consequences of associating with the infidels, *vis-a-vis* the promotion of the *shari'a* laws. God put the following verse into my mind:

'And the king (Pharaoh) said: Bring him (Joseph) unto me that I may attach him to my person. And when he had talked with him he said: Lo! thou art today in our presence established and trusted. He said: Set me over the storehouses of the land. Lo! I am a skilled custodian.'¹⁹⁹

197 The officer who supplies the *qādīs* with *fatwas*.

198 *Infra*, Chapter 8, pp. 549-58.

199 *Qur'ān*, XII, 54 and 55.

"In his commentary, Baydāwī says that the above verse justifies demanding a high position (literally governorship, *tawliyat*) under the infidels and it is lawful to serve them, when, there is no alternative means of promoting truth and the shari'a laws. This is in accord with the shari'a rules but, as far as *tariqa* (the *sūfi* path) is concerned, renunciation, asceticism and abandoning the means of livelihood are to be adopted by those who have voluntarily decided to do so under some *sūfi* saint. However, even those who have not taken such a vow, despite their involvement with worldly duties, can devote themselves to mystical exercises, remembrance of God, meditation and contemplation. In short, earning a livelihood is permitted by the shari'a and is not unlawful in the *tariqa* or else the *qādis* and others working for their living could not follow the *tariqa* and become eminent *sūfis*. How then can this be forbidden to a beginner? Renunciation and asceticism are meritorious in the *tariqa* provided that the neophyte does not have a family or parents or relations whose care is obligatory. The service under discussion does not present obstacles such as association with infidels and their ceremonies, flattering them, telling lies or betraying Islam. Other evils, in which noblemens' companions are plunged, are not involved in this service. Hence its legality is not doubtful either from the shari'a or the *tariqa* point of view. Further, the caliphs, the Prophet's eminent companions and the great *sūfi* saints are known to have served as teachers to Jewish children and still received divine inspiration. How then can the employment of someone who has not yet embarked upon the *sūfi* path and has not adopted renunciation and asceticism be objectionable? In these circumstances I resolved that Mawlawī 'Abd al-Hayy should go there and, if he does not find any problems or obstacles, he may serve there or else return forthwith. In short, you should take into account the fact that I have also devoted my life to these matters and am acquainted with my forefathers' traditions. I would never without sufficient authority from the shari'a and *tariqa*, make decisions for myself or for others."²⁰⁰

In a letter to the ruler of Bukhārā, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz made more detailed comments about English education and taking up employment under the British. He wrote, "There is no harm in reading English i.e. recognizing the English alphabet, writing it and knowing its terms and meanings, provided that this knowledge is gained for intentions which are lawful to Islam. The hadith says that Zayd bin Thābit, in accordance with the orders of Prophet Muhammad, learned the art of both the Jewish and Christian scripts and languages in order to write the Prophet's replies to their letters in their language. However, it is undesirable and illegal

to learn English with the intention of flattering Englishmen and gaining their favour.”

English education, according to the Shāh, was only an instrument and this instrument became vicious if it were used for a vicious purpose. The same rule applied to the study of logic which some ancient Islamic authorities had forbidden. He wrote, “The legality of an instrument depends on the purpose for which it is used. For example the collection of artillery, horse and armoury, which are instruments of war, is an act of worship if these weapons are collected to fight a *jihād* against the infidels and to exterminate thieves or robbers but the collection of these weapons for rebellion and robbery is illegal and sinful. Should someone learn logic to support an untrue faith and confuse correct beliefs, the sin would lie in performing these unlawful acts and not in learning logic. The prohibition on learning logic by ancient jurists seems to have been based on two reasons. Firstly, people were so deeply devoted to the study of logic that they ignored shari’a knowledge, whose acquisition is the true aim of life. This rule also applies to excessive devotion to grammar and rhetoric. Secondly, it was forbidden in ancient times because of the fact that logic was used to support the beliefs of *Mu’tazila* and *Falāsifa*. Excessive devotion to works of these led to the amalgamation of their false ideologies with the rightful beliefs of Islam. The situation has now changed, for logic has been made part of *kalām* (Islamic scholastics) and its acquisition is no longer illegal or sinful. The statement in the *Fatāwā Sirāj al-Munir*²⁰¹—that logic is included in philosophy—refers to the prohibited type of philosophical studies and not to the *kalām*.”

The Shāh then divides the employment under Christians, or for that matter under all infidels, into several categories. Some are *mubāh* (lawful), some are *mustahab* (not undesirable), some are *harām* (illegal) and some are a serious sin verging on heresy. For example, works designed to promote public welfare and the establishment of useful customs, such as the eradication of thieves and robbers; giving *fatwas* according to the shari’a in the courts, and constructing bridges and erecting useful buildings such as guest houses and other edifices of public utility, are undoubtedly legal and desirable. This ruling is based on the analogy that Joseph requested the infidel king to make him the superintendent of Egypt’s granaries so that he could distribute the grain judiciously. The second analogy concerns Moses’ mother who entered into the Pharaoh’s service to work as Moses’ nurse. Employment which calls for continued association with infidels and watching their reprehensible customs and assisting in their oppressions, such as the position of secretary, menial types of service, working in mili-

201 Possibly a commentary on *al-Sirājiyya* by Sirāj al-Dīn Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rashid Sajāwandī who flourished around 600/1203.

tary and similar services which involve excessive respect and humiliation, are illegal. Work such as killing Muslims, destroying their government, promoting heresy and searching for material to condemn Muslims, is a dreadful sin, verging on treachery.²⁰²

In India the question of the scope and extent of Muslim adoption of the Hindu way of life had always been a burning question among both the orthodox and unorthodox. The advent of the rule of the East India Company added a new dimension to the controversy. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz gave definite guidance on this issue. He wrote, "The *tashabbuh* (infidelity by resembling infidels) includes the use by Muslims of those articles which are specially associated with infidels, whether these articles relate to food or dress. The use of such things as are not definitely associated with unbelievers, although they might use them excessively and the Muslims do not use them often, is not objectionable. Again there is no harm in the Muslim using things specially associated with infidels for the sake of comfort or as a medicine, as long as they do not specifically intend thereby to make themselves resemble them. However that type of imitation by which Muslims intend to attract the attention of infidels or seek to include themselves in their groups, is prohibited. Learning their language and script is prohibited only if it is a way of trying to impersonate them, but it is permitted as a means of gaining knowledge from their books or achieving the ability to read their letters. Associating with unbelievers in their worship and festivities is totally prohibited. Many *ahādith* prove these interdictions. However, there is no harm in putting on their dress for the sake of comfort."²⁰³

The Sunnis did not generally refuse Hindu food. According to the Mujaddid, the verse, "O ye who believe! The polytheists only are unclean"²⁰⁴, refers to the malevolence of their hearts and the depravity of their faith which disappear after they accept Islam. In India it was not possible to give up touching Hindus and eating their food or drinking their water. A letter was written by Mullā Maqsūd 'Alī Tabrizī to the Mujaddid who seems to have endorsed the Shi'i view that eating Hindu food and drinking their water were illegal. According to the Mujaddid, the Shi'i interpretation of the verse saying that they should not eat food cooked or touched by Hindus, nor should they drink their water, was unrealistic.²⁰⁵ Commenting on the above verse, the Shāh also reiterates the Sunni view that the jurists of all the four Sunni schools believe that the

202 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 194-96.

203 *Fatāwā*, I, p. 110.

204 *Qur'ān* IX, 28.

205 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, III, letter No. 22.

polytheists' body is clean. It is a historical fact that from the time of the Prophet's companions to date, Muslims have been drinking water from the polytheists' utensils. Had the polytheists' body been unclean, marriage with Christian and Jewish girls would have been prohibited. It does not stand to reason that if the polytheists' body were unclean, it could become clean after conversion to Islam.

However, as far as consuming the food and drink of Christians and Hindus (polytheists), from their utensils or in their company was concerned, the Shāh says in another *fatwa* that should there be anything forbidden by the shari'a, such as wine or pork, or gold and silver utensils, or should there be something unclean in the food such as cow-dung, or should the fire-worshippers be singing there, it is unlawful to eat there although the utensils offered to the Muslims may be clean. The reason is that by so doing Muslim association with evil polytheist customs is proved. Should there be no such obstacles it is permissible to eat there provided both the food and the utensils are clean. Imām Rāzī says in the *Tafsīr Kabīr*:

“A large number of jurists have said that marriage with an *ahl-i kitāb* woman is permissible only on the condition that her faith adheres to the books of Moses and Jesus as they were before sending the Qur'ān. The opinion of the jurists is based on the use of the words *min Qablikum* (before Muhammad). Those who continue to adhere to the previous books of Allāh, even after the Qur'ān was sent, are not included among the *ahl al-kitāb*.”

It is not desirable to eat food from the polytheists' utensils without washing them, the Shāh says, for it is certain that they are unclean (*najis*) from the shari'a point of view, for the Hindus believe wine to be lawful and drink it as well as eating pork. It is obvious that they cook pork in their pots and keep it in their utensils. Therefore, it is desirable to wash them before use. For example, if a chicken drinks the water from a pot, it is not acceptable to use that water for *wudū* as the chicken (which eats dirty things) pollutes the water. However, the true basis of law is *tahārat* (cleanliness) and when definite information is not available that something is not *najis*, its use is regarded as undesirable (*makrūh*). If it is definitely known that a pot is *najis*, it is illegal to eat from it without washing it. The above, the Shāh says, is the opinion of the author of the *Dhakhira*.

However, the Shāh admitted, “The Indian Muslims are in a difficult situation. They buy milk, cheese and clarified butter from the Hindus and possibly the latter's utensils might have been unclean for they (particularly their women) do not avoid contact with cow-dung. The Hindus also eat the meat of animals whose throats are not cut according to the

sharī'a laws.²⁰⁶ The *Nisāb al-iẖtisāb*²⁰⁷ says that if there is no other alternative to buying these things from Hindus, an undertaking should be obtained from them that no dung or meat from the animals killed by them will touch the milk, clarified butter or cheese. Should the Hindus not agree, the Muslims should ask them to wash their hands and utensils before they milk the cows or prepare clarified butter. However, if none of these alternatives is possible, although these articles can be used, piety demands their avoidance.

The Shāh goes on to say, "According to Hakim bin 'Abd al-Rahmān Kātib, there was not much harm in eating with polytheists once or twice. According to a hadith, Hakim says, once Prophet Muhammad was eating his meal when an infidel arrived and sought his permission to eat with him. The Prophet allowed this. The Prophet also ate with infidels a couple of times in order to attract them towards Islam. It is not desirable (*makrūh*), Hakim goes on to say, to eat meals with them frequently because keeping company with them, being friendly with them and helping to swell their gatherings are prohibited. The Prophet is also known to have said that those who eat with people from different faiths tend to transgress the sharī'a." Reconciling different traditions, the Shāh advises that it is not desirable to eat meals with infidels. According to Qādi Imām Rukn al-Dīn, however, the Shāh says, eating meals is permissible provided that there is no singing. This means that when the infidel is exhibiting his apostasy meals should not be taken with him.²⁰⁸

The above discussion shows that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz was more strict and puritanical than the Mujaddid concerning the Sunnis partaking of milk juices and food prepared or cooked by Hindus. By invoking piety in refraining from their use he tended to prohibit them altogether. The Shāh was reluctant to give the *ahl al-kitāb* status to Jews and Christians who persisted in believing in their respective heavenly books after the advent of Islam and the Qur'ān.

206 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 43-44.

207 A treatise on the duties of the *muhtasib* (moral censor) with regard to different classes of people and tradesmen. It was published at Calcutta in 1830.

208 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 117-18.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya

Prophet Muhammad is believed to have foretold that the members of his community (*umma*) would splinter into seventy-three sects, of which all but one would be consigned to hell.¹ Each Islamic sect naturally believed that it was the only fortunate one destined for paradise. Consequently the historical and doctrinal works of each sect are designed to prove its own correctness and attempt to refute and condemn its rivals' doctrines.

The *'ilm al-kalām* (speculative theology) of Islam is the "science that involves arguing with logical proofs in defence of the articles of faith and refuting innovators (non-Sunnīs) who deviate in their dogmas from the early Muslims and Muslim orthodoxy".² Its main concern is the refutation of sectarian beliefs and thoughts. According to ibn Khaldūn, the study of *'ilm al-kalām* was not necessary for his students because the heretics and innovators had been destroyed.³ This was however not true historically, for the battle of ideologies in Islam is endemic. The different dogmas of the main centres of political power, the extension of court patronage to members of their own sect and the persecution of their rivals, and the struggles of the competing political groups for dominance by pandering to sectarian fanaticism and gullibility have been, and still are, eroding the body-politic of Islam like a cancer.

A section of Prophet Muhammad's followers was deeply devoted to 'Alī and their number increased even during the Prophet's lifetime and the reign of the first three caliphs. After the battle of Siffīn between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, the Muslims were clearly divided into Shi'is ('Alī's partisans), Khawārij (opponents to the arbitration proposed by Mu'āwiya when he was losing the battle and to which 'Alī reluctantly agreed) and the rest (Sunnīs).

1 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 25-27.

2 Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddima*, English translation by F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, III, p. 31.

3 *Ibid*, III, p. 54.

The martyrdom of Husayn bin 'Ali and his handful of followers in the battle of Karbalā on 10 Muharram 61/10 October 680, made the Shi'is inveterate enemies of the Umayyads (41-132/661-750). The 'Abbāsids (132-656/750-1258) also mercilessly persecuted 'Ali's descendants.

For ideological and political reasons the Sunnis splintered into several sub-groups or sects. Those hostile to the Umayyads evolved into the Qadriyya sect. They rejected absolute predestination and advocated that man was the architect of his actions. His *qadr* (determination) lay in his own hands. Those who deliberately committed serious sins became heretics.

The Qadriyya's rivals were the Jabriyya. They believed that all human actions were subject to divine compulsion (*jabr*). The extremists amongst the Jabriyya denied the distinct existence of all God's attributes and were known as Mu'attila, or "believers in *ta'til*" (making God a bare unity). They were called the Jahmiyya after their leader Jahm bin Safwān. Jahm had rebelled against the Umayyads between 116/734 and 128/746 and had seized eastern Khurāsān with the help of the Turks. He was killed in 128/746.

Pitted against the Jabriyya, Jahmiyya, Qadriyya and the Shi'is were the Mu'tazila. Early 'Abbāsid patronage made the Mu'tazila the dominant sect. Their greatest patron was the 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Ma'mūn, (198-218/813-833), who instituted the inquisitorial tribunals (*mihna*) for the trial of the non-Mu'tazila. Orthodox Muslims believe that the Qur'ān is an identical reproduction of a celestial original, but the official Mu'tazila dogma states it was a creation (*khalq*). Although they were also divided into several sub-sects, some features are common to all Mu'tazila sects. They assert that divine unity is not meaningful without strict *tanẓih* (*via remotiois*) and that the *ta'til* of the Jabriyya is a clear contradiction of divine unity. They believe that the eternity of God is the peculiar feature of His essence but deny the existence of any eternal attributes as distinct from His nature. His nature is to be Omniscient, Loving and Almighty, but knowledge, power and life are part of His Essence and not eternal attributes. To the Mu'tazila, the attributes are not entities added to the divine being. They interpret the anthropomorphisms in the Qur'ān allegorically. To them God's "hand" and "face" etc. mean "grace", "essence" and so on, as God cannot be seen either in this world or the next. Man is responsible for his actions by a contingent power (*qudra*) created by God in him. Reward and punishment are strictly dependent on human actions. Things by their own nature contain both good and evil. God wills only the good. His justice (*'adl*) operates in the best interest of His creation. As Almighty, He can act unjustly but He does not. Those who commit grave sins (*kabā'ir*) and do not repent are destined for hell. The Sunnis are neither true infidels (*kāfir*) nor true heretics.

The 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Mutawakkil (232-247/847-861), reversed Ma'mūn's policy and, in the wake of the resurgence of orthodoxy, Abū'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari (260/873-324/935), a former Mu'tazila scholar, founded the Ash'ariyya sect. Abū'l-Hasan defended orthodoxy by rational methods. According to him, anthropomorphical terms such as God's "hands", "face" and "sitting on a throne" should be taken neither literally nor metaphorically but accepted without question (*bilā kayf*). Ash'ariyyas like al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037-8) and al-Juwaynī Imām al-Haramayn (d. 478/1085-6) interpreted "hand" and "power" and "face" as "essence" or "existence".⁴ Rejecting the Mu'tazila view that God has no attributes distinct from His essence, Ash'ari maintains that God is knowing, seeing and speaking through his eternal attributes. Although the manner in which God can be seen is not known, the vision of Him in the world to come is a reality. The Qur'ān is God's speech, an eternal attribute and not created. Everything good and evil is willed by God, and he instigates men's acts by creating the power to do each act in them. According to Ash'ari, sinners are not unbelievers, but they will be punished in hell.⁵

al-Ash'ari is known as the founder of orthodox scholasticism (*kalām*) and his followers, mainly al-Shāfi'i, transformed his dialectic into articles of faith. al-Ash'ari's disciples such as al-Bāqillāni (d. 403/1013), ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015-6), al-Isfrāyīni (d. 418/1027-8), al-Baghdādī, al-Juwaynī Imām al-Haramayn, and particularly Ghazālī, made the Ash'ariyya *kalām* the intellectual creed of the Sunnis.

al-Ash'ari's contemporary, Abū Mansūr Muhammad al-Māturīdī of Samarqand (d. 333/944) followed Abū Hanīfa's rules. Both admit that evil deeds take place by the divine will but they do not accept that Allāh's wishes are responsible.⁶

From the legal point of view the crystallization of Sunni fiqh (literally 'understanding', technically 'jurisprudence') into four schools, Māliki, Hanafi, Shāfi'i and Hanbali divided the Sunnis into four large sects. These mirror the thought, disposition and conventions of the Sunnis in different geographical regions, although the political realities, local customary laws and variations in social conditions also played a dominant role in their development.

The earliest known work is the *Muwatta* by the Medina scholar, Mālik bin Anas (97/715-179/795). The Māliki school underlines the *ijmā'* (consensus of opinion) formula prevalent in Medina. Abū Hanīfa

4 Montgomery Watt, "Some Muslim discussions of Anthropomorphisms" in *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, XIII, 1-10.

5 W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, pp. 135-50.

6 A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, pp. 247-52.

al-Nu'mān bin Thābit (80/699-150/767) of Kūfa, formulated a more broadly based system depending on personal judgment (*rā'y*) and resolution by analogy (*qiyās*). The scholarly works by Abū Hanifa's pupils, Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804), firmly established Abū Hanifa's Hanafi fiqh in a large number of Islamic countries. It is interesting to note that the Mālikis recognised deviation from *rā'y*, under *istislāh* (consideration of what is beneficial or expedient), and the Hanafiyya system permitted similar subjective elements, under *istihsān* (holding for the better).

To Muhammad bin Idris al-Shāfi'i, (150/767-204/820), *istihsān* opens the flood gate to deviation from the recognised principles of legal interpretations and makes jurisprudence arbitrary. He laid the foundation of *usūl al-fiqh* (roots or principles of fiqh), or the methodology of Muslim jurisprudence. He devalued the faulty reasoning of the traditionists and chose those traditions of the Prophet which, in his opinion, were compatible with a high standard of systematic legal thought. He insisted on *qiyās* and rejected *rā'y* and *istihsān*.

Ahmad bin Hanbal (164/780-241/855), who endured considerable persecution for refusing to subscribe to the dogma of the creation of the Qur'ān, based his doctrine solely on the Qur'ān. He divested his jurisprudence of allegorical exegesis and based it on the *corpus* of traditions derived authentically from the Prophet. He totally rejected *rā'y* and was sceptical of *qiyās*.

The formation of the four schools of fiqh coincided with the agreement among the scholars of jurisprudence that all important questions of law had been fully explored and finally settled. It was decided that future exercises in jurisprudence should be confined to the explanation, application and interpretation of the doctrines laid down by the founders of these four schools and their disciples. This decision is known as the "closing of the door of *ijtihād*" and meant that later generations merely followed the earlier schools. Submission to the authority of one of the four schools is known as *taqlid*. The followers of the different schools, by their rigid adherence to *taqlid* and chauvinistic loyalty, transformed themselves into specific sects, each of them condemning the others as misguided.⁷

The intellectuals of all the important sects wrote exegeses on the Qur'ān, the principles of hadith and the laws of fiqh. They compiled their own *ahādith* collections and works on dogma, *kalām* and polemics. The Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids did not allow any works by the rivals of the official Sunni religion to be read. Naturally the members of each sect kept their works secretly among themselves for fear of persecution, interdictions and misinterpretations. However, some scholars were able to gain

7 For Shāh Walī-Allāh's attitude see S. W. T., pp. 245-49.

access to the sectarian works and between 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries many books were written describing the varving beliefs and practices of the different Islamic sects which their authors considered heretical. The more important among these were scholars such as ibn Hazm (384/994-456/1064), the author of *al-Milal wa'n-nihal*, al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), the author of *al-Farq bayn al-frāq* and *Usūl al-dīn* and al-Shahrastānī (548/1153), the author of another *al-Milal wa'n-nihal*. It was, however, only after the conversion of the Buwāhid rulers (320-454/932-1062) of Īrān to Shi'ism that the Shi'i works were more freely circulated. Besides their Qur'ānic exegeses, the Shi'i canonical collections, dogmatic works, jurisprudence, *kalām* and polemical works, which had been composed earlier, were also preserved. *Al-Bida' al-muhdasah* by Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī bin 'Alī al-'Alawī al-Kūfī (d. 352/963) discusses the Shi'i theory that the deeds of the first three caliphs following the Prophet violated his teachings and were innovatory.⁸ al-Sharīf al-Murtadā al-Baghdādī (d. 436/1044) condemned the Sunni beliefs in his *Risāla fi Mahkathī aghlātī'sh-Shurāt*.⁹

A watershed in Shi'i intellectual history was, however, the introduction of Shi'ism by Jamāl al-Dīn Hasan bin Yūsuf bin 'Alī bin Mutahhar of Hilla (midway between Kūfa and Baghdād), known as 'Allāma Hillī (648/1250-726/1325), to the court of the Il-Khānid Mongol ruler, Muhammad Khudābanda Uljāytū (703-717/1304-1317). Uljāytū's brother and predecessor, Mahmūd Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304) had embraced Islam, and both Ghāzān and Uljāytū were Hanafis. The Shāfi'i struggle to destroy the Hanafī influence in the court of Uljāytū had disgusted him and the members of his court began to plead openly for a reversion to the Mongol ancestral religion.¹⁰ However some influential Shi'i members of the court succeeded in converting Uljāytū to Shi'ism in about 709/1309-10.¹¹ The Sultān made Shi'ism the state religion, and "'Alī walī-Allāh" ('Alī is god's protégé) was inscribed on the coins.¹² 'Allāma Hillī dedicated his two polemical works the *Nahj al-haqq wa kashf al-sidq*¹³ and *Minhāj al-karāma fi ma'rifat al-Imāma*¹⁴ to Uljāytū. Ja'far Wijdānī, in his Persian translation of the *Alfayn*¹⁵, another popular work by Hillī, gives a list of seventy works by the 'Allāma. Some of 'Allāma Hillī's books

8 Rāmpūr, II, No. 954 MK.

9 Rāmpūr, II, No. 955 MK.

10 Hāfiz Ābrū, *Majma' al-tawārīkh*.

11 Murtadāwī, M., *Tahqīq dar hāra-i dawrā-i Ilkhāniyān*, Tabriz, 1341/1962, pp. 400-458.

12 S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, London 1881, VI, 44.

13 Rāmpūr, 929 MK.

14 R. Levy, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the library of the India Office*, II (IV) [*kalām*, Oxford 1940, 2089.

15 *Kutāb al-alfayn* offers one thousand arguments to prove that 'Alī bin Abī Tālib was the heir to Prophet Muhammad and a further thousand arguments refute the argu-

seem to have been lost but others survive in private collections and public manuscript repositories. More than a dozen of them have been published and *al-Bāb al hādī-'ashr* has been translated into English by W. W. Miller.¹⁶

In his preface to the *Minhāj al-karāma*, Hilli, introducing the Prophet's tradition, "one who does not develop knowledge of the Imām of his time, dies the death of ignorance",¹⁷ states that his book is designed to underline the importance of the basic Islamic teachings and the *imāma* as a pillar of the faith. He was pleased that the book enabled him to discharge his obligations to Sultān Uljāytū.¹⁸ The first chapter of the work deals with the attitude of different Islamic sects towards the *imāma*. The second chapter states that obedience to the Imāmiyya faith is imperative. In the third chapter 'Allāma Hilli tries to prove that 'Alī was the Prophet's rightful successor (imām). The fourth chapter outlines the history of the twelve imāms, and the fifth chapter marshalls arguments regarding the usurpation of the caliphate by the Prophet's actual immediate successors.

This work alarmed the Sunni 'ulamā'. In 716/1317 the *amīr* of Mecca made a pact with Uljāytū to follow a policy favourable to the Shī'is.¹⁹ These developments prompted ibn-Taymiyya, who had already attacked Shī'ism in his books, to write a refutation of the *Minhāj al-karāma*. He entitled his work *Minhāj al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyya fī naqd kalām al-Shī'a al-qadriyya*. This was completed before 720/1321 when the famous historian, Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748 or 753/1348 or 1352-53) of Damascus, produced an abridged version entitled *al-Muntaqī min minhāj al-i'tidāl fī naqd kalām ahl al-Rifd wa'l-i'tizāl*. Ibn Taymiyya divided his work into a preface and six chapters. The sixth chapter is devoted to the validity of Abū Bakr's caliphate.

In his preface, ibn Taymiyya writes that a contemporary of his, a Rāfidi shaykh had written a book attempting to persuade those rulers who were not acquainted with the religious sciences and *dīn* (faith) to become converts to the Rāfidiyya Imāmiyya faith. Although the Rāfidis were outwardly Muslims, in reality they were the Bātinī Mulhids²⁰ and the

(F. N. 15 Contd.)

ments of those who deny his claim. *Alfayn* (Persian translation, Īrān; place and date of publication not given) pp. 30-37.

16 Oriental Translation Fund, New series, XXIX, London 1928.

17 *Fatāwā*, II, pp. 77-78.

18 *Minhāj al-karāma fī ma'rifa al-Imāma*, Tehrān 1296/1879, pp. 2-3.

19 H. Laoust, "La critique du sunnisme dans la doctrine d'al-Hillī", in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1966, pp. 35-60.

20 Bātinīyyas were the Ismā'īlīs and other extremist Shī'i sects who assigned an inward (*bātin*) meaning to the Qur'ānic verses as opposed to the literal one.

Sābi²¹ philosophers. They did not consider obedience to the prophets and Islam imperative, and submission to the rules of other faiths was not illegal for them. They considered all religions and faiths as political movements and believed that the prophethood was identical with a just government. The latter's objective was to promote public good. They, however, did not completely reject the prophethood. Ibn Taymiyya goes on to say that the Rāfidī Shī'is patently lied when narrating traditions and were ignorant when it came to rational arguments. They had no acumen in discriminating between correct and false traditions. Sometimes they followed the Mu'tazila and Qadriyya, and also frequently obeyed the laws of the Mujassima (anthropomorphists) or Jabariyya. The Rāfidīs were instrumental in promoting the doctrines of the Mulāhida, Ismā'iliyya,²² Nusayriyya²³ and Bātiniyya. They were also responsible for the destruction of Islamic laws, the rape of Muslim women and the devastation of the Muslim property.

The Shī'is did not adhere to 'Alī's public sermons in which he stated that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were superior to all other members of the Muslim community. According to a hadīth from Bukhārī, 'Alī's Shī'i supporters considered Abū Bakr and 'Umar were the most perfect of the Prophet's companions but some believed that 'Alī was greater than 'Uthmān. Abu'l-Qāsim Balkhī,²⁴ the celebrated Shī'i author, had written to say that, according to 'Alī, Abū Bakr was superior to most members of the Muslim community.²⁵

Ibn Taymiyya first quotes short excerpts from Hillī's work and then offers his own counter arguments. Like his other works designed to promote Hanbalī puritanism, the *Minhāj al-sunnat al-Nabawiyya* was not very popular with the Shāfi'i and Hanafī 'ulamā'. The Shī'is seem to have had no access to this work. However, in subsequent centuries, polemical works refuting each other's faith were written both by Sunnis and Shī'is. In 840/1436, a Shī'i scholar, Najm al-Dīn Khidr bin Muhammad bin 'Alī al-Rāzī, wrote *al-Tawdīh al-anwār li dafa' Shubh al-A'war* countering the attacks on Shī'ism by the Sunni scholar, Yūsuf bin al-

- 21 Sābi'a or Sabeans were settled throughout the north of Mesopotamia. They were star worshippers, their idols and temples were aligned with the planets. Some Sabeans of the Ma'mūn's reign were great intellectuals.
- 22 Ismā'iliyya Shī'is traced the *imāmat* from Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq's (d. 148/765) son Ismā'il who had died in his father's life time. Some of Ismā'il's followers believed that Ismā'il would reappear as Qā'im or Mahdī, others recognized Ismā'il's son Muhammad as their imām.
- 23 This extremist Shī'i sect believes that the series of the divine emanations is constituted of three mystic letters: A ('Alī), M (Muhammad) and S (Salmān Fārsī), the last one being the gateway (*bāb*).
- 24 Abu'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/931) was an important Mu'tazilite, not a Shī'i.
- 25 Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhāj al-Sunna*, Beirut, n. d. I, pp. 2-8.

Makhzūn al-Mansūri (Yūsuf al-A'war). Before presenting his own arguments, Najm al-Dīn quotes an extract from al-Makhzūn's book.²⁶ *Al-Anwār al-Badriyya li Kashf 'an Shubh al-Qadriyya* completed by Muhammad bin 'Alī al-Sahmī al-Hillī in 846/1442-3,²⁷ also argued against the *Shubh al-A'war*.

The introduction of Shi'ism as the state religion of the Safavid empire by its founder Shāh Ismā'il Safavī (907-930/1501-1524) forced a number of Sunni 'ulamā' to migrate from Īrān to Transoxiana and Turkey. Naturally they were bitterly opposed to Shi'ism. The first of these to write an anti-Shi'i polemic was Fadl-Allāh bin Rūzbihān al-Khunjī who was born in Shirāz and had settled in Isfāhān. After the establishment of the Safavid rule he left his native town and moved to Qasān in Transoxiana. There he studied the *Nahj al-haqq wa Kashf al-sidq* by Hillī and was greatly alarmed by it. He believed that were the Shi'is to gain more power they would destroy the six canonical works of the Sunni *ahādīth* and no standard Sunni religious work would survive. Knowledge of Sunnism would then be confined to a few unreliable statements from the Ashā'ira as quoted in the Shi'i works. This thought prompted him to refute the *Nahj al-haqq* by Hillī and to present a picture of the principles of the Sunni faith and fiqh which he thought as correct. Fadl gave his book the title *Ibtāl nahj al-bātil wa ihmāl kashf al-'ātil*.²⁸

The most popular Sunni polemic against the Shi'is was *al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa fi'l radd 'alā ahl al-rafd wa'l-zandaqa* by the celebrated Egyptian scholar, ibn Hajar al-Haytami (909/1504-974/1567), who had settled in Mecca. The work was completed in Shawwāl 950/January 1544. Its preface counters the *ahādīth* about *imāma* contained in the Shi'i works and offers the Sunni point of view. The first chapter contradicts the Shi'i objections to Abū Bakr's caliphate. The second chapter relates the *ahādīth* concerning the *Ahl al-Bayt*. In the third chapter the author discusses the superiority of the first four caliphs in order of succession. Chapters four and five deal with 'Umar's achievements. The sixth chapter discusses 'Uthmān's caliphate. The seventh and eighth chapters are devoted to 'Alī and his caliphate. The ninth chapter contains an account of Imām Hasan's caliphate and the tenth chapter deals with the achievements of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The work concludes with an account of Sunni beliefs, the war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, and the controversy among the 'ulamā' over Yazid's atrocities.

26 Qāsim Hasir Radavī and 'Abd al-Muqtadir, *Catalogue raisonne* of the Buhār Library Calcutta 1921, No. 111.

27 I'jāz Husayn Kintūri, *Kashf al-hujub wa'l-astār*, Calcutta 1935, 315; R. Levy, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, London 1940, II, pt. IV, No. 215.

28 Fadl-Allāh bin Rūzbihān, *Ibtāl nahj al-bātil*, I. O., D. P. Ms. 792.

Early in Akbar's reign, his favourite and most influential 'alim, Makh-dūm al-Mulk Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Sultānpūrī (d. 990/1582), wrote a work entitled *Minhāj al-Dīn wa Mi'rāj al-Muslimīn*,²⁹ condemning the Shi'i beliefs. In the reign of the Ottoman sultān, Murād III (982-1003/1574-1595), Mu'in al-Dīn Ashraf, known as Mirzā Makhdūm bin Mir Bāqir (d. 992/1548), wrote a book entitled *al-Nawāqid fi'l radd ala'l-rawāfid*, also attacking Shi'ism. He was descended from the celebrated 'Alī bin Muhammad, called al-Sharīf al-Jūrijānī (740/1339-816/1413), who in the reign of Shāh Ismā'il Safavī II (984-985/1576-1577) had migrated to Baghdād in Turkish territory and finally to Constantinople.

In 997/1592 the Transoxianian army under 'Abd-Allāh Khān Uzbek (991-1006/1583-1598) marched against Mashhad. Shāh 'Abbās Safavī (996-1038/1588-1629), who had ascended the throne only one year earlier, was unable to defend his province. The 'ulamā' in Mashhad wrote to 'Abd-Allāh Khān urging him to refrain from shedding Muslim blood and plundering the property belonging to the holy shrine of the eighth Shi'i Imām, 'Alī al-Ridā (148/766-203/819). The Sunni 'ulamā' in the Uzbek camp replied that, as the Shi'i faith was based on cursing Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, it was heretical. Therefore the annihilation of the Shi'is and the destruction and plundering of their property was lawful. Mawlānā Muhammad Mushakkik Rustamdāri wrote a long reply countering the arguments of the Transoxianian 'ulamā'.³⁰ The correspondence from both sides reached India. Both the Indian Sunni and Shi'i scholars and noblemen enjoyed reading it but Shaykh Ahmad Sirhīndī (the future Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī) was shocked at the Shi'i pride in the letter from the 'ulamā' of Mashhad. He wrote a short treatise entitled the *Radd-i rawāfid*, condemning the Shi'i 'ulamā'.³¹

Meanwhile the arrival in India in about 992/1584, of Qādī Sayyid Nūr-Allāh Nūrī bin Sharīf bin Sayyid Nūr-Allāh Husaynī Mar'ashī Shustarī (born about 956/1549) made India the most important Shi'i intellectual centre. Before moving to India he had already written more than fifty books consisting of glosses and commentaries on leading literary and theological works. In Rajab 993/July 1585, at Lahore, he commenced his monumental work the *Majālis al-mu'minīn*, and completed it on 23 Dhu'lqa'da 1010/ 15 May 1602.³² The work gives an account of the Shi'i tribes and families; the Shi'i contemporaries and companions of the Prophet and the Shi'is of the subsequent generation; Shi'i scholars, sūfis,

29 'Abd-Allāh Sultānpūrī, *Minhāj al-Dīn*, Arabic manuscript Rāmpūr.

30 Letters in the *Majālis al-mu'minīn*, other collections of contemporary correspondence also contain these letters.

31 Published at the end of the Nawalkishore edition of the *Maktūbāt*, also available in the Tashkent. Separately published in Hyderābād (Pākistān).

32 Storey, C. A., *Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, p. 1129.

philosophers, kings, dynasties, governors, generals, *wazīrs*; and Shi'i calligraphists and Arabic and Persian poets. The biographies of many eminent Sunni sūfis, whom the Qādī considered Shi'is practising *taqiya* (religious dissimulation) were also included in this work.

The Qādī's *Masā'ib al-nawāsib*, written in 995/1587, contains the refutation of Mirzā Makhdūm's *al-Nawāqid*. The first section of the book gives an account of Mirzā Makhdūm's life and also deals with topics such as faith, the particular sect destined for heaven, the Prophet's companions and the *ahādīth* about 'Alī. This section identifies the faith of the *Ahl al-Bayt* with that of the Imāmiyya and seeks to establish the validity and merits of the *la'n* (curses) on the *Ahl al-Bayt*'s enemies.³³

Refuting ibn Hajar's *Sawā'iq*, the Qādī wrote *al-Sawārim al-muhriqa fī dafa' al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*. The relevant paragraphs in *al-Sawā'iq* precede the Qādī's counter-arguments.³⁴ The *Ihqāq al-Haqq*, which the Qādī wrote in 1014/1605, is a detailed attack on the *Ibtāl nahj al-bātil* by Fadl-Allāh bin Rūzbihān. Qādī Nūr-Allāh quotes passages from al-Hillī's *Nahj al-haqq* followed by the extracts attacking it from the *Ibtāl nahj al-bātil* and concludes each paragraph with his own refutation. In all the polemical works, the Sunni authors counter the Shi'i doctrines on the basis of Shi'i works and the Shi'is refute the Sunni beliefs with works from Sunni literature.

The Qādī's impartiality in deciding disputes in Lahore³⁵ and later his honest investigations of the *madad-i ma'āsh*³⁶ grants in the last years of Akbar's reign, had already made the Sunni 'ulamā' hostile to him. The Qādī's polemical works, particularly the *Ihqāq al-haqq*, gave them an excuse to turn Emperor Jahāngīr against him. On 18 Jumāda II 1019/7 Sept. 1610, he was executed.³⁷

In the 11th/17th century Khwāja Nasr-Allāh al-Hasanī al-Makki al-Madani, who had settled in Kābul and was known as Khwāja Nasr-Allāh Kābulī, wrote a voluminous polemical work in Arabic entitled *al-Sawāqī' al-muhriqa*.³⁸ It outlines the history of the Shi'i sects and their founders, and alleged falsehood of the Shi'i faith and the truth of the Sunni doctrines. The book concentrates mainly on a discussion of the

33 *Masā'ib al-nawāsib*, Buhār Library Calcutta, Arabic Ms. no. 114, ff. 26a-31a.

34 Buhār Library Calcutta, Arabic Ms. no. 112.

35 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārikh*, Calcutta 1869, III, pp. 137-38.

36 Abu'l Fadl 'Allāmī, *Akbarnāma*, Calcutta 1873-87, III, p. 713.

37 of controversy over his execution, S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, Agra 1975, pp. 317-23.

38 The India Office Ms. gives the title as *al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa li ikhwān al-Shayātīn wa'l-adlal wa'l-zandaqa* and does not mention the name of the author. The Rāmpūr Ms. gives the title as the *Sawāqī' al-muhriqa* and mentions the name of the author. The Hyderābād, (A. P). Āsafiya Ms. gives the title merely as *Sawāqī'*.

Shi'i Imāmiyya sect, the refutation of the Shi'i indictment and complaints concerning the Prophet's first three successors and his wife 'Ā'isha, the Shi'i doctrines regarding the Imāms and the alleged absurdity of their beliefs about the twelfth Imām. The work follows the style of ibn Hajar's *al-Sawā'iq* and not that of works by Ashraf Mu'in, Fadl-Allāh or Nūr-Allāh. Kābuli did not choose any particular work to criticize but selected indictments from earlier books.

Ibn Hajar's *al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa* was translated into Persian in 994/1586 by Kamāl al-Dīn bin Fakhr al-Dīn Jahramī at the instigation of Dilāwar Khān Habashī, the commander of Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (987/1579-1036/1626) of Bijāpūr. Abu'l Muzaffar Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh (989/1581-1020/1611) incited Qādi Nūr-Allāh's son, Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī, to translate the *Masā'ib al-nawāsib* into Persian.

The most popular polemical literature during the seventeenth century was however the correspondence between the Transoxianian and Īrānī 'ulamā' and the *Radd-i rawāfīd* by the Mujaddid. Some important disputatious work were written in the 11th/17th century in India, but the most well known ones were composed in Īrān and Turkey. The 12th/18th century is, however, exceedingly rich in this literature. In 1115/1703 Muhammad Muhsin Kishshū Kashmīrī (d. 1119/1707-8) completed *Najāt al-mu'minīn* refuting the Shi'i doctrines.³⁹ A board of the Shi'i 'ulamā' compiled an anti-Sunni work, the *Bayād al-Ibrāhimi*⁴⁰ for Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān (d. 1122/1710) bin 'Alī Mardān Khān, a very outstanding nobleman of Awrangzīb. During his stay in Medina (1143/1731-1145/1732) Shāh Walī-Allāh translated the *Radd-i rawāfīd* by the Mujaddid for his teacher Shaykh Abū Tāhīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Madani al-Kurdi al-Kūrānī (d. 1145/1733) in 1144/1732. He entitled the work *al-Muqaddamah al-saniyah fi'l intisār li'l firqat al-Sunniya*. The Shāh added a preface to the work at his teacher's request.⁴¹ In his *Qurrat al-'aynayn fi tafdil al-Shaykhayn* and the *Izālat al-khafā' 'an khilāfat al-khulafā'*, Shāh Walī-Allāh ardently tried to prove that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were superior to 'Uthmān and 'Alī. Although the merciless Urdu satirist, Mirzā Muhammad Rafī' Sawdā wrote a long poem ridiculing Shāh Walī-Allāh's enmity towards 'Alī, the Shāh's works were not refuted by the Shi'is. Sometime after 1150/1737-8, Muhammad Fākhīr bin Muhammad Yahyā bin Amīn al-'Abbāsī al-Ilāhābādī (d. 1164/1751) wrote *Durr al-tahqīq fi nusrat al-Siddiq* countering Qādi Nūr-Allāh's observations against Abū Bakr in his works and extolling his achievements. Neither this work

39 I. O., Delhi 866, dedicated to Ghāzī al-Dīn Firūzjang.

40 Nāsiriyya Library Lucknow, six volumes.

41 I. O. Delhi Arabic, 939a. When the author published his *Shāh Walī-Allah and his times* the fact was not known to him. In the above work was assigned an earlier date (before 1143/1731), S. W. T., p. 221.

nor *al-Sayf al-maslūl*⁴² by Qādi Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī provoked any Shi'i confutation. It was the publication of the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* that led to the production of a plethora of Shi'i counter-argumentative and Sunni counter-refutative works.

Reasons for anti-Shi'i Works

The circumstances that sparked off a new wave of anti-Shi'i works in the second half of the nineteenth century are described by the two important authors, Qādi Muhammad Thanā'-Allāh 'Uthmānī Naqshbandī Mujaddidī Pānīpatī and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. The Qādi, the author of *al-Sayf al-maslūl* says, "At this time the Ithnā' 'Ashari faith is rising. A large number of people (Sunnīs) specially from Pānīpat whose ancestors were Sunnīs, have been misled through ignorance and stupidity. I thought I would write a book in refutation of the *rawāfīd* in easy Persian for the common benefit. It is possible that someone may be able to see the right path and the author may obtain some reward from God."⁴³

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz in the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, (Gift to Ithnā' 'Ashariyya) entitled the *Nasihat al-mu'minin wa fadīhat al-shayātīn* (sermons to the orthodox (Sunnīs) and to the disgrace of devils), says, "In the region (*bilād*) where we live the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya faith has become so popular that there can be no house where one or two men have not adopted this vicious faith or are not inclined to the Shi'i beliefs. The majority of these are wanting in a knowledge of history and *ahādith* and are unaware and ignorant of the principles of their ancestral (Sunni) faith. Whenever the Shi'is discuss their faith in Sunni assemblies, they distort the fact and talk nonsense. I have written this book only to please God and to prevent the Sunnīs from straying from their faith in polemics with the Shi'is and to make them steadfast to their basic principles⁴⁴ (T. 2).

According to both works their authors were deeply concerned with the rising tide of Shi'i popularity and wished to stem it. The *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* was completed in 1204/1789-90 but the date of the *Sayf al-maslūl*'s completion is not known. It would seem that it was finished before the *Tuhfa* but the popularity of the latter relegated the *Sayf* to the background.

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz does not mention his sources and simply says, "In writing the *Tuhfa* I have taken care to depend solely on reliable Shi'i works on subjects such as Shi'i traditions, principles and criticisms of the Sunnīs. The Sunni answers to the accusations against them are based

42 *Infra*, pp. 562-564.

43 Qādi Muhammad Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī, *Sayf al-maslūl*, Delhi 1268/1852, pp. 2-3. (Urdu translation by Muhammad Rafiq Athri), Multān 1979, pp. 16-17.

44 The page numbers of the *Tuhfa* are given at the end of the relevant paragraphs in brackets.

on Sunni works. This has been done in order to save myself from charges of bigotry and losing credibility on both sides. The material relating to history and stories incorporated in this work, cannot be challenged by members of any sect. Although the Qur'ānic exegeses of both sects are identical, preference has been given to Shi'i exegeses in order to save myself from the charge of partiality." (T. 3)

However, after the publication of the *Tuhfa*, the Shi'is and other enemies of the Shāh started accusing him of merely translating the *Sawāqi' al-mūbiqa*⁴⁵ into Persian. The Shāh's reply to a letter on this point details the sources of the *Tuhfa* as well as answering the charges levelled against him. He says :

"At the time of writing the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' Ashariyya*, three categories of books written by the Shi'is and Sunnis refuting and countering each other were available :

Category I

Those relating to proofs of the caliphate of the first three caliphs by Sunni authors and the confutation of Shi'i objections :

1. *Nawāqid al-Rawāfid* by Mu'in al-Dīn Ashraf.⁴⁶
2. *Marāfid al-Rawāfid*.⁴⁷
3. *Sawā'iq al-muhriqa* by Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī.
4. *Sharh Tajrīd*.⁴⁸

The refutation of Sunni works by Shi'is :

1. *Masā'ib al-Nawāsib*, the confutation of the *al-Nawāqid* by Qādi Nūr-Allāh Shustarī.
2. *Izhār al-Haqq*.⁴⁹
3. *Safīnat al-Najāt*.⁵⁰

Category II

Works dealing with *Imāma*, its conditions and limitations by Sunni authors :

1. *Sharh-maqāsīd*.⁵¹

45 The available manuscripts give *Sawāqi' al-muhriqa* or *Sawāqi'* as the title of the work.

46 *Supra*, p. 253

47 This work could not be traced by the author.

48 *Tajrīd al-'aqā'id* by Nasir al-Dīn Ja'far Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Tūsī gives a very incisive account of the Muslim beliefs. Commentaries on this work were written both by the Shi'i and Sunni scholars. Here the commentary of 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Muhammad Qūshjī (d. 879/1474) is meant.

49 *Izhār al-Haqq* by Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Shustarī completed in 1039/1629-30 is available in the Khudābakhsh Library Patna.

50 Several Shi'i works have the title the *Safīnat al-najāt*.

51 *al-Maqāsīd* or the *Maqāsīd al-tālibīn fī usūl al-Dīn* by Sa'd al-Dīn b. 'Umar al-Taftā-

2. The chapter on *imāma* in the *Sharh-Mawāqif*.⁵²
3. *Tawāli' al-anwār*.⁵³
4. *Arba'in*.⁵⁴

Shi'i works on the subject :

1. Works by 'Allāma Hilli.⁵⁵
2. *Hadā'iq mūbiqa*, the refutation of *Sawā'iq muhriqa*.⁵⁶
3. *Miqdād*.⁵⁷

Category III

Sunni works condemning all Shi'i beliefs (including *Ilāhiyāt* (divinity), *ma'ād* (the resurrection), *imāma*, Shi'i *ahādith* and their principles.

1. *Ibtāl al-bātil*.⁵⁸
2. *Sawāqi' al-mūbiqa* by Nasr-Allāh Kābuli.

Shi'i works on the above subjects :

1. *Minhāj al-Haqq*, by 'Allāma Hilli.
2. *Ihqāq al-Haqq*, by Qādi Nūr-Allāh Shustari.

"Although books belonging to the three categories were available, the arrangement of the *Sawāqi' al-mūbiqa* seemed very impressive and the *Tuhfa* was written on that pattern. *Ihqāq al-Haqq* and *Ibtāl al-bātil* also follow the same format but the *Sawāqi' al-mūbiqa* was preferred because of its brevity and style (*khushnuma*). Since the *Sawāqi'* does not contain discussions on topics such as *tawalla* (friendship), *tabarra* (dissociation) and a commentary on the *Hadith al-Thaqalayn*,⁵⁹ these chapters have been added to the *Tuhfa*. The chapter discussing the denial of *nubuwwa* (Prophethood) and *ittihād* (unification with the divine), which are an integral part of Shi'i beliefs and are included in the *Tuhfa*, were also not fully

(F. N. 51 *Contd.*)

zānī (791/1389) is a very important work on Sunni theology. The author himself wrote a commentary on the work. Many other commentaries and glosses were written on this work.

- 52 *al-Mawāqif* is a very important treatise on a general system of Sunni beliefs. It was written by 'Adud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ahmad al-Ījī (d. 756/1355). Many leading Sunni scholars such as Sayyid Sharīf al-Jūrjānī (d. 816/1413) and Mīr Zāhid Harawī (d. 1101/1689-90) wrote commentaries on this work.
- 53 *Tawāli' al-anwār fī matālī' al-anzār* by Nasīr al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar al-Baydāwī (d. 685/1286) is a very important work on Sunni Theology.
- 54 *al-Arba'in fī sūl al-Dīn* by Ghazālī discusses religious and moral duties of Sunnis.
- 55 *Supra*, pp. 249-52
- 56 Several Shi'i authors wrote the refutation of the *Sawā'iq al-Muhriqa*. *Supra*, p. 254. This particular title is not traceable.
- 57 Abū 'Abd-Allāh Miqdād b. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh al-Suyūrī al-Asadī al-Hillī was a prolific Shi'i author. Possibly his *Sharh Nahj al-mustarshidin*, completed in 792/1389 is meant.
- 58 *Supra*, pp. 252, 254.
- 59 *Infra*, pp. 283, 300-304. The *Fatāwā* contains a detailed discussion of this hadith.

examined in the *Sawāqī'*. The Shi'i *matā'in* (indictments) and their refutation, which were totally ignored in the *Sawāqī'*, have been discussed in the *Tuhfa*. The *Sawāqī'* concentrates more on scholastic reasoning but this has been curtailed in the *Tuhfa* and *ahādīth* from Shi'i works, neglected in the *Sawāqī'*, have been added. As it cannot be said that the *Mawāqif*⁶⁰ has been borrowed from the *Tawāli'* or the *Musallam* is an extract from the *Mukhtasar al-Usūl*⁶¹ by ibn Hājib, it cannot be claimed that the *Tuhfa* is derived from the *Sawāqī'* simply because it is similarly arranged. Both books should be carefully compared so that the misunderstanding is removed.

"It should however be noted that in the preface I have declared that the work has been written by Hāfiz Ghulām Halīm ibn Shaykh Qutb al-Din Ahmad ibn Shaykh Abu'l-Fayd.⁶² Had I been proud of writing the *Tuhfa*, I would not have used such an obscure name. On the contrary I am not at all happy to have my name attributed to it as author. It is very satisfying to me that my name is associated with such works as the *Tafsīr Fath al-'Azīz*. My aim in writing this book was to refute the Shi'i religion. I intended to arouse in people's mind doubts regarding Shi'i beliefs so that the Sunnis might either become indifferent to Shi'ism or totally ignore it. God be praised! I have succeeded in my mission. However, there is no room for reproach from the *Rawāfīd* for, if the *Tuhfa* were a translation of the *Sawāqī'*, both ultimately follow the same goal i.e. the refutation of the *Rawāfīd* and the upholding of the Sunni faith. The *Rawāfīd* purpose cannot be served by investigating into the authorship but by writing a reply. Discussing the authorship is no reply.

"The fame of this book has made some Sunnis envious of me and they do not wish me to gain fame through it. My reply to them, that I neither claim the authorship nor would I be proud of it, has already been made. My motive was to show the absurdities of the Shi'i faith to the intellectuals and those seeking the right path. May God be praised that my aim has been fulfilled."⁶³

All the categories of sources mentioned above contain only the Sunni and Shi'i polemical works based on their *ahādīth* and fiqh texts and it seems that the Shi'i original works were not available to the Shāh. He does not mention ibn Taymiyya's *Minhāj al-sunna al-nabawiyya*, as one of his sources although it would have been accessible, possibly because of its

60 *Mawāqif* by Ījī (d. 756/1355) and *Tawāli'* by Baydāwī (d. 685/1286) are important works on the system of Sunni beliefs.

61 *Musallam al-thubūt* by Muhibb-Allāh b. 'Abd al-Shakūr al-Bihārī (d. 1119/1708) is a work on Hanafī fiqh. In earlier centuries many works bearing the title *Usūl al-fiqh* were written.

62 For Shi'i comments see *Infra*, Chapter Six.

63 *Fatāwā*, I, pp. 136-37.

strong criticisms of *sūfis* and *Imāms*. However, *ibn Taymiyya's* condemnation of the *Shi'is*, repeated in the earlier *Sunni* polemical works drawn upon by the *Shāh*, are reflected in the *Tuhfa*. The *Shāh* warns however, "Only those who are masters of the basic and subsidiary principles of both the *Sunni* and *Shi'i* faiths should study the *Tuhfa*. Those who do not adequately know the principles of both religions would obtain no benefit from studying it. Anyone who had complete mastery of *Shi'i* works, although not well acquainted with the *Sunni* books, would also profit from studying this work but those who have only a superficial knowledge of *Shi'i* works, although acquainted with *Sunni* texts, would derive no advantage from its study for the main discussions centre round *Shi'i* principles and *ahādīth*."

Readers of the *Tuhfa* are also reminded that, "whatever had been quoted from reliable *Shi'i* works is free from falsehood and slander and they should not be upset and immediately check the excerpts against the original. They should not be frightened by the fact that, when the excerpts are found correct, they will inevitably have to change their faith" (T. 3-4).

Lastly, readers should not argue that although these controversial matters were found in reliable *Shi'i* works, they must have some other meaning which they could not apprehend, for that would mean frustration and defeat in polemics on the part of the reader and be a proof of ignorance and stupidity.

The *Shāh* divides his work into twelve chapters in order to obtain blessings and benedictions surrounding the twelve *Imāms* :

1. The appearance of the *Shi'i* religion and its different branches.
2. *Shi'i makā'id* (strategems), their departure from the truth and aberrations.
3. The *Shi'is'* antecedents, their '*ulamā'*' and literature.
4. The *Shi'i* history and traditions.
5. *Ilāhiyāt* (divinity).
6. *Nubūwat* (*nubuwwa*) (Prophethood).
7. *Imāmat* (*imāma*).
8. Bodily resurrection (*ma'ād*).
9. Problems of *fiqh*.
10. The *Shi'i* indictments (*matā'in*) against the first three caliphs, Umm al-mu'minin (the mother of the faithful) 'Ā'isha and the Prophet's companions.
11. The characteristics of the *Shi'i* religion divided into three sections:
 - (a) misconceptions ;
 - (b) bigotry ;
 - (c) errors.

12. *Tiwalla* (devotion), *tabarra* (dissociation) divided into ten *muqaddama* (premises) (T. 4).

Conclusion.

Ch. 1 : The Appearance of the Shī'ī Religion

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz says that from its inception the Shī'ī religion has assumed different forms and colours. However, from the beginning of their reign the Safavid rulers endeavoured to propagate Shī'ism and when their 'ulamā' started writing treatises on the basic and subsidiary rules of Shī'ism, the process of change in the faith came to an end. No other religion has seen such frequent alterations to its basic principles. Other faiths adjust only their subsidiary rules. Capriciousness and change are therefore the main characteristics of this religion.

Tracing back the history of the appearance of the Shī'ī faith, the Shāh says that during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, a large number of towns belonging to the Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and idolators were conquered. The enemy towns were devastated and the daughters of their leading citizens became the wives of the lowest Arab soldiers. The conquered peoples tried their best to avenge their humiliation, even during the reigns of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, but their efforts were futile. During 'Uthmān's reign a large number of the defeated population outwardly embraced Islam while secretly embarking upon a campaign to destroy it through fifth column activities. Of these, the most prominent were the Egyptian converts who, rallying support from Kūfa and other towns in 'Irāq, stormed Medina and assassinated 'Uthmān (T. 4-5).

During 'Alī's reign they declared themselves the Shī'is of 'Alī and achieved great prominence under their leader, a Yemenite Jew, 'Abd-Allāh bin Sabā.⁶⁴ 'Abd-Allāh invented the doctrine that, after Muhammad, 'Alī was the most superior member of the nascent community and the Prophet had nominated him as his caliph and successor, but that the dominant group among the Prophet's companions, because of their worldly interest, ignored the Prophet's will. 'Abd-Allāh made the dispute between Fātima and Abū Bakr over Fadak,⁶⁵ which had ended in their reconciliation, the principal basis of his formulation. When 'Alī came to learn of this nefarious propaganda against his predecessors, he publicly

64 Sunnī sources assert that the Shī'ī faith was invented by 'Abd-Allāh and his conspiracies caused a split between the Prophet's companions. (*Tabarī*, II, 2941-44; al-Maqrizī, *Khilāt*, II, p. 334). The Shī'is consider him the founder of the Ghulāts (extremists). Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, like other Sunnīs, does not accept the Shī'ī interpretation of their own faith and force them to accept 'Abd-Allāh as the founder of their faith (*infra*, pp. 361-63). 'Abd-Allāh's Jewish descent is also doubtful Levi Della Vida, *Revista degli studi orientali*, 1912, p. 495.

65 *Supra*, p. 227, *Infra*, pp. 314, 315, 423-425.

reprimanded 'Abd-Allāh and his associates and even punished some of them. However, exploiting the growing differences between the Muslim community to his advantage, 'Abd-Allāh convinced his devotees of 'Ali's divinity. Although 'Ali expelled them to Cetesiphon, 'Abd-Allāh succeeded in dividing 'Ali's followers into four groups.

1. The sincere and earlier Shi'is (Shi'a-i ūla) who were also the leaders of the orthodox Sunnis. Following 'Ali's leadership the Shi'a-i ūla believed in the greatness of the Prophet's caliphs and his pious wives. They paid no attention to the overt and concealed differences and wars between 'Ali and the Prophet's companions, which were ultimately resolved peacefully, and considered 'Ali was friend with all the Prophet's companions and his wives. To them was applicable the Qur'ānic verse, "Lo ! as for My slaves, thou (Satan) hast no power over any of them."⁶⁶ 'Abd-Allāh could not influence them.
2. The Tafdiliyya Shi'is⁶⁷, who considered 'Ali superior to all the companions of the Prophet. They were ordinary disciples of the accursed 'Abd-Allāh and accepted only some of his evil inspirations. 'Ali reprimanded them and ordered that those who thought him superior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar, should receive eighty lashes.
3. The Sabbiyya (indulging in curses) and Tabarrāiyya (those who dissociate) Shi'is were those who considered all the Prophet's companions tyrants and usurpers. They also called them infidels and traitors. They belonged to an intermediary category among 'Abd-Allāh's disciples. The differences between the "mother of the faithful" ('Ā'isha), Talha⁶⁸ and Zubayr⁶⁹ on the one hand and 'Ali on the other, became the basis of their faith. Since 'Uthmān had promised 'Abd al-Rahmān bin 'Awfān⁷⁰ and his associates to adhere to the traditions of his two predecessors, these followers of ibn Sabā reviled all the Prophet's companions.
4. The Ghulāts, who were the favourite disciples of the perverse 'Abd-

⁶⁶ *Qur'ān*, XV, 42.

⁶⁷ For Tafdiliyya Sunnis, see *Supra*, pp. 199-204 ; for comments on Tafdiliyya Shi'is, see *Infra*, pp. 361-62.

⁶⁸ Talha b. 'Ubayd-Allāh was one of the early converts to Islam. His relations with the first two successors of the Prophet were not cordial. After 'Umar's death he was sorely disappointed to see 'Uthmān elevated to the caliphate. After 'Ali's succession to the caliphate, Talha fled from Medina with al-Zubayr and joined 'Ā'isha at Mecca.

⁶⁹ Zubayr was also one of early converts to Islam. One of his wives, Asmā, was Abū Bakr's daughter.

⁷⁰ 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (d. 31/652) was an early convert to Islam, and a prosperous merchant. He played the leading role in the council of six appointed by 'Umar to choose his successor.

Allāh, believed in 'Alī's divinity. They met their opponents' criticism that 'Alī was only a human being by saying that God had infused Himself into 'Alī's human body. Like the Christians, they misinterpreted Allāh's words regarding the Virgin Mary to the effect. "We breathed into her (something) of our spirit"⁷¹ as proving the divine infusion into 'Alī. They wrongly construed some of 'Alī's statements to prove the truth of their sinful beliefs (T. 6-7).

The Shāh concludes that this suggests that the Shi'is were mainly divided into three sects, all of which were founded by the same "wicked Islamized Jew." However, the Shāh says that the Ghulāts (Extremists) did not prosper and only the Sabbiyya increased. The Tafdiliyyas sank into the most miserable state through lack of support. The Sabbiyya Shi'is did not discriminate between the Nawāsibs and Sunnis (or the Shi'a-i ūla) although the latter were 'Alī's true partisans and devotees of the Prophet's family. Strangely enough the Ghulāts, Sabbiyyas and Tafdiliyyas accused each other of being members of the Nawāsibs. Although the Shi'a-i ūla were also charged with being Nawāsibs, the Shāh says they deserved congratulations for supporting 'Alī in all his wars against sin and in the sufferings that 'Alī endured. All those who emigrated with the prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina (*muhājirs*) and his helpers in Medina (*ansārs*) belonged to the Shi'a-i ūla group. The Shāh concludes that after the Shi'is splintered into four groups during 'Alī's caliphate, the Shi'a-i ūla came to be identified as the Ahl-i Sunnat wa Jamā'at (Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a or the Sunnis) (T. 8-10).

After Imām Husayn's martyrdom at the instigation of "Yazīd-i Palid" (the foul), the Shi'is were further divided into several sub-groups over the course of taking revenge for the Imām's martyrdom; the most prominent leaders of these groups being Kaysān⁷² and Mukhtār bin Abī 'Ubayda al-Thaqafi.⁷³ The latter was a great adventurer and perverse. He fought against ibn Ziyād, Yazīd's governor in Kūfa and despatched him to hell. He then forged a letter in the name of one of 'Alī's sons, Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyya,⁷⁴ to the effect that he had been appointed to avenge

71 *Qur'ān*, LXVII, 12.

72 Abū 'Amr Kaysān was a member of mawālī (client) group of Kūfa and resolutely fought under Mukhtār's leadership to avenge the martyrdom of Imām Husayn.

73 Mukhtār like his father and uncle was a leader of the Shi'is of Kūfa. Before the tragedy of Karbalā he was imprisoned but shortly afterwards he managed to obtain his release. He killed a large number of Imām Husayn's enemies and died fighting against them in 68/687.

74 Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyya was one of 'Alī's sons. Mukhtār and Kaysān induced the people to believe that Muhammad was the Mahdī (the rightly-guided one), the son of Wasi (legatee, one of 'Alī's titles) who was commissioned by God to restore justice among all classes. The prevailing messianic beliefs among the early Muslim

Imām Husayn's martyrdom, although Muhammad publicly repudiated Mukhtār's claim. Mukhtār invented the custom of wailing and crying on 'Āshūra (10th day of Muharram) in order to induce the Shi'is of Kūfa to fight against the Syrian Nawāsibs who had martyred Imām Husayn. After Muhammad bin al-Hanafīyya's death, the dispute over the succession led the rival leaders to invent *taqiya* (dissimulation) as the basis of the Shi'i faith (T. 10-11)

The third revolution in the Shi'i religion commenced after the death of Imām Zayn al-'Ābidin (d. 95/713), the successor to Imām Husayn. Its initial leader was Zayd bin Zayn al-'Ābidin who fought against the Umayyad caliph Hishām bin 'Abd al-Malik (105-125/724-743). Ultimately he was deserted by a group of his followers whom he had prevented from reviling the Prophet's companions and met a martyr's death. Zayd's devoted followers called themselves true Shi'is and the Zaydiyyas. The deserters were named Rawāfids. A group of the latter chose Hasan Muthanna⁷⁵ as their leader. The rest of the Rawāfids accepted Imām Muhammad Bāqir (d.114/733) the son of Imām Zayn al-'Ābidin, as their leader. Imām Muhammad Bāqir was exceedingly pious and learned and a considerable number of followers gathered round him. After Imām Muhammad Bāqir's death a small section of his followers made his son Zakariyya their Imām and began to claim that Imām Bāqir had not died and was immortal. However, the majority of Imām Bāqir's followers accepted Imām Ja'far al Sādiq (d.148/765), as his father's successor. They named themselves Imāmiyyas. The four leading followers of Imām Muhammad Bāqir later split into the four sects of the Imāmiyyas (T. 11-12).

After the death of Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq, a major schism again occurred. Some believed that he had not died and would return. Some accepted his son Mūsā al-Kāzim (d. 183/799) as their Imām and others became followers of Ismā'il, another son of Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq. The followers of Ismā'il were known as the Ismā'ilis. Some of Ismā'il's followers believed that Ismā'il had not died and would return but the majority accepted his son Muhammad, as their Imām. Mubārak, designated Qarmat, one of Muhammad's slaves, founded the Qarmatian branch of the Ismā'iliyyas. 'Abd-Allāh bin Maymūn al-Qaddah, of Ahwaz, a magician and philosopher who also pretended to follow Muhammad, founded the Maymūniyya-Ismā'iliyya sect. After 'Abd-Allāh's death his son, Ahmad, made

(F. N. 74 Contd.)

converts from Judaism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism prompted them to easily accept Muhammad as the Mahdī.

75 A son of Imām Hasan.

Ghiyāth his deputy in 'Irāq. Ghiyāth, who was a poet and scholar, wrote a book entitled *Bayān* in which he gave a hidden meaning to all the Islamic religious duties claiming that the real intention of the propounder of these rules had been misunderstood and only he could explain them correctly. He made many illegal things legal. His followers were called the Bātiniyyas (follower of the *bātin*, or the inward meaning as opposed to the literal wording). Thousands of ignorant people and sinners found the Bātiniyya creed very attractive and followed it. This tragedy occurred in 202/817-8. The Shī'i faith at this time was described as "mixed with heresy and philosophy becoming a queer electuary of urine, human excrement and menstrual discharge ; so much so that Dajjāl (the Antichrist) is very deeply envious of it" (T. 11-12).

Muhammad, Ahmad's son and successor went to Morocco and declared himself the promised Mahdī. One of Muhammad's descendants first appointed his brother Nizār his heir but later willed that his son Musta'ālī should succeed him. This divided the Ismā'ilīs into Nizārī and Musta'ālī sects. In 255/868-9, another Ismā'ilī leader, named Muhammad bin Barqa'i conquered Khuzistān, Basra and Ahwaz but was defeated and killed in Baghdād by the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Mu'tadid (279-289/892-902) in 270/883-4. He founded the Barqa'ivya Ismā'ilivya branch. In 278/891-2, an Ismā'ilī philosopher and engineer, who had created an artificial moon in Nasaf, became a very popular leader. It was with great difficulty that the Caliph of Baghdād and the rulers of Khurāsān and Transoxiana defeated his formidable army. The Caliph's army entered the fort occupied by Moqanna who set it alight and burnt alive his enemies, together with his own followers. Moqanna ultimately committed suicide. During the reign of Mu'tadid, another Ismā'ilī leader, Abu Sa'id bin Hasan ibn Bahrām Jannābī, became dominant in Bahrayn and founded the Jannābiyya Ismā'ilī sect. Like the Sikhs, they were inveterate enemies of Islam (the Sunnis) plundering the Muslims, stealing their livestock, attacking their caravans and killing travellers. However in 301/913 he was killed by one of his own servants in the bathroom. His son and successor, Abū Tāhir, plundered the pilgrim caravans in 317/929. After his fall another Qarmatian leader, Hamadān by name, persuaded the people to accept Muhammad bin Ismā'il as their Imām. He alleged that Muhammad was alive and would never die. He would reappear in the form of the promised Mahdī and would fill the world with justice. The Qarmatians relegated Mubārak's followers completely to the background. Hamadān's rival, Abi al-Shamit also gained some following. He believed that Ismā'il's brother Muhammad succeeded him as Imām. In matters of faith all Bātiniyya branches believe that religious practices should be based on the esoteric rather than exoteric interpretations of religious ordinances ; although only Moqanna's followers considered their

leader divine. The mission of the Ismā'iliyya and other Shī'i groups was to found their own kingdoms and to uproot the shari'a.⁷⁶

The Shāh also gives a brief account of the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya. He says that they believe that Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq was succeeded by Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim, that Imam Mūsā was succeeded by 'Alī al-Ridā (d. 203/819); he was followed by Muhammad Taqī al-Jawād (220/835); al-Jawād was succeeded by 'Alī al-Naqī (d. 254/868) who was entitled Hādī; his successor being Hasan 'Askari (d. 260/874), Hasan 'Askari's son Muhammad Mahdī is believed to have disappeared, but there is also some dispute over his age and his disappearance which has resulted in the emergence of new sects professing different sorts of beliefs (T. 27-28).

In the early centuries of Islam the Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas were dispersed in the vicinity of 'Irāq and called themselves Sunnis. They practised *taqiya* (dissimulation) and preached their doctrines secretly. Ultimately the Buwayhid Daylamites⁷⁷ whose ancestors were fowlers and fishermen, under the leadership of their king, 'Imād al-Dawla (322-338/934-949), carved out a kingdom consisting of Fārs, 'Irāq and Daylam. They ruled for 127 years⁷⁸ and were extremist Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas. Naturally other Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas flocked to their kingdom from far and wide, and Āzarbayjān, Khurāsān, Jurjān, Māzandarān, Jilān and Daylam in Īrān became Ithnā' 'Ashariyya strongholds. From them emerged a large number of 'ulamā' who wrote innumerable books. However, despite their dominance, they did not abandon *taqiya*. Most of the Shī'is of this period called themselves the Mu'tazilas. After the destruction of the Daylamite rule they continued to refer to themselves as Mu'tazila or Sunnis but they secretly remained Ithnā' 'Asharis. During the Mongol depredations, 'Alqamī, the prime minister of the 'Abbāsīd caliph (al-Musta'sim, 640-656/1242-1258), was a Shī'i. He secretly became a Mongol supporter and began to profess Shī'ism openly. Ultimately he was also killed.

The feebleness in Islam gave rise to the prominence of the Shī'is and, no longer frightened of the Sunnis, they began to preach their religion in the regions ruled by the Mongols. In 694/1295 Sultān Ghāzān, son of Arghūn (683-690/1284-1291) had been converted to Islam and, at Ghāzān's invitation, thousands of his soldiers and followers became Muslim. He adopted Mahmūd as his title. All of them were good Sunnis. His successor Muhammad Khudābanda Uljāytū indulged in dissipation and wickedness, however. One Tāj al-Dīn, an Ithnā' 'Ashariyya Rāfidī persuaded Uljāytū

76 The books on heretical sects discuss most of them in detail. The Shāh's account is, however, based on *Sawāqi'* by Kābulī, Rāmpūr 1582, pp. 18-46. S. A. A. Rizvi, *Iran, royalty, religion and revolution*, Canberra 1980, pp. 41-45, 117-23.

77 The Buwayhids of Īrān and 'Irāq ruled from 320/932 to 454/1062.

78 The date is a misprint.

to accept Shi'ism. Tāj al-Dīn collected a large number of Shi'i 'ulamā' at the Sultān's court. Among them was Mutahhar Hillī who became very popular. Gradually they convinced the Sultān that among the Muslims only the Shi'is were destined to go to paradise. Since the Sultān had only recently embraced Islam and was not aware of its history, he was misled and converted to the Shi'i faith along with his retinue and followers. Ibn Mutahhar wrote many books such as *Nahj al-haqq*, *Minhāj al-karāma*, *Alfayn*, *Sharh Tajrid*, *Istibsār*, *Nihāya*, *Khulāsa* and *Mubādī dar usūl*. After Uljāytū's death his son Abū Sa'id (717-736/1317-1335) renounced Shi'ism in 718/1318-19 and the Shi'is were expelled from the court. Their 'ulamā' dispersed and went into hiding (T. 32-33).

When Tarākima (Turkmāns) Ithnā 'Asharis became the ruler of Diyār Bakr⁷⁹ around 860/1456, the Shi'i 'ulamā' and impostors assembled there. For fifty years they practised extreme Shi'ism by continually reviling the Prophet's companions. After Tarākima's downfall, the Haydariyyas, who were related to him by marriage, became the rulers. They called themselves the Safavids. In 910/1504-5 they were the absolute rulers of 'Irāq-i 'Ajam, Kirmān, Māzandarān, Āzarbayjān, Khurāsān and Tabriz. The Shi'i 'ulamā' also became very powerful. One of them declared that the rulers of the dynasty were the deputies of *Sāhib al-Zamān*⁸⁰ (the Lord of the times) and introduced the custom of prostrating before them. His flattery made him the favourite of the ruler, whom he persuaded to convert his subjects forcibly to Shi'ism.⁸¹ He suggested that people should be prevented from performing congregational and Friday prayers, that the *qibla*⁸² be changed to the left hand and that the *khatibs* (preachers) be ordered publicly to revile 'Ā'isha, Hafsa⁸³ and the Prophet's leading companions. He wrote treatises to prove that abusing the Prophet's companions was obligatory. The king accepted all his suggestions and slaughtered a large number of Sunnī 'ulamā'. The mosques were desecrated and the graves of pious Sunnis, such as those of 'Ayn al-Qudāt Hamadāni,⁸⁴ and Qādi Nāsir al-Dīn Baydāwī⁸⁵ were dug up and their bones burnt. Only

79 A region in the upper basin of the river Tigris ; their principal towns, Āmid (the capital) Mayyāfāriqān, Hisn Kayfā and Arzan are in Armenia. From 780/1378 to 914/1508, the Āq Qoyunlū ruled Diyār Bakr, eastern Anatolia and Āzarbayjān.

80 The twelfth Imām, Mahdī.

81 The name of the 'ālim is not given.

82 Direction the Muslims face when praying.

83 'Umar's daughter and one of Prophet Muhammad's wives.

84 He was born in 492/1098 and was martyred at the age of thirty-three in 525/1131 for writing ecstatic sūfī poetry and treatises.

85 The celebrated author of Qur'ānic exegesis, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl*, was the chief qādī of Shīrāz. 676/1277, 685/1286, 691/1292 are given by different authorities as the date of his death.

a few graves such as those of Shaykh al-Islām Ahmad Jāmi,⁸⁶ Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan Kharqānī,⁸⁷ Bāyazīd Bistāmī,⁸⁸ Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh Ansārī⁸⁹ and some other sūfis of Herāt, were saved by divine help. Only Transoxiana remained as a refuge for the Sunnis. Some of the Sunni mullās of Herāt who suffered severe tortures took refuge at the court of the great ruler 'Ubayd-Allāh Khān, who, filled with rage at these Shi'i atrocities marched against Khurāsān and seized the region.

After 'Ubayd-Allāh Khān's death the Safavids reconquered Khurāsān but the Sultāns of Bukhārā and Balkh continued to fight against them, and the latter were joined by the Khwārazm rulers who fought the Safavids incessantly. "The *Oyāsira-i Rūm* (Turkish sultāns) used to thrust pegs into the anuses of the Safavids from the Tabriz and Ardbil region"⁹⁰ (T. 33-34).

The Safavid ruled for two hundred years but were afterwards toppled by some of their most miserable and insignificant subjects, i.e. the Afghāns of Qandahār. The Safavid ruler was besieged in Isfahān and surrendered after undergoing great hardship and privation. The Afghān leader entered the town and took the ruler and his family captive and seized the Safavid throne. At that time a large number of the Irānī Shi'is migrated to India and took up residence in 'Hind wa Sind' (the Indian sub-continent). Using all manner of stratagems they became favourites of the Indian rulers, their noblemen and merchants. Gradually the Shi'i religion became so widespread in Hind wa Sind that the Shi'is were appointed viziers and *sūbadārs* (governors). Their political dominance made Shi'ism popular in the Timūrid empire (T. 34).

The Shāh concludes the chapter with a discussion on the techniques of *da'wat* (invitation or missionary propaganda) in Shi'i sects. *Da'wat* encompasses the exploitation of knowledge, wealth and the tongue or the sword to the advantage of the faith.

As applied to knowledge, *da'wat* involves arousing doubts and making speeches which convince both the élite and the plebeians. In this connection the Shi'is gear their speech to the taste and expectations of the listeners.

86 Ahmad-i Jāmi, known as Zhanda Pīl (elephant colossus), was an outstanding Irānian sūfi. He lived in a village on the left bank of the Harī Rūd above Chisht in Afghānistān. He died in 536/1141.

87 Abu'l-Hasan lived in Kharqān, a village near Bistām and died in 425/1033-34.

88 Bāyazīd or Abū Yazīd of Bistām (in the province of Qumis in Khurāsān) was a famous ecstatic. His saying tend to show that he had transformed his personality into God (*'ayn al-jām'*). He died in 261/874 or 264/877-8.

89 Abū Ismā'il 'Abd-Allāh Ansārī (d. 481/1089), an eminent sūfi, is the author of many *sūfi* works; the most prominent being his *Munājāt* (Invocation to God), H. S. I, pp. 77-78.

90 The Shāh's summary of the sixteenth century history of the wars between Irān and Transoxiana and Irān and Turkey is concluded by abusive remarks.

They thus refute the Sunnī beliefs and establish the superiority of their own faith.

As applied to wealth, *da'wat* involves payment of rewards and gifts to converts. The Shi'is show great respect to the prospective converts, offer them positions and *mansabs*, and favour them in litigation while the members of rival faiths are insulted, dismissed from their positions and denied justice.

As applied to the tongue, *da'wat* consists in making promises to those who convert others to their faith and talking very politely and affectionately with the prospective converts. The Shi'is behave harshly and rudely to the members of rival faiths.

As applied to the sword it means killing members of rival faiths forcing them to accept the Shi'i religion. In order to decimate competing sects, they make use of the sword.

Shi'i *du'ats* (missionaries), who are experts in all four techniques are known as *wakils* (plenipotentiaries) but they are rare. The more common exponents are masters of two or three techniques (T. 34-35).

The Shāh gives accounts of some of the Shi'i missionaries and notes at the conclusion of the chapter that, although the discussion presented by him appears to be only a fictitious fable, intelligent people should not consider it irrelevant but should retain it in their memory. Each word in it contains subtle points which are useful in comprehending the subsequent chapters (T. 35-42).

Chapter 2 : The Shi'i Makā'id (Stratagems)

The second chapter dealing with the Shi'i *makā'id* (stratagems), ways of *idāl* (leading astray) and *hilahā-i talbis* (mechanisms for cheating and seducing people from their own religion), first covers the general principles of cheating and then goes on to discuss one hundred and seven *makā'id* (stratagems). The *makā'id* originate from the teachings of Iblis (Satan) and form innumerable branches. According to the Shi'is, seven kinds of people are indispensable for establishing a religion.

1. The Imām who obtains knowledge directly from the divine and is the ultimate source for the acquisition of knowledge.
2. The *Hujjat*, who lucidly explains the Imām's teachings according to the capacity of the people.
3. The *Dhul-masa* "who sucks knowledge" from the *Hujjat* as a child sucks milk from his mother's breast.
4. The *Abwāb*, known as *du'at*, are divided hierarchically. The highest among them help the faithful to rise to more senior positions and introduce the worthy to the *Hujjat* and the Imām.
5. The *Dā'i-i Mādihūn*, who obtains promises and pledges from people, admits them to the faith and opens the door of knowledge and gnosis for them.

6. The *Mukallib* (literally a trainer of dogs) who holds a high position but is not permitted to practise *da'wa* (propagation or missionary activity). He is responsible for discussing and debating religious subjects with people and induces them to consort with the *dā'i* (one who invites to the faith, a missionary or propagator). He can be likened to a hound who drives the prey to the hunter. He arouses doubts in men regarding their own religion and compounds them. When people are perplexed and wish to learn the truth, they are directed to see the *dā'i-i mādhūn*. After obtaining promises and pledges, the latter directs them to the *dhūl-masa*. If the latter finds the candidate better educated than himself, he sends him to the *Hujjat*. The *Hujjat* finally directs him to the Imām should he be available.
7. The *Mūmin-i muttabi'* who attests the Imām's truth which he learns from the *mukallib* and the *dā'i* (T. 42).

Da'wa (propagation) is also divided into seven categories.

1. *Ẓarq* : ascertaining through one's own intelligence whether the person being considered for conversion will accept the faith. The Shī'is say that seeds should not be wasted on unfertile ground meaning thereby that if someone is not open to conversion, the invitation should not be extended. They also state that none should enter the house where a lamp is lighted. This means that they should not join in the discussions in assemblies of Sunnī 'ulamā' and scholars of *kalām*.
2. *Tānīs* : attracting people by appealing to their special interests. If someone is an ascetic and of a religious turn of mind, the missionary should also pose as an ascetic interested in religious matters, and relate exaggerated stories of asceticism and worship by the Imāms and the rewards promised for such actions. If the candidate is interested in jewellery and ornaments, stories related by Imāms in connection with divine rewards for using cornelians, rubies and turquoises should be discussed. The missionary should gear his conversation to his listeners' respective interests in matters of food, children, women, gardens and horses etc.
3. *Tashkik* : raising doubts about the beliefs and forms of prayer of the members of rival faiths ; for example, the story of Fadak ; the hadith of *qirtās* (paper) ;⁹¹ the uncertainty about the date of the prophet's death or the Sunnī views of the Prophet's *hajj* or '*umrah* ; the conflicting Sunnī traditions about *rafa'-yadayn* ⁹²; the merits of reciting *Bisma'llāh*, loudly or otherwise, during prayers ;

⁹¹ *Infra*, pp. 316-19, 427-31.

⁹² Raising the hands in prayers.

the separate letters at the beginning of some chapters of the Qur'ān, and the reasons for the contradictory exegeses of *mutashābih* (obscure verses) of the Qur'ān. The Shi'is repeatedly provoke discussions on the above matters, make their audience sceptical of Sunnism and then attract them to Shi'ism.

4. *Rabt* : Obtaining pledges and promises from everyone not to disclose the secret knowledge acquired by him. In order to resolve any doubts about its authenticity, their missionaries persuade the neophyte to see the Imām. They convince him that the Imām's only function is to receive knowledge from the divine and to impart it to the community. They add that had the Sunnis obtained their knowledge from the Imāms, they would not have been plunged into confusion in their fruitless efforts to understand religion.
5. *Tadlis* : Asserting that all the eminent sages and scholars whom the Sunnis consider their leaders were Shi'is. Thus among the Prophet's companions Salmān Fārsī, Abū Dharr Ghifārī, Miqdād Kindī and 'Ammār were Shi'is and Shi'i missionaries interpret some of their sayings to validate Shi'i claims. They say that Hassān bin Thābit, 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Abbās, Uways Qarānī and Hasan Basri were the followers of the Shi'i companions. They call Hujjat al-Islām Ghazālī a Shi'i and ascribe the authorship of the *Sirr al-'ālamayn*, a counterfeit work, to him. They state that Hakim Thanā'i (d. 525/1130-1), Mawlānā Rūm (d. 672/1273), Shams Tabriz (d. 645/1247) and Khwāja (Hāfiz) of Shirāz (d. 792-1390) were also Shi'is. They base their claims on the authority of certain unauthentic verses in their *diwāns* (collection of poems).⁹³ This convinces the prospective Shi'is that there must be subtle reasons for the above mentioned poets to conceal their faith.
6. *Tāsis*: Injecting by missionaries the preliminary rules of their faith into the minds of the prospective Shi'is slowly and preparing them for the acceptance of their fundamental beliefs. For example, they say that all Muslims believe in the Qur'ān and none can deny it and then quote certain verses from it which according to them point out the truth of the Shi'i faith. For example they use the following verse :
 "Say (O Muhammad unto mankind) : 'I ask you no fee in return for it (propagation of the faith) but love for my relatives'. "⁹⁴
 "Now the curse of Allāh is upon wrong-doers. "⁹⁵

93 H. S. I.

94 Qur'ān, XLII, 23.

95 Qur'ān, XI, 18.

7. *Khala'* : Revealing of their true beliefs and openly accusing the Prophet's companions of tyranny and usurpation by the missionaries. They then assert the basic and subsidiary rules of their religion. When the neophyte has accepted everything up to this level (*khala'*) the Shi'is introduce him to a different stage which is called *salakh*. Generally, after crossing all the seven steps, this stage is automatic and does not call for any training. It involves the total repudiation of all former beliefs and dissociation from the neophyte's forefather's religion to the extent that they become disgusted with their family (T. 42-44).

Before discussing the Shi'i *makā'id* (stratagems), the Shāh says that the Imāmiyya Shi'is also continually propagate their faith although it is forbidden and illegal for them to do so. For example Kulaynī⁹⁶ quotes a tradition from Imām Abū 'Abd-Allāh Ja'far al-Sādiq : "Leave people alone and do not indiscriminately invite them to your faith after the Imām has forbidden you to do so". The Imāmiyya missionary activity therefore violates their own Imām's injunctions (T. 44).

Of the one hundred and seven *makā'id* attributed by the Shāh to the Shi'is three relate to God, six to the Prophets, four to the Qur'ān, twenty to the *ahādith*, two to *Tawrayt*, five to history, five to the *Ahl al-Bayt* and five to 'Alī ; the rest condemn the interpolations and forgeries in Shi'i books and the books written by the Shi'is in the name of Sunnis and non-Muslims condemning the first three caliphs.

Concerning the Sunni views on God, the Shāh says that the Shi'is accuse Sunnis firstly of holding a view which denies the essential attributes and obligations of Allāh (T. 44-45). Secondly the Sunnis' God, as creator of everything, is the source of evils such as theft and adultery (T. 45-46). The Shi'is also assert that the Sunnis believe that it is lawful for God to consign innocent people, even the orthodox, to hell.

Answering the first accusation the Shāh says that the Sunnis believe that nothing is incumbent upon God. Conversely the Shi'is themselves believe that God ignores His divine obligations. Allāh is above what these (Shi'i) tyrants ascribe to Him. They believe that God created Iblis (Satan) and gave him leave to seduce people. According to the Shi'is, knowing Iblis's intention to mislead people, God should have destroyed him so that His slaves could peacefully worship Him, and, even if God allowed Iblis to exist, he should not have given him power to deceive people.

As regards the second Shi'i accusation, the Shāh says that the Sunnis believe that whatever is disgraceful for man or Satan and for which they are punished, cannot be derived from God. The Sunnis ascribe transcen-

dence to God and believe that evil does not emerge from Him. If it can be proved that God is limited from the intellectual point of view, as the Mu'tazila and the Shi'is contend, then God is reduced to the status of Aristotle, Plato, Alexander or Awrangzib. The Sunnis also believe that it is not possible for God to be cruel. The Shi'is on the contrary believe that God is cruel as the tradition related by ibn Bābuwayh⁹⁷ through the Imāms suggests. This states that infidel children go to hell. Obviously, it is unjust to punish the children for their parent's sins.

With regard to the doctrines concerning the prophets, the Shi'is charge that the Sunnis do not believe in the impeccability ('ismat) of the prophets. They also accuse them of accepting that Prophet Muhammad once forgot to perform *namāz* (prayers) and uttered words in praise of Lāt and 'Uzza.⁹⁸ The Shi'is believe that the Prophet's companions, with the exception of five or six of them, had a grudge against the *Ahl al-Bayt* (T. 48-50). In his reply, the Shāh accuses the Shi'is of holding an exaggerated view of most problems and of transforming them into beliefs without paying attention to their essence, while the Sunnis acted very cautiously and carefully evaluated the essence of every problem. With regard to the impeccability of the prophets the Shāh says that the Sunnis do not believe that they committed serious crimes intentionally or unintentionally. They believe that the prophets committed trivial crimes inadvertently. The Sunnis considered that the prophets' deep meditations and absorption into the divine caused them to make mistakes. What is unlawful for prophets is a lack of dedication in preaching the divine mission assigned to them (T. 50-51).

According to the Shi'is, the Sunnis violate clear Qur'ānic injunctions by washing their feet after *wudū* instead of wiping them. The Shi'is also accuse 'Uthmān and even Abū Bakr and 'Umar of excluding the verses and chapter in praise of the *Ahl al-Bayt* from the Qur'ān. In his reply, the Shāh says that the Shi'is wipe their feet after *wudū* because of a misreading of the relevant Qur'ānic verse. This is responsible for the change in meaning. As regards the charges of interpolations and omissions in the Qur'ān, the Shāh says that this means that the Shi'is condemn not only the first three caliphs, but God, who says in the Qur'ān :

"Lo ! We, even We, reveal the Reminder, and lo ! We verily are its Guardian."⁹⁹

97 Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Bābuwayh, known as al-Sadūq or Shaykh-i Sadūq (d. 381/991), was a prolific author. See A. A. Fyzee, *Shi'ite creed*, Oxford 1942, Introduction; *Infra*, pp. 289-92, 392-396.

98 Pre-Islamic Meccan idols in Ka'ba.

99 *Qur'ān*, XV, 9.

The Shāh accuses the Shi'is of interpreting the Qur'ān wrongly ignoring the rules of Arabic grammar and the lexicons. He asserts that to them "Rabb" means "Alī", "infidels" refer to "Sunnīs" and "*munāfiqs*" (hypocrites) mean "the Prophet's companions."

The Shi'is falsely accuse the Sunnīs of being enemies of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and recount tales illustrating this to the illiterate Sunnīs in order to alienate them from their faith. According to the Shāh, the opposite is the case, for all Sunnīs firmly believe that love for the *Ahl al-Bayt* is imperative for every Muslim, man and woman, and this is the basis of their faith. The Sunnīs have individually and collectively written books praising the *Ahl al-Bayt*. They are known to have incessantly fought the Marwānid, Nawāsib and the 'Abbāsīd who were hostile to the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The Shi'is, on the other hand, under the pretext of *taqiya* (dissimulation), supported the Nawāsib and earned rewards and gifts from them although they were the *Ahl al-Bayt's* enemies. After the death of each Imām one section of the Shi'is used to condemn his rival as infidel, while the Sunnīs praise all the members of the *Ahl al-Bayt* without exception (T. 64).

The Shāh accuses all Shi'i scholars of brazenly forging *ahādīth* in order to prove that dedication to 'Alī and his house was the only passport to heaven. Naturally those who are sinners and sensuous and who do not wish to pray are attracted to Shi'ism. He reminds his readers that the Prophet and 'Alī had always urged their descendants to devote themselves to God and not depend on their relationship with him (the Prophet) (T. 59-60). The Shi'i hadīth scholars concocted baseless *ahādīth* containing condemnations of the Prophet's companions (T. 62). Some Shi'i hadīth scholars, whose names were identical with those of prominent Sunni hadīth authors, wrote anti-Sunni works and ascribed them to their Sunni namesakes. For example Ibrāhīm ibn Qutayba was an extremist Rāfidī and 'Abd-Allāh Muslim ibn Qutayba,¹⁰⁰ the author of *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*¹⁰¹ was a Sunni, but the Rāfidī ibn Qutayba also gave the title *Ma'ārif* to his book in order to confuse the Sunnīs (T. 62-63).

Some Shi'i 'ulamā' became the disciples of eminent Sunni hadīth scholars, obtained certificates of merit from them, and then used these to attract fervent Sunni students to their side. During their lectures they mixed their false *ahādīth* with the genuine Sunni *ahādīth*. However, this fraud was detected by Sunni scholars and some of the Shi'is directly, and others indirectly, admitted their deception. However, those Sunnīs who were

100 Abū Muhammad 'Abd-Allāh bin Muslim al-Dīnāwarī (d. 276/889) was a prolific author and wrote very important religious, literary and political works. Ibn Qutayba was a great asset to the 'Abbāsīd caliph Mutwakkil who had replaced his predecessors' Mu'tazila glorification by orthodox Sunni patronage.

101 This is an encyclopaedic work containing considerable historical information (ed. 'Ukāsha, Cairo, 1960).

converted to the Tafdiliyya beliefs, and those who embraced Shi'ism, based their faith on these fabricated *ahādīth*. The pioneer of these frauds was Jābir bin Ju'fī, whose interpolations were detected by Imām Bukhārī and Imām Muslim who excluded his spurious *ahādīth* from their works. However, Tirmidhi, Abū Dāwūd and Nisā'ī accepted some of the *corpus* of fabricated *ahādīth* as authentic although they rejected the majority. Abu'l-Qāsim Sa'd bin 'Abd-Allāh ibn Abi Khalaf Ash'arī Qummi was also gifted in the art of forgery and composed the chain of authorities so skilfully that many ignorant Sunnis were misled. Nijāshi has exposed Qummi's frauds (T. 61-62). Another Shi'ī, Ahlaj by name, was also a cheat and, in the garb of *taqiya* (dissimulation), won such great confidence from the Sunni scholars of hadith that even such an eminent Sunni hadith scholar as Yahyā bin Mu'in was deceived, and endorsed Ahlaj's principles of hadith criticism. Among the *ahādīth* popularised by him is one which says that Prophet Muhammad had declared that after himself 'Ali was their master (T. 87).

Some of the Shi'ī forgeries in 'Ali's name are completely unauthentic but some of them are partly genuine. The Shi'is have made considerable changes in adapting the sermons and exhortations ascribed to 'Ali to suit their faith. The traditions of Radī¹⁰² and his brother Murtadā in the *Nahj al-balāgha*¹⁰³ contain patent insertions and rearranged sentences. All the points favourable to the Sunnis have been changed. Other Shi'ī scholars, particularly Rajab bin Muhammad bin Rajab al-Bursī al-Hilli, have similarly ascribed to 'Ali statements favourable to their own faith.

Some Shi'ī scholars attribute their own works to different imāms. The early sections of these books contain some genuine statements by a particular Imām but misleading passages have been inserted. A Qur'ānic exegesis compiled by ibn Bābuwayh has been ascribed to Abū Muhammad Muhsin bin 'Ali Askari (T. 89).

The Shi'is also claim that the Qur'ānic verses and *ahādīth* relating to the superiority of 'Ali and the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the *ahādīth* concerning 'Ali's status as Imām, are unanimously accepted by both Sunnis and Shi'is and that only the verses and *ahādīth* relating to the superiority of the first three caliphs are disputed. Hence, the Shi'is plead, the wisest course is to adopt the unanimously accepted doctrines. The Shi'ī argument, the Shāh says, is identical to the Jewish or Christian arguments which urge that as their Prophets are universally accepted as true and only the prophethood of Muhammad is in dispute, the wisest course is to discard him (T. 76-77).

102 Sharīf al-Radī was born in Baghdād in 359/970 and he died in 406/1016. He was an eminent Shi'ī poet and scholar.

103 Collection of the sermons and sayings of 'Ali.

In their works the Shi'is make exaggerated claims about their own greatness and that of 'Ali. Their books state that even the great prophets had prayed to God that 'we may become one of 'Ali's Shi'is' (T. 92). The Shi'is believe that 'Ali tutored Gabriel at the time of the latter's birth concerning the name of Allāh. 'Ali, according to them, was born long before Gabriel, who himself stated his age was astronomically vast (T. 92). Similarly their works claim that 'Ali taught the angels the techniques for repeating Allāh's name (T. 93). Many miraculous statements describing the creation of Prophet Muhammad are also attributed by the Shi'is to 'Ali's birth (T. 93). They assert that 'Ali visits all Shi'is, both sinners and saints, before their death and saves them from questioning by the angels and from being consigned to hell-fire. The Shāh in refuting the Shi'i claims as baseless, asserts that their beliefs about the intercession of 'Ali resemble the Christian belief that all souls return to Christ and that he is responsible for all rewards and punishments on the day of resurrection. The Shāh adds that the Christians are justified in holding such a belief about Christ whom they consider the son of God, but that the Rāfidis (Shi'is) have no basis for such a claim as, according to their faith, 'Ali was only the Prophet's successor who was simply God's messenger (T. 93-4). The Shi'is, the Shāh adds, also falsely ascribe to the Sunnis the belief that unless a person bears malice against 'Ali, even though it is as small as a bird's egg, he cannot become a Sunni. The Shāh admits that 'Ali bin al-Jahm al-Qarshi was undoubtedly responsible for spreading the above belief but asserts he was basically a fanatical Nāsibi who had only become Sunni for his own gain. Later authors, particularly the composer of the *Majālis al-mu'minin*, however, did not hesitate to accept 'Ali bin al-Jahm's authority and even went to the extent of accusing the Sunnis of *taqiya*, ignoring the fact that some Sunnis had sacrificed their lives fighting against the tyranny and oppressions of such Nāsibis as Hajjāj bin Yūsuf (d. 95/714) and the Umayyad Caliph, Walid (86-96/705-715) (T. 96-97).

The Shi'is also resent the Sunni hadith which asserts "Verily Satan runs away seeing 'Umar's shadow". They interpret this hadith to mean that the Sunnis consider 'Umar was superior to the prophets, for even the latter were not immune from Satan's machinations. The Shāh in his reply states that the Shi'i accusations recoil upon themselves for, despite their belief that the prophets cannot sin, they quote Qur'ānic verses which prove that Satan influenced the prophets. The Shāh goes on to say that some *awliyā'* (protégés of God, or saints) equal the prophets in some of their attainments. The only difference is that Satan cannot dominate the prophets by virtue of the quality of *'ismat* (impeccability), whereas, Satan could in theory dominate the *awliyā'* although this did not occur. This state of *'ismat* is known as *mahfūziyya* (being protected). The Qur'ān also

refers to special slaves whom Satan cannot dominate. For instance it says :

“Lo! My (faithful) bondmen over them thou hast no power”¹⁰⁴.
 “He said : My Lord! Because Thou has sent me astray, I verily shall adorn the path of error for them in the earth, and shall mislead them every one.
 Save such of them as are Thy perfectly devoted slaves.”¹⁰⁵

The Shāh comments that the statement that “Satan flees from the shadow of 'Umar” is only allegorical, it means that he has no power to mislead 'Umar. It does not state that 'Umar is superior to the prophets. For example, the Shāh says that thieves or robbers do not fear the king as much as they fear the *kotwāl* (police officer) or *fawjdār* (district governors) for the latter are specifically appointed to stop their depredations, while the king is engaged in a large number of other duties. Since 'Umar's duty as a *muhtasib* (censor of morals) was to prevent people from violating the Shari'a, Satan was very scared of him ; even the River Nile was frightened of 'Umar and flowed at his orders, while the mountains and the earth refrained from producing earthquakes (T. 139-40).

The Shāh also strongly condemns the Shi'is for their historical forgeries and distortions. He goes on to say that they write books of Sunni history under Sunni names, in which they insert material consistent with their own faith in the biographies of the caliphs and stories of the conflicts between the Prophet's companions (T. 88). This plunged even the historians into confusion; for example Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Muhaddith, the author of the *Rawdat al-ahbāb*¹⁰⁶, went to the extent of extracting these events from the histories, particularly those relating to the *bay'a* of Abū

104 *Qur'ān*, XVII, 65.

105 *Qur'ān*, XV, 39-40.

106 Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn 'Atā'-Allāh bin Fadl-Allāh al-Husaynī (d. 926/1520) wrote *Rawdat al-ahbāb fī siyar al-Nabī wa'l Āl wa'l Ashāb* at the instigation of Mīr 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī (d. 906/1501), the vizier of Sultān Husayn Mīrzā of Herāt. Its first *maqsad* (literally 'aim' but here 'volume' is meant), completed in 888/1484, deals with Prophet Muhammad ; the second *maqsad* deals with the first three caliphs and the third *maqsad* deals with 'Alī and the twelve Imāms. Some orthodox Sunni scholars such as Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī believed that the third volume of the *Rawdat al-ahbāb* was written by the Amīr's son, Sayyid Mīrak Shāh, or someone else. Makhdūm al-Mulk Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Sultānpūrī believed that even the second volume was not written by the Amīr. (*Muntakhab al-tawārikh*, III, p. 71). In a letter to Miyān Fāriḡh Shāh, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote “All the traditions in the first two volumes of *Rawdat al-ahbāb* ending with the account of the martyrdom of 'Uthmān are authentic and were compiled by Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Muhaddith. The third volume was compiled by Mīrak Shāh and the Mīr's other sons”. *Maktūbāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, Khudābakhsh Library Patna, letter no. 1.

Bakr and 'Alī's delay in accepting him as Caliph, and stories about 'Uthmān (T. 88). It is for this reason that Sunnī scholars avoid the study of histories containing unreliable material.

Sometimes the Shi'is, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz says, perpetrate a similar fraud. They write history books honestly quoting from authentic Sunnī historical works, but, in their account of the Prophet's companions' quarrels, they quote from Shi'i Muhammad bin Jarir Tabari's *Idāhal-mustarshid* on *Imāma* and from his other works condemning the Prophet's companions. They mention the author's name only and do not quote the title of the works. The Sunnis confuse the Shi'i Tabari with the Sunnī, Muhammad bin Jarir Tabari Shāfi'i,¹⁰⁷ the author of *Tārikh-i Kabir*. Unfortunately the *Tārikh-i Kabir* is very rare and the complete work is not generally available. Only a summary with insertions by the Shi'ite Samsāti is easily obtained. The translators of the abridged version of the work were also Shi'is.¹⁰⁸ Scholars copy from the latter secondary work and become confused (T. 88).

Some Shi'i authors deliberately include in their works imaginary stories condemning the Prophet's companions, hoping to popularise and render them acceptable by repetition from generation to generation. The pioneer in this fraud was Abū Makhnaf Lūt bin Yahyā (T. 88). A very strange legend in Shi'i historical works, quoted by the Shāh relates to Halima bint Abū Dhu'ayb, Prophet Muhammad's foster-mother. The story says that once Hajjāj bin Yūsuf (d. 95/714) severely reprimanded Halima when she called on him in 'Irāq for considering 'Alī superior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Halima retorted that she did not prefer 'Alī over Abū Bakr and 'Umar only, as they were no match for him, but that she preferred him over all the prophets from Adam to Jesus. Then she recounted in considerable detail how 'Alī was superior to all the prophets and succeeded in convincing Hajjāj, so that not only did he refrain from taking any action against her but paid her one thousand *dinārs* (gold coins). The Shāh, refuting the story as a figment of Shi'i imagination, says that Halima is known to have died during the Prophet's lifetime; some even assert that she died before Muhammad became the prophet. Hajjāj, the Shāh adds, was well-known for his atrocities and thirst for Sayyid

107 Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin Jarir al-Tabarī (b. at Āmul 224/838-9, d. at Baghdād 310/923) was both an historian and the author of Qur'ānic exegeses. His history entitled *Tārikh al-rusūl wa'l mulūk* was published in fifteen volumes at Leiden in 1879-1901. His commentary on the Qur'ān entitled *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl al-Qur'ān* was published in 30 volumes at the Maymaniya Press, Cairo, in 1321/1903.

108 The well-known Persian translation of the abridged version of the Tabari's monumental historical work. Abū 'Alī Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Bal'amī (363/974) was the prime minister of the Sāmānid ruler, 'Abd al-Malik I bin Nūh (343-350/954-961).

blood, and had executed a body of Sunnis for their support of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. How, the Shāh asks, could Halima have entered Hajjāj's court without an invitation and why should she travel from Arabia to 'Irāq in the hope of any reward from Hajjāj when he was a well-known miser? The Shāh then refutes Halima's all alleged arguments (T. 112-21).

In connection with the Shi'i claims of 'Alī's asceticism, the Shāh says that this is not a virtue in the Muhammadi (Islamic) faith for otherwise the yogis of India, the Kashmir Rishis,¹⁰⁹ the Christian monks and the Chinese Lāmas would have become greater than Solomon or Joseph who were kings.

The Shāh also accuses the Shi'is of writing books on Sunni *kalām* and beliefs in the names of eminent Sunni scholars and inserting stories condemning the Prophet's companions. One such forgery is *Sirr al-'ālamayn* by Imām Muhammad Ghazālī (T. 63). Similarly, another Shi'i wrote a book in the name of Imām Mālik permitting homosexuality between master and slave on the authority of the Qur'ānic verse :

“And all married women are forbidden unto you save those (captives) whom your right hands possess.”¹¹⁰

Someone reported to the Shāh that he had seen a book ascribed to Imām Abū Hanifa containing wicked Sunni principles. This fraud, the Shāh says, is successful because in Māliki countries such as Morocco, the works of Abū Hanifa are unknown. On the basis of this ignorance, for example, the author of the *Hidāya*¹¹¹ says that Imām Mālik had made *mut'a*¹¹² lawful although Imām Mālik actually considered it a serious crime (T. 68). The Shi'is also insert fabricated material favourable to their faith in obscure Sunni works. They also make important additions to well known Sunni works in a most deceptive manner. For example, in Muhammad Shāh's reign, two Shi'i noblemen, Murtadā Khān and Murīd Khān, had inserted favourable *ahādith* from the Shi'i works in authentic Sunni hadith works and then had them copied at great cost. These books were sold cheaply by the roadside. In Isfahān, Aghā Ibrāhīm bin 'Alī Shāh, a Safavid nobleman, also committed similar frauds. However, the Shāh says this strategy did not undermine Sunnism for none of their works was obscure (T. 69). In a different context he says that only the Shi'i kept their books hidden and locked for fear of the Tūrānis. Even the *Usūl al-Kāfi* and the *Tahdhib* were inaccessible (T. 215).

109 A *sūfī* movement in Kashmīr, H. S. I., I, pp. 350-51.

110 *Qur'ān*, IV, 24.

111 *Hidāya* by al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1196) is a very important Hanafīyya law book.

112 A marriage contracted for a limited period and for a certain sum of money ; *Infra*, pp. 322-33, 433-34.

The Shi'is also wrote books in the name of *dhimmi* infidels to prove that the Sunni faith was full of conflicts and contradictions from which the Shi'i religion was free. One of these works was written by Sharif Murtadā and ascribed to Yūhunna bin Isrā'il *dhimmi*. The Shāh, in his refutation, says that no controversies surround fundamental Sunni beliefs and practices, only the collateral contents differ in some 300 matters, but this is not so serious as to warrant mutual accusations of heresy. Conversely all Shi'i sects call their rivals misguided and infidel. The collateral Ithnā' 'Ashariyya Shi'i principles, despite clear injunctions from the Imāms, differ on thousands of matters, for example on the principles relating to purification and drinking etc. The Shāh questions how these contradictions were not discovered by Sharif Murtadā, who was entitled *'alam al-Huda* (standard of guidance), was a *mujtahid* and was responsible for explicating inconsistencies. He suggests that "It was the veil of bigotry that blinded him. The arguments of the so-called *dhimmis* are nothing but a collection of absurd and inconsistent material. They can be likened to the rags stained with menstrual discharge which are thrown away in foul and dirty places. Sharif considers them fine garments, repeatedly washes them and stitches a robe of honour for the Shi'is from them. To the Sunnis they are feebler than cobwebs and weaker than trampled mulberry leaves" (T. 67-68).

Chapter 3 : The Shi'is' Ancestors

The third chapter elaborates the account of the Shi'is' ancestors discussed in the first chapter. It divides them into seven groups and reiterates that all Shi'is are followers of 'Abd-Allāh ibn Sabā'. All of them, the Shāh asserts, were *munāfiqs* (hypocrites). They called themselves Muslims but in their heart they were enemies of Islam. The Shāh says that although some Shi'i sects ungratefully condemn 'Abd-Allāh because of his belief in 'Ali's divinity and consider him the Ghulāts' leader, in actual fact all the Shi'is are his disciples and believe in lies, frauds and slanders inherited from the Jews through 'Abd-Allāh. All the Jewish characteristics described in the chapters from *Baqarah* (2nd) to *al-Anfāl* (8th) are found in the Rāfidis (T. 148-9). This third chapter identifies the Shi'is with the soldiers in 'Ali's army who deserted their leader and were condemned by him in his sermons in the *Nahj al-balāgha*. The soldiers in Imām Hasan's army and the people of Kūfa, who betrayed Imām Husayn at Karbalā, are called Shi'is by the Shāh. The Shi'is are condemned as traitors who incurred their Imām's wrath and hatred.

The Shāh states that no works by Kaysāniyyas survive and in the period of their early development there was no Zaydiyya author. They, therefore, borrowed their principles from the Mu'tazila and their subsidiary rules from the Hanafiyyas. The *Kitāb al-ahkām* and the *'Aqīdat al-Ilyās*,

contain the basic elements of the Zaydiyya faith. A critical commentary on the latter was written by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Kurdī. The early Ismā'ilīs also did not have any literature of their own, but later many of their scholars wrote books during their domination of Egypt and Maghrib which disappeared after the destruction of their empire (T. 167). During the Mongol invasions the works by all Shi'i sects were destroyed except for those by the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya Shi'is whose influence at the Mongol court enabled them to salvage their literature from the holocaust. However, the Shāh adds, according to the Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas about four hundred works by members of their sects were gradually lost, although their gist was subsequently reproduced in several other works. Four of these, *al-Kāfī*,¹¹³ *Man La yahduruhu'l faqih*¹¹⁴, *Tahdhīb*¹¹⁵ and *Istibsār* are the basic Shi'i works, but the Shi'i 'ulamā' differ in assigning priority to one over the others. The Shāh also gives a long list of the Imāmivva scholars. Among the later Shi'i authorities, the Shāh mentions specially the names of Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī, Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Mashhadī, the author of the *Izhār al-Haqq*, and Mullā Rafi' Wā'iz, the author of the *Abwāb al-Ḥinān* (T. 166). The Shāh also alleges that Shi'i authors consider each other's traditions unreliable. As an example of Shi'i scholarship, the Shāh quotes their interpretation of the following Qur'ānic verse to mean that they could take eighteen wives. The verse says :

"Marry of the women, who seem good to you, two-two, three-three or four-four."¹¹⁶

Their interpretation that the verse allows eighteen marriages (2+2, 3+3, 4+4,) is a gross falsification of the Qur'ānic text and reduces it to the status of a child's toy ¹¹⁷ (T. 168).

The basic characteristic of all the Shi'i sects, the Shāh says, is their claim that their principles are based on the teachings of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Each of them ascribes the origin of his basic and subsidiary rules to some Imām. Nevertheless each sect condemns its rivals as liars and impostors. Conversely the Sunnī differences, the Shāh adds, relate only to *ijtihād* (individual reasoning). From the time of the Prophet's companions to the days of the founders of the four schools of jurisprudence,

113 *Usūl al-Kāfī* by Muhammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940).

114 It was written by Shaykh al-Sadūq ibn Bābuwayh (d. 381/991-2).

115 *Tahdhīb al-ahkām* and *Istibsār* were written by Shaykh al-Tā'ifā Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Tūsī (d. 460/1067).

116 *Qur'ān*, IV, 3.

117 According to Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, it was suggested to Akbar that the Sunnī scholar ibn Abī Laylā, allowed nine and some had allowed eighteen wives. *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, II, pp. 207-8.

differences arose between the individual judgments of the *mujtahids* on subsidiary rules but never on basic principles. Hence they do not falsify the religion as a whole (T. 15).

Chapter 4 : Shi'i History and Tradition

The fourth chapter deals with Shi'i *akhbār* (literally "information", technically *ahādith*), *rijāl* (literally "men", technically "authorities"—both men and women) and *isnād* (chain of authorities). The Shāh says that the Shi'is divide their *ahādith* into four categories : *sahih* (sound), *hasan* (good), *muwaththaq* (trustworthy) and *da'if* (weak). The *sahih* traditions go back to the *Imām-i ma'sūm* (impeccable imām) with unbroken *isnāds*. The *hasan* traditions are also derived from the *Imām-i ma'sūm* but the *isnāds* may be broken. The *muwaththaq* traditions contain *isnāds* from authorities who are trustworthy but who are not recognised for their piety. The *isnāds* of the *da'if* traditions are from impious authorities (T. 174-75). The Shāh comments that the Shi'i scholars do not pay any attention to the continuity of the links in their researches into *ahādith*. They also fail to examine critically the *rijāl* of *isnāds* and accept the traditions unquestioningly without any research. They have no books on *rijāl* or the art of cross-referencing and assessing the *isnāds*. It was not until about 400/1009-10 that a Shi'i wrote a book on *rijāl* but it was very elementary and perplexing. Subsequently 'Adābari, Nijāshi, Abū Ja'far Tūsi, Jamāl al-Dīn bin Tā'ūs, Ibn Mutahhar and Taqī al-Dīn bin Dāwūd wrote works on hadīth criticism. However, these works also do not properly demarcate the grounds of preference and choice of different authorities (T. 177).

The Shāh again ridicules the claims of different Shi'i sects that their particular classical literature is sound and infallible and can be traced back to the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Each sect condemns its rivals' works as incorrect and forged. He then quotes contradictory beliefs from different Shi'i works (T. 181-2). Strangely enough, the Shi'is relate traditions on the authority of infidel Christians such as Zakariyya ibn Ibrāhīm Nasrānī and consider them friends of the Imām. The Shi'is also assert that the names of the Imāms were omitted from many of the traditions for fear of persecution (T. 185). With biting sarcasm he criticizes their concepts about the Lord of the Age (Imām Mahdī), son of the eleventh Imām, Hasan 'Askari. He points out that there are serious differences of opinion on Imām Mahdī's age, and the date and place of his disappearance. The authenticity of the letters which his agents claim to have received has also been challenged (T. 186-91).

The last section of the chapter discusses the four basic pillars of the Shi'i faith. They are *Kitāb*, *Khabar*, *ijmā'* and *'aql*. The Shāh comments that as the *Kitāb* (Qur'ān) has not been transmitted by an *Imām-i ma'sūm*, the Shi'is do not base their arguments on it, although no Qur'ān transmitted

through the Imāms is available to them. They assert that the present Qur'ān is 'Uthmān's mutilated and garbled version whose commands have been altered by the chapters and verses he excluded from it. Secondly, according to the Shi'is, the Prophet's companions who passed on the Qur'ān were hypocrites and traitors, so that to the Shi'is it is like the books revealed to Moses and Jesus. Thirdly, they believe that the Qur'ān's conveyors were not trustworthy and usurped the Prophet's family's right, so the Qur'ānic proofs, revelations and miracles are meaningless to Shi'is.

Likewise, the Shāh says, *akhbār* (hadīth) has no meaning for the Shi'is because of their differences over the appointment of Imāms. The Shi'i statements can be proved only with the help of *khavar* (tradition) and *vice versa*. This is circular. The infallibility of the source of *khavar* is derived from itself and not from the *Kitāb* which does not mention it. This makes all Shi'i beliefs illogical (T. 122-3).

The Shi'i basis for *ijmā'* (consensus among the recognised religious authorities) is also considered unreliable by the Shāh, firstly because of the inevitable intervention of the *Imām-i ma'sūm* in it, and secondly, as the Shi'i beliefs about prophethood and the shari'a are unproven, to them *ijmā'* is meaningless. Lastly the Shi'is do not allow '*aql*' (reasoning) in matters of *qiyās* (analogical deductions) and thus nullify an important basis for deducing shari'a rules (T. 193-5).

The Shi'i interpretation of the word "*itrat*", is preposterous in the Shāh's view. According to Arab usage, the word means "close relations," but the Shi'is omit the following from their list of Prophet Muhammad's '*itrat*': his two daughters (Ruqayya and Umm-Kulthūm), his uncle 'Abbās (and his descendants) and his cousin Zubayr. The Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas also consider some of Fātima Zahra's descendants their enemies. For example they believe Zayd bin 'Alī bin Husayn, who was very pious and was martyred by the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad caliphs, to be their adversary. They are also hostile to Zayd's son Yahyā. Ibrāhīm bin Mūsā Kāzim and Ja'far bin Mūsā Kāzim are regarded by the Ithnā' 'Asharis as their opponents as well. They call Ja'far bin Mūsā Kāzim a "liar" although he was an outstanding saint and Bāyazīd Bistāmī was his disciple. This sect wrongly thinks that Bāyazīd was Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq's disciple. Likewise they have given Imām Hasan 'Askari's brother, Ja'far bin 'Alī, the title of "liar". The Ithnā' 'Asharis accuse not only Hasan bin Hasan Muthanna, his son 'Abd-Allāh Mahad and his grandson, Muhammad, called Nafs-i Zakiyya, of apostacy and heresy, but Ibrāhīm bin 'Abd-Allāh, Zakariyya bin Muhammad Bāqir, Muhammad bin 'Abd-Allāh bin Husayn bin Hasan, Muhammad bin Qāsim bin Hasan and Zayd bin 'Alī bin Husayn's grandson, Yahyā bin 'Umar, as well. In short, the Shāh says, the Ithnā' 'Asharis exceed the Khawārij

and Nawāsib in insulting the Prophet's *'itrat*, to whom these so-called enemies are far more acceptable and important than their stupid Ithnā' Ashariyya friends (T. 202-3). Inevitably, according to the Shāh, the Shi'is have to depend on Sunni traditions for authenticating their faith. They arbitrarily choose some and reject others. They are ungrateful and guilty of "eating the bread of one and thanking the other" (T. 199).

The Shāh goes on to say that the Shi'is sinfully accuse the Prophet's companions of embracing Islam out of lust for the Persian girls and wealth which were destined to fall into the hands of the Prophet's followers (T. 199).

In his conclusion, the Shāh rejects the credibility of Shi'i beliefs on the ground that the Shi'i sects differ among themselves regarding the number of Imāms. An appendix to this chapter deals with what Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz considers Shi'i absurdities, whose principal source, according to him, are the works of the Shi'is themselves. Some of these are as follows :

1. The Shi'is assert that the Lord of the Age (Mahdī) has been in hiding for a thousand years for fear of a small body of men. The Shāh marvels that the Shi'is' Mahdī did not re-appear when the 'Abbāsids were annihilated and the Islamicised Mongols, devoted to the *Ahl al-Bayt*, were dominant, or when Shi'i rule was consolidated by the Safavids in the Arab and Persian 'Irāqs and Khurāsān. The Shi'i supremacy in the Deccan, Bengal and Awadh in India also should have prompted the Mahdī to return.
2. Shi'i books make the absurd allegation that Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq allowed his slave girls to have sexual intercourse with other Shi'is (T. 204).
3. They make a similar shameless allegation about Umm-Kulthūm, Fātima's daughter, who was married to the second caliph 'Umar. The Shi'i works state that Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq said that "hers was the first privy parts seized from us". This allegation also makes 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn shameless cowards. The Shi'is forget that even Delhi vagabonds do not publicly use such foul language. We know, the Shāh goes on to say, that the Pathāns of Qandahār, called Durrānis, raped a large number of Delhi bazaar girls, but this was so humiliating that it was never mentioned by them. How then could Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq utter these words?, the Shāh asks.
4. The Shi'is assert that the Imāms married their sisters and daughters to the infidels; the marriage of Sakina, the wife of Mus'ab bin Zubayr, was a case in point. This fact was also evident from the Sayyid genealogical works.
5. The Shi'is allege that once Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq threw the Qur'ān on the floor and abused it. The Shāh quotes Kulaynī as his authority (T. 304).

6. Despite 'Alī's declaration in the *Nahj al-balāgha* that he would fearlessly reveal the truth, the Shi'is allege that 'Alī and the Imāms, fearing for their lives, hid their true faith and practised *taqiya* (dissimulation).
7. The Shi'is ascribe to their Imāms the exegeses on some Qur'ānic verses which are grossly incompatible with the rules of Arabic grammar. This is done to impress and mislead others.
8. Although the Qur'ān strongly urges Muslims to perform *jihād* the Shi'is allege that their Imāms prohibited it. This is a complete falsification of the Qur'ān and the *ahādith*.
9. The Shi'is allege that the Imāms permitted adultery with divorced women.
10. The Shi'is state that some Imāms allowed men to play with their genitals during prayers.
11. The Shi'is allege that the Imāms permitted the wearing of dirty clothes during prayers.
12. The Shi'is assert that the Imāms allowed the flesh of dead animals to be eaten.
13. The Shi'is claim that the Imāms allowed men to kiss and hug women during prayers.
14. The Shi'is allege that the Imāms prohibited teaching the rules of faith regarding nocturnal pollution to women in order to prevent them from finding a pretext to ignore prayers (T. 205).
15. The Shi'is allege that Imām Muhammad Bāqir and Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq had urged the abandonment of *taqiya* although they admitted that it was an ancestral practice.
16. The Shi'is wrongly claim that the Imāms neither paid *zakāt* on uncoined (*ghayr maskūk*) gold and silver nor made others pay it to them. This is a clear violation of Qur'ānic injunctions. The relevant verse reads :

"They who hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in the way of Allāh unto them give tidings (O Muhammad) of a painful doom."¹¹⁸

17. The Shi'is incorrectly allege that the Imāms permitted men and women to tear their garments when mourning their relatives.
18. The Shi'is ascribe the wrong exceptions to the rules of retaliation to their Imāms.
19. The Shi'is allege that the Imāms allowed *istirqāq* in the event of a *dhimmī* infidel killing a Muslim. *Istirqāq* means making

slaves of the murderer's sons. This grossly violates the Qur'ānic injunction viz. :

"O mankind! Keep your duty to your Lord and fear a Day when the parent will not be able to avail the child in aught, nor the child to avail the parent"¹¹⁹ (T. 206).

The Shi'i interpretation of the retaliation laws equates the shari'a with the *tora* (laws) of Chingiz.

20. The Shi'is allege that their Imāms declared that for three days from the 9th Rabi' 1 (the anniversary of 'Umar's assassination) all sins committed by the Shi'is would be pardoned by God.
21. The Shi'is state that the Imāms had permitted the water used for washing the penis after urination to be drunk.
22. The Shi'is say that the Imāms declared that the term "*ummat-i mal'ūna*" (accursed community) should be replaced by "*ummat-i marhūma*" (the community taken by God into His mercy) for Sunnis.

The Shāh goes on to say that the Shi'i allegations are designed to confuse the Muslim community and estrange them from the shari'a. He concludes the chapter with the note that the Shi'i follow irreconcilable theories even in their basic *imāma* doctrine. For example a tradition recorded by Kulayni says that Zayd Shahīd, son of Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn, did not consider his brother Imām Muhammad Bāqir an Imām. The Ithnā' 'Asharis, however, regard Imām Bāqir as their fifth Imām. Secondly, Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq, Imām Bāqir's successor, considered Zayd Shahīd and his companions true martyrs like Imām 'Alī. According to the Shāh, it was unbelievable that Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn, who loved Zayd very dearly, did not tell him the principles of *imāma* and left him in such abysmal ignorance that he fought *jihād* against the Umayyad caliphs independently and did not follow Imām Muhammad Bāqir's guidance. The Shāh asserts that the differences in the Zaydiyya and Ithnā' 'Ashariyya theories on the appointment of an imām and the mutual contradictions relating to the imāms' duties, suggest that the Shi'i theory of divinely appointed imāms is baseless (T. 207-8).

Chapter 5 : Ilāhiyāt (Divinity)

The fifth chapter deals with the Shi'i and Sunni conflicts over their respective beliefs regarding the *ma'rifa* (knowledge) of Allāh. Both believe, the Shāh says, that *ma'rifa* of Allāh is imperative. The Shi'is believe that irrespective of divine command it is essential for all adults to recognize God under the guidance of reason (*'aql*). The Sunnis believe that *ma'rifa*

is not *'aqlī* (based on reason) but is dependent on the obedience to the shari'a and the contemplation of God should be made under the guidance of His command. The Sunnis add that reason (*'aql*) should not be considered a decisive factor and guide in matters of faith. The Shi'i belief, according to the Shāh, thus violates the Qur'ānic injunction :

"The decision is for Allāh only."¹²⁰

Further the Qur'ān says,

"We never punish until We have sent a messenger."¹²¹

Had a rule based only on reason been imperative, its repudiation would have brought divine punishment even before a prophet appeared. This has not been the case. The Shi'is also violate their Imāms' teachings in this respect as is mentioned in the *Kāfi* of Kulaynī. The source of the tradition is Imām Ja'far, who says that "it is not incumbent upon human beings to recognise Allāh; it is the latter who guides them to recognise Him" (T. 211).

The Shāh says that according to Sunni beliefs, nothing is incumbent upon God, while the Shi'is wrongly believe that according to reason many things are necessary for God. This would mean that God is subservient to reason (T. 229-30).

Out of twenty two Shi'i beliefs about Allāh showing their sinfulness and heresy, some relate to Shi'i sects which are extinct such as the Hakmiyya, Sālimiyya, Shaytāniyya, Muthaymiyya, Yūnissiyya, and the eight branches of the Zaydiyya. The Shāh admits that the Ithnā' 'Asharis also condemn the absurd non-Ithnā' 'Ashari beliefs about Allāh and therefore, they demand that should not be used as a weapon against them (the Ithnā' 'Asharis). The Shāh asserts that the Ithnā' 'Asharis who follow the lead given by other Shi'i sects in condemning the Prophet's companions, cannot then disown the Ghulāt doctrines on God (T. 220).

The Shāh chooses the Ithnā' 'Ashari beliefs about free will (*qadr*) to condemn their sinful departure from the true belief in Allāh. For example, Shaykh Abū Ja'far Tūsī, Sharīf Murtadā and a large number of Ithnā' 'Ashari scholars believe that Allāh does not interfere with the human power of personal discretion. The Shāh says that the Qur'ānic verse "Allāh is able to do all things"¹²² is sufficient to falsify this belief. Stating the Sunni belief on the controversy, the Shāh says that God creates everything that man and animals do, whether good or evil, involving belief or disbelief, obedience or disobedience. Men have no power over

120 Qur'ān, VI, 57 ; XII, 40 ; XII, 67.

121 Qur'ān, XVII, 15.

122 Qur'ān, II, 259.

this; they are rewarded or punished according to the extent of their industry and action. Conversely, the Kaysāniyyas, Imāmiyyas (Ithnā-'Ashari's) and all the Zaydiyya sub-sects believe that man is the architect of his own deeds and that God does not interfere with the works, actions and will of either human beings or animals. This Shi'i belief, the Shāh argues, is contrary to both the Qur'ān and the teachings of 'iṭrat (the Prophet's immediate family or the Imāms) (T. 233-34).

The Qur'ān for example says :

“When Allāh hath created you and what ye make ?”

Turning to the Imāms' statements that men are the architects of their own deeds, the Shāh asserts that except in a few cases, Imāms' support for the Shi'i belief is not available. However, the Shāh states, the Shi'is argue that had God been the architect of men's deeds, the whole mechanism of reward and punishment would become meaningless. The Shāh in his refutation of the Shi'i theory produces two arguments both supported by statements from Imāms. Firstly he says that the reward for each act depends on God's knowledge of the individual. For example God knows those men who, allowed to act according to their own judgment, would be faithful and those who would be infidel. God rewards and punishes good and bad acts performed by different people according to His own knowledge. Had God assigned the creation of action to human beings, they could undoubtedly be called creators of the divine decree. The Shi'is, the Shāh alleges, also do not consider unjust God's judgment of actions on the basis of His own knowledge. According to Shi'i works, infidel children would also be despatched to hell for God knows that in their maturity they would follow their parents' customs. The Shi'i authors, such as Kulaynī on the authority of Imām Ja'far, assert that Allāh, before making human beings, created felicity and misery. Those who are created as fortunate will never incur God's wrath although they may perform evil deeds, while God will never favour those created as wretched even though they act piously (T. 234-35).

Secondly reward or punishment is not based on action unless it is deliberate ; doing something inadvertently is not culpable. Rewards and punishments relate to good or bad intentions even though the action might not have taken place. Kulaynī, on the authority of Imām Ja'far, says that the intention of the believer is superior to his action while the intention of the infidel is inferior to his action. It is clear, the Shāh says, that man has no power to create intentions, these depend on God's will. 'How could God judge on the basis of inclinations were the Shi'i theories of free-will correct?', the Shāh demands. He blames Sharīf Murtadā for the invention of these Shi'i doctrines and asserts that his authority was Arabic

poetry and not the Imāms' teachings. According to Kulaynī, Imām Ja'far and some other Imāms assert that there is nothing like complete predestination (*jabr*) or total autonomy (*tafwid*). The truth lies between them (*bayn amrayn*). The Shi'i glossing of *bayn amrayn* as meaning power and authority over actions and not the creation of any particular act, according to the Shāh, is far-fetched (T. 235-36). The Shāh quotes *Fusūl*:

"Once someone asked Imām Ridā whether Allāh compels His servants to do something over which they have no power. The Imām said Allāh is very just. Then the Imām was asked whether men had power to do whatever they liked. The Imām answered that they were most helpless."

Another tradition from *Nathar al-Durar* contradicting free-will is based on Imām Ridā's conversation in Ma'mūn al-Rashīd's court. The Imām was asked again whether men were helpless, and he replied: "Allāh is very just and He would not compel someone to do something and then punish him". The Imām was then asked whether man had full autonomy. The Imām replied: "Allāh is a very high authority and does not indifferently leave human beings to satisfy their carnal desires" (T. 242-43).

The Shāh also defends the Sunni belief that on the Day of Judgment, the faithful will see Allāh and talk to him while the infidels and hypocrites would be deprived of these blessings. Conversely the Shāh alleges that the Shi'is, contrary to the teachings of the Qur'ān and their Imāms, deny the Sunni theory concerning the vision of God. The Qur'ān says:

"Looking toward their Lord;

"And that day will other faces be despondent"¹²³

"Lo! those who purchase a small gain at the cost of Allāh's covenant and their oaths, they have no portion in the Hereafter. Allāh will neither speak to them nor look upon them on the Day of Resurrection, nor will He make them grow. Theirs will be a painful doom."¹²⁴

The Shāh also says that the verse "Vision comprehendeth Him not"¹²⁵ does not reject vision but comprehension. The verse goes on to say that the vision of God is not common to all but is a special gift to those to whom He would show Himself. The Shāh also quotes a tradition from ibn Bābuwayh which says that Imām Ja'far answered in the affirmative to a question as to whether the faithful see God on the Judgment Day (T. 243-44).

123 Qur'ān, LXXV, 23-24.

124 Qur'ān, III, 77.

125 Qur'ān, VI, 104.

In this chapter, the Shāh also condemns the Shi'is for violating the traditions of the *Ahl al-Bayt* who recited and taught the existing Qur'ān and states that Imām Hasan 'Askari wrote an exegesis on this very Qur'ān. The Shi'i belief, says the Shāh, was so patently false that Shaykh ibn Bābuwayh renounced the theory. For this very reason he was known as "Sadūq" (truth-speaking) (T. 215).

Chapter 6: Nubuwwa (Prophethood)

The sixth chapter is designed to refute the Shi'i views on prophets and their understanding of the prophets' mission. It discusses fifteen Shi'i 'aqidas (beliefs). The second 'aqida discusses three Shi'i premises and five extremist views (*ghulū*). This chapter also elaborates upon the basic Sunni criticism of Shi'i beliefs concerning the prophets given in the first chapter.

1. The Sunnis believe that nothing is imperative for God and that He created prophets out of His generosity and compassion for mankind. Had this not been so God would not have accounted their creation as an act of grace in the Qur'ān.

The Qur'ān says:

"Allāh verily hath shown grace to the believers by sending unto them a messenger of their own who reciteth unto them His revelations."¹²⁶

Further Abraham would not have prayed:

"Our Lord! And raise up in their midst a messenger from among them who shall recite unto them Thy revelations, and shall instruct them in the Scripture and in wisdom and shall make them grow"¹²⁷ (T. 244).

Conversely, the Shi'is believe it is essential that God should create either a prophet or his deputy. No age or period should be devoid of either one or the other. The Ismā'ilis consider the presence of both in the same age compulsory. Refuting the Shi'i belief, the Shāh says that innumerable Qur'ānic verses mention periods when there were no messengers (age of *fatra*). The Qur'ān also refers to Prophet Muhammad as the "Seal of the Prophets". 'Ali's sermons in the *Nahj al-balāgha* speak both of the "Seal of the Prophethood" and "cessation of messengers" (T. 244-46).

2. All Islamic sects believe that the prophets are superior to the entire creation, but the Imāmiyyas believe that, except for some very great prophets, 'Ali was more perfect than the rest. Some Shi'i scholars

126 *Qur'ān*, III, 164.

127 *Qur'ān*, II, 129.

such as Hilli have reservations even about this view and consider 'Alī the equal of the greatest prophets. Only the Zaydiyyas are known to have firmly declared that those who consider any Imām superior to the prophets are damned. The Shāh quotes ibn Bābuwayh, who records the tradition of Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq saying "verily as compared with 'Alī, the prophets are nearest to God". The Shāh goes on to comment that the Shi'is adopt such an extremist attitude towards the subsidiary principles of faith that the fundamentals are relegated to the background. Consequently their extremist notions about the Imāms' importance distort their beliefs concerning God's unity and devalue the prophethood. Although the Shi'is believe that the Imāms are deputies for the prophets, they then contradict themselves by declaring them superior to the prophets. The Shi'i scholars also consider the tradition related by ibn Bābuwayh unique and therefore unable to override the basic belief. Hilli urges Shi'i scholars to reject *ahādith* based on solitary narrators.

The Shāh discusses three Shi'i premises (T. 246-7). Firstly, as the Imāms are superior in knowledge to the prophets, they must be superior in status. The Shāh says that even the acceptance of the unfounded Shi'i belief that the Imāms had acquired the entire *corpus* of knowledge gained by all the prophets would not prove them superior. A contemporary logician who has mastered the principles of Aristotle, Abū Nasr Fārābi and Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā cannot claim superiority over them (T. 248).

The second Shi'is presumption emanates from the tradition of Hasan bin Kabish whose source is Abū Dharr. The tradition says:

"The Prophet looked at 'Alī bin Abi Tālib and said he is the best among the former and the later generations, residents both of earth and heaven."

The Shāh comments that the above tradition and others like it are related exclusively by the Imāmiyyas. Moreover many Shi'i scholars do not consider Hasan bin Kabish a reliable authority. Obviously, the Shāh adds, 'Alī was not superior to the Prophet who was his contemporary; however, during his reign as caliph he was definitely more perfect than the rest of mankind (T. 248-49).

The third Shi'i presumption is based on the traditions of Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq. They say:

"The spirit in the verse 'The Spirit is by command of my Lord' is a creation superior to Gabriel and Michael and to all those who were before them. When Gabriel and Michael were created only Muhammad existed. He also existed when the Imāms were created. Gabriel

and Michael inspire and strengthen Muhammad, and the Gabriel, Michael and Muhammad inspire and strengthen the Imāms."

Commenting on this tradition, the Shāh says that, of its authorities, Hishām bin Sālim was condemned by the Imāms themselves, and Abū Basir had admitted his lies. However, were the tradition considered authentic, it would contradict the doctrine of the *'ismat* (impeccability) of the prophets and Imāms, for only those who are not *ma'sūm* need tutors. "More comical is ibn Bābuwayh who sings loudly in his *Kitāb al-I'tiqād*":

"Verily Allāh has not created anyone of his created beings superior to Muhammad and the Imāms. They are God's best friends and undoubtedly God is friendlier to them than those who are estranged from them and is more favourable to them than the entire creation" (T. 248-49).

Again the same ibn Bābuwayh gives in the *Kitāb al-Amālī*, a lengthy tradition ascribed to Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq:

"Verily Allāh said to the residents of heaven i.e. to the spirits of angels and prophets and others that they be informed that I have given in marriage to the lady (Fātima), whom I love most, one who after the prophets is my greatest favourite."

The Shāh says that this tradition clearly says that God loves the prophets more than 'Alī. The least that can be said about it is that "a liar has no memory". The Shi'i beliefs and arguments are full of similar discrepancies and contradictions (T. 250-51). The greatest contradictions are in ibn Bābuwayh's remarks.

The extremist type of Shi'i statements denigrating the prophets and exalting the Imāms are as follows:

1. Allāh's real intention was to create the Imāms and the prophets were made dependent on them. The Shi'i authority is Muhammad bin Nu'mān who taught Sharif Murtadā and Shaykh Abū Ja'far Tūsi (T. 251).
2. God made the angels and prophets promise that they would accept the Imāms as their masters and would obey them. Indeed God had obtained an agreement from the earlier prophets regarding Prophet Muhammad's status in order that they would proclaim to their nation the advent of the Seal of the Prophets. In the Imāms' case this was not essential. Hasan bin Saffār and Muhammad bin Bābuwayh are the principal Shi'i sources (T. 252-3).
3. The Shi'is believe that the prophets borrowed the divine light from the Imāms and followed in the latter's footsteps. Again ibn Bābuwayh is their authority (T. 253-4).

4. The Shi'is believe that, except for Prophet Muhammad, the prophets would follow 'Ali on Judgment Day (T. 254-55).
5. On Judgment Day, 'Ali and the other Imāms would enjoy a higher status than the prophets with the exception of Prophet Muhammad.

The Shāh comments that first of all the above Shi'i traditions are incorrect, and secondly that they are incompatible with reason and sound judgment.

Further, the Shāh asserts that although the Shi'is ostensibly believe Muhammad to be the "Seal of the Prophets", they in fact consider that not only were their Imāms prophets, but they were superior to the prophets and could change their ordinances, including Prophet Muhammad's shari'a. They believe that 'Ali accompanied the Prophet to *mi'rāj* (heavenly journey). Some believe that he saw the same thing on earth as the Prophet saw in heaven and that he was related to Prophet Muhammad in the same manner as Aaron was to Moses. The Shāh remarks that 'Ali survived thirty years after the Prophet's death. This belief, according to the Shāh makes the Shi'i acceptance of Muhammad as the Seal of the Prophets untenable. Further, the Shāh says that the Shi'is believe that 'Ali received divine revelation. The only difference between him and Prophet Muhammad was that the latter saw the angel and the former heard its voice. The Shi'is also believe that it is lawful, or rather imperative, for prophets to tell lies. They refer to Abraham's excuse to his people of illness in order to avoid joining them in their idolatrous worship. The Shi'is see this incident as strongly confirming their belief relating to *taqiya*. Conversely the Sunnis believe that the prophets do not lie and are immune from calumny and that the performance of *taqiya* renders them unable to discharge their duties as preachers of the divine message. The hadith states that Abraham told three lies (*kidhb*), but these were actually only ambiguous phrases. The Shāh says that, like the Shi'is, the Sunnis also believe that the prophets are immune from sin but that in fact they inadvertently committed minor sins (T. 256-72).

Chapter 7 : Imāma

The seventh chapter, dealing with the refutation of Shi'i beliefs concerning *imāma* is more detailed. It opens with an explanation of the Sunni point of view. The Sunnis, the Shāh states, maintain that, in keeping with the laws of nature, qualified adults should choose their own leader bearing in mind the qualities of leadership laid down by the shari'a. They should obey his orders when compatible with the shari'a and assist him in upholding it. Conversely the Shi'is assert that the appointment of an imām is incumbent upon God. The Shāh says that, as pointed out in the chapter on divinity, according to the Sunnis, nothing is imperative for God. The implementation of the shari'a penal laws, fighting *jihād*, deploying

armies and distributing *ghanima* and *khums* are the commander's duties, and his election is the adults' responsibility. The appointment of an imām by God leads to innumerable complications, for people's opinions and wishes differ. Naturally the imāms are threatened by seditious elements and, in order to perform their duties, resort to *taqiya* for fear of their lives. Those whom the Shi'is regard as divinely appointed Imāms were always subject to these pressures. Were the imām's appointment regarded as an act of divine benevolence, it should be imperative that he receive divine assistance and victory over his enemies or else he was doomed to failure. Some Ithnā' 'Asharis, however, assert that the appointment of an imām is the first grace, and the second is his dominance. The perversity and malignancy of mankind, according to the Shi'is, were responsible for an imām's failure and the threat to their lives was so great that the twelfth Imām had entered into protracted occultation (*ghaybat-i kubra*) and no trace of his existence is available.

The Shāh says that the Shi'i reply does not answer the Sunnī criticism. According to the Sunnis this appointment is an act of benevolence implying divine assistance and dominance but the Shi'i theory does not necessitate assistance and dominance and is only a "foolish babbling". None of the Zaydiyyas, Āftābiyyas, Wāqifiyyas, Nāūsīyyas and other non-Imāmiyya Shi'is or Sunnī historians says that the rulers ever threatened the Imāms. No Imām has ever been forced to go into occultation. Secondly, the Shi'is believe that the Imāms die when they choose and do nothing unless commanded by God. The Shāh concludes that if the occultation took place by divine command, and the Imām, despite the increasing complications in the faith, has not reappeared, the question of benevolence is ruled out (T. 272-73).

The Shāh then refutes Sharif Murtadā's theories in the *Tanzih al-Anbiyā' wa'l-a'imma* that the Lord of the Age (the Mahdī) differs radically from his ancestors. The Mahdī, Sharif Murtadā states, is a continuing force. He is a man of war who triumphs over his enemies and takes revenge by destroying their rule and power. The Mahdī would not be nervous like his ancestors. The Shāh calls Sharif Murtadā's statement "a lunatic's cry and nonsense". It has been repeatedly claimed, remarks the Shāh, that according to Shi'i belief the Mahdī knows very well that none can kill him, that should he meet Jesus Christ he would act as Christ's imām, that he can fight *Dajjāl* (Antichrist), that he can forcibly lead the people to prayers before God and that he can take adequate revenge on his ancestral enemies and die when he chose. This being the case, the Shāh concludes, there is no explanation for such a long occultation.

The other argument, the Shāh says, is that according to the Sunnis the signs of the day of resurrection would become evident after the end of 1200 *hijri*/1786. The Shi'is assert that the Mahdī would reappear at the beginning of the century and not in the middle. There would be no time

gap between Jesus Christ's declaration of war and the Mahdī's reappearance (T. 274).

The clouds would shade the Mahdī's head and not the grotto of Surr Man Ra'a (Sāmarra).¹²⁸ He would not start the war from there but from Mecca. When he would declare himself Imām, he would be forty years old, neither a child nor an old man. The Shāh with biting sarcasm asks why a number of Shī'i sects believe that the promised Mahdī was Imām Bāqir or Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq. Why should the twelfth Imām be so frightened, when Sayyid Muhammad of Jawnpūr's¹²⁹ loud proclamation of himself as Mahdī did not harm him or his followers in the Deccan and Rājputāna? Why did the Mahdī not reappear during the Safavid rule or that of the Mughals under Jahāngir which was virtually dominated by his Shī'i queen, Nūr Jahān and her relatives? Why did the Mahdī miss the opportunity of seizing Transoxiana or Turkey? The Shah emphasizes that Sharif Murtadā's claim, that initially the Mahdī was only hidden from his enemies but, that when a desperate search for him was initiated he completely disappeared, is unhistorical. History does not prove that Imām Hasan 'Askari had a son, let alone that a search was instituted for him. The story is, of course, a figment of Shī'i 'ulamā's imagination (T. 274-5).

In refutation of the Shī'i belief in the hidden Imām, the Shāh emphatically underlines the Sunnī conditions that an imām should never be in occultation but politically dominant and should enforce shari'a law. He quotes the following verses from the Qur'ān:

"Allāh hath promised such of you as believe and do good works that He will surely make them to succeed (the present rulers) in the earth even as He caused those who were before them to succeed (others); and that He will surely establish for them their religion which He hath approved for them, and will give them in exchange safety after their fear."¹³⁰

"Those who, if We give them power in the land, establish worship and pay the poor-due and enjoin kindness and forbid iniquity."¹³¹ (T. 278-79).

128 Situated at the east bank of the Tigris, halfway between Takrīt and Baghdād, *Surra man ra'a* (delighted is he who sees it) was founded in 221/836 by the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu'tasim (218-27/833-42).

129 Sayyid Muhammad of Jawnpūr was born in 847/1443. He left Jawnpūr for Mecca in 894/1489. Travelling through the Deccan he reached Mecca in 901/1495-96 and declared himself the Mahdī. After his return to Gujarāt he reiterated his claim in 903/1497-98 in Ahmadābād. The local 'ulamā' failed to refute Sayyid Muhammad and a large number of followers rallied round him. Hounded by his enemies he left for Khurāsān via Sind and died at Farah in 910/1505. M. R. M., pp. 68-95.

130 Qur'ān, XXIV, 55.

131 Qur'ān, XXII, 41.

The Shāh also refutes the Shi'i theory that, like the prophets, the Imām should be impeccable and infallible. According to the Shāh, verses in the Qur'ān as well as the statement of the Imāms, contradict this view. The Qur'ān says:

"Lo! Allāh hath raised up Saul to be a king for you."¹³²

The Shāh comments that it was universally admitted that Saul was not immune from sin but his obedience was divinely ordained. Secondly, before his appointment as a prophet, Adam was the imām and the *khalīfa* on earth, but he is known to have sinned, "And Adam disobeyed his Lord, so went astray."¹³³ The Qur'ān goes on to say, "Then his (Adam's) Lord chose him, and relented towards him, and guided him."¹³⁴ As evidence of the Imām's own statements the Shāh quotes the *Usūl al-Kāfī* wherein 'Alī declares:

"Do not stop from telling the truth or from giving just advice for verily I am not immune from faults" (T. 280).

Further, *al-Fusūl's*¹³⁵ author says that according to Abū Makhnaf's¹³⁶ tradition, Husayn bin 'Alī exhibited his disgust at his brother Hasan's peace with Mu'āwiya (T. 280). In the *Sahīfa Kāmila*¹³⁷ Imām Sajjād says:

"Satan has caught hold of my reins leading me towards scepticism and uncertainty and I abhor Satan's evil actions and my carnal self which obeys Satan."

According to the Shāh both statements, irrespective of their credibility, violate the notion of immunity from sin (T. 281). Further, the Shāh says that the Shi'is misconstrue and misinterpret the divine declaration relating to the appointment of the imām as king. For instance, in the chapter on "The Prophet", the Qur'ān says:

"And We made them Imāms."¹³⁸

132 *Qur'ān*, II, 247.

133 *Qur'ān*, XX, 121.

134 *Qur'ān*, XX, 122.

135 Sharīf Murtadā *'Alam al-hudā*.

136 Abū Makhnaf (d. 157/774) is an important early authority on events at Jamal, Siffin and Karbalā. Of his works, *Kutāb al-Jamal* is very famous.

137 *al-sahīfat al-kāmila* or *al-Sahīfat al-Sajjādiyya*, known as the "Psalm of the Family of the Holy Prophet" is a collection of the invocations of the fourth Imām, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, also called Imām al-Sajjād.

138 *Qur'ān*, XXI, 73.

The Qur'ān states:

"And We desired to show favour unto those who were oppressed in the earth, and to make them examples (*a'immatan*) and to make them the inheritors."¹³⁹

Again it asserts:

".....And He made you kings, and gave you that (which) He gave not to any (other) of (His) creatures."¹⁴⁰

"He it is not hath placed you as viceroys of the earth."¹⁴¹

The Shāh comments that the creation of *imām* and *khalīfa* in the above verses means that Allāh inspired the people of those days to appoint a particular person as their head or gave them dominance over people through divine assistance (T. 282). The Shāh goes on to say that the Shī'is have invented the conditions of *ma'sūm* (impeccability), *mansūs* (appointed by divine injunctions) and *afdaliyat* (superiority) in order to void the caliphate of the first three caliphs. The Shāh firmly reiterates the Sunni belief that, after the Prophet, Abū Bakr was the rightful caliph. However, all the Shī'i sects unanimously believe that after the Prophet's death the true caliph was 'Alī and Abū Bakr was a usurper. The differences among the Shī'i sects on the question of *imāma* arose only after 'Alī's death.

Conversely, the Shāh says, according to the Sunnis, 'Alī became the *imām* only after the people had made *bay'a* with him. Like his three predecessors, however, the Prophet considered 'Alī was also entitled to become a caliph. After 'Alī, Hasan was the *imām*, and after his death, Husayn became the *imām*. Husayn's successors were accepted as *imām* in a spiritual sense and obtained *bay'a* for spiritual eminence but not for political power. The Shāh then reminds his readers that the Sunni standpoint can be better understood by following the usages of the term *imām* itself. According to the Sunnis a religious leader, such as Imām-i A'zam (Abū Hanīfa), Imām Shāfi'i, Imām Ghazālī and Imām Rāzī, is also an *imām*. The Shī'i *imāms* were also the religious leaders in different aspects of religious knowledge, particularly in esoteric teaching. The Sunnis accordingly acknowledge them *imāms* but not caliphs. According to the Sunnis, the Shāh goes on to say, the caliphs should possess political domination. Even incompetent kings were respected as leaders for they waged *jihād*, distributed booty and organized Friday and 'id prayers (T. 283-84).

The Sunnis believe that only the first four caliphs and Imām Hasan, until he abdicated, were caliphs. Imām Hasan, according to the Sunnis

139 Qur'ān, XXVIII, 5.

140 Qur'ān, V, 20.

141 Qur'ān, VI, 105.

had the right to remain caliph but he knew that the period of the caliphate had ended. A sinful era of kingship and tyranny had begun. Political turmoil and anarchy would escalate and no advantage would remain in being a caliph. He therefore abdicated in favour of Mu'āwiya who was best suited to handle the contemporary crises. Imām Hasan's decision, according to the Shāh, did not emanate from any weakness, for he had a large army behind him. The Shāh reinforces this theory by quoting Sharif Murtadā and Imām Husayn's above mentioned comments on his brother's decision. The Shāh strongly condemns ignorant Shi'i allegations that the Sunnis believe that after 'Uthmān's martyrdom Mu'āwiya bin Sufvān was the Sunni's imām. The *'Aqā'id-nāma* by Mullā Nūr al-Dīn Jāmi (817/1414-898/1492), which every Sunni child is taught, contradicts these popular Shi'i allegations. The Sunnis unanimously believe that until Imām Hasan abdicated, Mu'āwiya was a rebel. After the Imām's abdication he became a king. The Imām had accepted Mu'āwiya's kingship for reasons of expediency. Mu'āwiya was no better than the rebel governors of the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam who nominally paid homage to the Emperor (T. 284-85).

The Shāh goes on to say that, although the Sunnis consider Mu'āwiya a rebel, they do not curse him because they believe that even those who commit abominable sins such as rebellion, should not be cursed. The Qur'ān says:

"And those who came (into the faith) after them say: Our Lord ! Forgive us and our brethren who were before us in the faith, and place not in our hearts any rancour towards those who believe."¹⁴²(T 286).

The Shāh quotes 'Alī's statement that he did not wish his followers to belong to the class of people who cursed others. The Shāh then discusses the view of Khwāja Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī, who based his theory on the Prophet's hadīth (unanimously accepted by both the Sunnis and Shi'is) addressed to 'Alī: "He who fights against you ('Alī) fights against me". Khwāja Nasir al-Dīn further differentiates between those opponents of 'Alī who are sinners and those who are infidels. The Khwāja differs from the rest of the Shi'is in that, according to his reading of the Shi'i *ahādith*, it was impossible to prove that those who did not accept 'Alī as imām were heretics; only those who actually fought against him were apostates. The Sunnis, the Shāh says, differ, however, from Khwāja Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī and say that the Prophet's hadīth addressed to *Āl-i 'Abā'* ('Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn), "I am at peace with those who are at peace with you (*Āl-i 'Abā'*)", does not mean actually war but was only a threat to

frighten the Muslims into not fighting against the *Āl-i 'Abā'*. The Shāh supports his hypothesis by pointing out that 'Alī had ordered his followers to promote Islamic brotherhood among the Syrians to consolidate their faith. He goes on to say that the Sunnis follow 'Alī and not Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī or the like.

The Shāh then discusses *istikhlāf*¹⁴³, saying that it has already been fully discussed in the *Izālat al-khafā' 'an khilāfat al-Khulafā'*¹⁴⁴, and reiterates that Sunni scholars believe that the total duration of the caliphate was for thirty years after the Prophet's death. (T. 288-89). The Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids were known as caliphs only because they performed the political functions of the Prophet's early caliphs. The Shāh then goes on to refute the Shi'i objections to *istikhlāf* on the basis of Shi'i works. He quotes 'Alī's letters and sermons to prove that he was deeply disappointed in his followers and considered Mu'āwiya's adherents more obedient and more devoted to their leader. He also quotes one of 'Alī's sermons in which he praises the contributions made by Abū Bakr and 'Umar to the duties of the caliphate, their piety and devotion to God and the role they played in strengthening the *sunna*. To the Shāh, 'Alī's sermon silences the Shi'is' vociferous attacks and they offer apologies in a most flimsy manner (T. 288-308). According to the Shi'is, 'Alī often praised the first two caliphs only to attract people to their side and to pacify his subjects. The Shāh also quotes other Ithnā' 'Ashariyya Shi'i traditions endorsing the first three caliphs' importance (T. 308-10).

The last section deals with the refutation of Shi'i theories on the superiority of 'Alī and the other Imāms and seeks to establish that in reality the Sunni beliefs about them is both just and compatible with the *ahādith*. He invites his readers to accept three main points:

Firstly, all the Qur'ānic verses and *ahādith* which establish the superiority of 'Alī and the *Ahl al-Bayt* were in fact discovered by the Sunnis in order to refute the beliefs of the Nawāsibs and Khawārij who criticized them. In their stupidity the Shi'is use these arguments against the Sunnis to prove 'Alī's right to become Imām after the Prophet. When the later Shi'i scholars acquired scholastic knowledge from the Sunnis and the Mu'tazilas, they made minor changes in their arguments and a book entitled the *Kitāb al-alfyn* [by Hilli] was compiled. It is tedious, observes the Shāh, for Sunnis to detail all these arguments but it will be done briefly in order to do justice to the polemics.

Secondly, the Khawārij and Nawāsib were strong opponents of 'Alī's *imāma*, and reviled him, but the Sunnis had marshalled arguments establishing that he was the rightful imām. The Sunni arguments proved 'Alī's

143 Appointing *khalīfa* (successor); Qur'ān, XXII, 41, *Supra*, p. 295.

144 S. W. T., pp. 250-56.

right to the *Khilāfat-i Rashida* but do not specifically indicate whether 'Alī should have been caliph immediately after the Prophet or later. The Sunnis therefore do not contest 'Alī's right to become caliph for according to them it was his just privilege.

Thirdly the arguments which prove 'Alī's right to the caliphate immediately after the Prophet's death, are the exclusive invention of the Shī'is and are not very large in number.

The Shāh states that he will discuss all three types of arguments in order to refute the Shī'i standpoint, mainly concentrating on the Qur'ānic verses and the *ahādith* the Shī'is draw upon to prove 'Alī's right of immediate succession to the Prophet (T. 310-11).

The Shī'is quote the following verse as evidence for 'Alī's superiority over the Prophet's companions:

"Your friend can be only Allāh; and His messenger and those who believe, who establish worship and pay the *zakāt* (poor-due) and bow down (in prayer)." ¹⁴⁵

The Shī'is claim that this verse proves 'Alī's right immediately to succeed the Prophet, for 'Alī gave his ring to a beggar while he was bowing down in prayer. The Shāh says that if this verse nullifies the accession of the earlier caliphs, it also invalidates 'Alī's eleven successors. In short it nullifies both the Sunnī caliphs and the Shī'i *imāmat*. The Shāh goes on to say that a different argument was put forward by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Kurdī and other Sunnis. According to them this verse was addressed "to those who embraced Islam" in the Prophet's lifetime. Imāms were appointed after the Prophet's death, hence the verse does not indicate whether the imām concerned would accede four years or twenty-four years after the Prophet died. Then the Shāh discusses the controversy surrounding the personalities alluded to in this verse. Some exegesis writers say it is addressed to Abū Bakr, some to 'Alī and others assert that it is addressed to both *muhājir* and *ansār*. In addition, the word "*walī*" (friend) used in the verse has many meanings; for example, "beloved", "helper", "sincere friend" and "controller of affairs". In the present context it means "beloved" or "friend". The Shāh then specifically counters the arguments of Mullā 'Abd-Allāh, the author of the *Izhār al-Haqq* which he considers senseless (T. 311-16). The second verse the Shī'is quote, the Shāh says, is:

"Allāh's wish is but to remove uncleanness far from you, O folk of the household (*Ahl al-Bayt*) and cleanse you with a thorough cleansing." ¹⁴⁶

145 *Qur'ān*, V, 55.

146 *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 33.

The Shāh says that exegesis writers are not unanimous that in this verse the words "*Ahl al-Bayt*" apply only to 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn. Ibn Abī Hātim and ibn 'Abbās assert that the verse refers to the Prophet's wives. Looking at the context of the verse, the second interpretation is more valid (T. 319-22). The third verse on which the Shī'is base their case is :

"Say (O Muhammad, unto mankind): I ask of you no fee therefore, save loving kindness among [my] kinsfolk."¹⁴⁷

The Shāh says that this verse is used by Sunnis to refute the Nāsibī condemnation of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The Shī'is plagiarized Sunni arguments and began to use them to reject the caliphate of the first three caliphs. The Shī'is do not know that the chapter *Ash-Shūra* (counsel) which contains the above verse was revealed during the Prophet's stay in Mecca. At that time 'Alī was not married to Fātima nor were Hasan and Husayn born. According to the standard works of *ahādīth*, the Prophet thereby intended to urge the Quraysh, who were his kinsfolk, to love him as a fee for his mission as a prophet. In the *Shūra* chapter no prophet requests for any payment; how then could Muhammad, who was superior to other prophets, request for fees?, asks the Shāh. Finally the Sunnis do not believe that God made the love of only four of the Prophet's family ('Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn) imperative. Abū Bakr and others are also entitled to respect and affection (T. 322-24). The fourth verse which according to the Shī'is establishes 'Alī and his successors' right to the caliphate is as follows :

"And whoso disputeth with thee concerning him, after the knowledge which hath come unto thee, say (unto him): Come! We will summon our sons (*abnā'na*) and your sons, and our women (*nisā'na*) and your women, and ourselves (*anfusana*) and yourselves, then we will pray humbly (to our Lord) and (solemnly) invoke the curse of Allāh upon those who lie."¹⁴⁸

The Shāh says that after receiving this revelation, the Prophet came out of his house with 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn. This shows that *abnā'na* (our sons) means Hasan and Husayn, and *anfusana* means 'Alī. However, the Prophet's self cannot be identified with that of 'Alī; what is possible is parity. Thus he who enjoys parity with the Prophet, is undoubtedly superior (*adfal*), supreme (*awla*) and dominating (*tasarruf*)

147 *Qur'ān*, XLII, 23.

148 *Qur'ān*, III, 61.

over *ghayr* (those who are different). "For he who is superior and dominant in influence his equal is also superior and dominant. It means that he is an imām. The word "*imām*" also means superior and supreme with domination. (*al-afḍalu'l awla bi'l-tasarruf*)."

The Shāh concludes his argument on the note that the Shī'is should feel indebted to him, for his exposition of the above verse is more organized and lucid than the Shī'i arguments. The Sunnis, the Shāh goes on to say, quote this verse to refute the *Nawāsibs* and emphasize the importance of 'Alī, Fātima and their two sons whom the Prophet loved dearly. The verse was revealed when Allāh wished the Christians and Jews to be challenged over divine unity. Naturally the ordeal of *mubāhila* (swearing an oath) meant that those who lied ran the risk of losing their lives. The Shāh says that the Sunnī arguments are also endorsed by Mullā 'Abd-Allāh in the *Izhār al-Haqq*. However, the Shāh states that while arousing much controversy as to who were the personalities referred to in the verse, it does not prove the Shī'i theory of 'Alī's immediate succession after the Prophet. His later accession as imām is not disputed (T. 324-27).

The Shāh continues that besides the above verses the author of *Alfayn* quotes many others to prove the Shī'i theory of 'Alī's right to immediate succession but they are also imbued with similar flaws and discrepancies. (T. 329).

Turning to *ahādīth*, the Shāh says that the reliance of Shī'i books on Ghadīr Khumm¹⁴⁹ hadith is meaningless. According to the Shī'is, *mawla*

149 'Ghadīr Khumm was a pool between Mecca and Medina, about three miles from al-Juhfā. There, on 18 Dhu'l-hijja 10/16 March 632, during his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet stopped and ordered that a dais should be built. Taking 'Alī by the hand he asked of his faithful followers whether he, Muhammad, was not closer (*awla*) to the Believers than they were to themselves; the crowd cried out: "It is so, O Apostle of God!"; he then declared: "He of whom I am the *mawla* (the patron?), of him 'Alī is also the *mawla* (*man kuntu mawlāhu fa-'Alī mawlāhu*)". Nothing which can explain the inner meaning of the main sentence is added either by the additions supplied by several *ahādīth*, e. g., "O God, be the friend of him who is his friend, and be the enemy of him who is his enemy (*Allahumma walī man walāhū wa-'ādī man 'adāhū*)", or by the variants (the most interesting of which is the substitution of the word *walī* for *mawla*, which proves that the meaning of the latter word, at least in its metaphorical sense, was not very precise). Most of those sources which form the basis of our knowledge of the life of the Prophet (ibn Hishām, al-Tabarī, ibn Sa'd, etc.) pass in silence over Muhammad's stop at Ghadīr Khumm, or, if they mention it, say nothing of his discourse (the writers evidently feared to attract the hostility of the Sunnis, who were in power, by providing material for the polemic of the Shī'is, who used these words to support their thesis of 'Alī's right to the caliphate). Consequently, the western biographers of Muhammad, whose work is based on these sources, equally make no reference to what happened at Ghadīr Khumm. It is, however, certain that Muhammad did speak in this place and utter the famous sentence, for the account of this event has been preserved, either in a concise form or in detail, not only by al-Ya'qūbī, whose sympathy for the 'Alī's

in the hadīth means *awla ba tasarruf* (supreme with domination) which means 'Alī is the imām. The Shāh says that according to Arabic usage, *mawla* (patron) is not used in the sense of *awla* (superior) but that the context shows that *mawla* or *awla* occur in the sense of *wilāyat* (love or friendship). The hadīth is intended to urge Muslims to love 'Alī in the same way as they loved the Prophet. Historically, the Shāh says, some of the Prophet's companions who had been sent on an expedition to the Yemen, had complained wrongfully about 'Alī. The Prophet, instead of specifically asking the dissidents to refrain from their allegations, delivered a general sermon urging every Muslim to befriend 'Alī (T. 329-32).

The second hadīth on which the Shī'is base their arguments for 'Alī's immediate succession is related by Bukhārī and Muslim. They say that when the Prophet was marching against Tabūk¹⁵⁰ he appointed 'Alī *khalīfa* over the women and girls. When 'Alī objected to this, the Prophet said, "Are you not satisfied with the fact that you occupy the same position in relation to me as Aaron occupied in relation to Moses? The only difference being that after me there is no prophet."

The Shī'is claim that this hadīth names 'Alī as the Prophet's immediate successor. The Shāh says, 'Alī was appointed *khalīfa* for domestic affairs in the same manner as the other companions were assigned their respective duties. In fact, the Shāh says, this is essentially a Sunnī hadīth to prove 'Alī's superiority and his right to the caliphate when his turn came. The analogy of Aaron, however, does not apply to 'Alī, because had Aaron survived, he would have become a full-fledged prophet preaching divine ordinances. But the caliphate was a different question, and involved deputizing for the Prophet. The Shī'is, the Shāh comments, are wrong in presuming that had Aaron been deprived of a prophet's status, it would have meant dismissal. The Shāh reminds us that kings usually appoint their deputies during their absence from the capital, but when they return the deputy's authority ceases. The analogy would be complete if Aaron were *khalīfa* only during Moses' departure to Tūr (Sinai). After Moses' death, Joshua, the son of Nūn and Kālīb bin Yuqunna became his successor. In the same way during the Prophet's absence from Mecca, 'Alī was

(F. N. 149 Contd.)

cause is well known, but also in the collection of traditions, which are considered as canonical, especially in the *Musnad* of ibn Hanbal ; and the hadīths are so numerous and so well attested by the different *isnāds* that it does not seem possible to reject them. Several of these hadīths are cited in the bibliography, but it does not include the hadīths, which, although reporting the sentence, omit to name Ghadir Khumm, or those which state that the sentence was pronounced at al-Hudaybiya'. L. Vecchia Vaglieri, "Ghadir Khumm" in *E. I.*², II, p. 993.

- 150 The Prophet marched to Tabūk on the road to Damascus from Medina in Rajab 9/October-November 630. The Jewish and Christian states in the north of Arabia submitted to the Prophet without any war.

caliph, but after the Prophet's death others became caliphs (T. 332-34).

The Shāh discusses nine more *ahādith* which the Shī'ī quote to prove their belief that 'Alī was the Prophet's true immediate successor. The Shāh concludes his chapter with a discussion on the beliefs of other Shī'ī sects regarding *imāma*, which, he says, reduce the institution to a farce. The principal motive of the different sects, the Shāh says, was to choose an Imām, demonstrate obedience to him and enjoy the *khums* and gifts bestowed on by his followers. Subsequent generations sank into a morass of damnation because of the fraud perpetrated by the founders of these sects (T. 377).

Chapter 8 : Bodily Resurrection (Ma'ād)

The eighth chapter refutes Shī'ī beliefs regarding the Resurrection. The Shāh points out that many non-Ithnā' 'Ashariyya Shī'ī sects believe the preposterous theories of transmigration of the soul. Like their other beliefs, the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya theories have been adapted from true Sunnī ideologies. The Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas consider that raising the dead and resurrection are incumbent upon God. The Shāh argues that the Sunnī belief that nothing is necessary to God is more reasonable (T. 378-80). The Ithnā' 'Ashariīs believe that God will not punish them either in their graves or on Resurrection Day because they loved 'Alī. Although this belief violates fundamental Islamic principles it has made them bold in committing sins (T. 389-93).

Chapter 9 : Problems of Fiqh

The ninth chapter is designed to criticise the principles of Shī'ī fiqh. The Shāh says that the chapter concentrates mainly on the criticism of the principles of the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya fiqh for the rules of other Shī'ī sects were not generally practised in India. The Shāh admits that the Sunnis also are divided into different schools of fiqh but argues that all the schools draw their rules from the Qur'ān and *ahādith*. Only the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya rules resemble the Jewish or Christian laws or the Hindu Shāstras or Vedas (T. 394-95). Some of the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya innovations are as follows :

1. They declare that Prophet Muhammad's first three caliphs, and his companions and wives (except Khadīja) were heretics.
2. For Shī'īs, cursing 'Umar is more meritorious than reciting Allāh's *dhikr* and other obligatory religious duties.
3. They make it imperative to curse the distinguished *muhājirs* and *ansārs*, the first three caliphs and the *'ashra-i mubashshira*¹⁵¹ for

151 Ten of the most eminent followers of Prophet Muhammad whose certain entrance into paradise is said to have been foretold by the Prophet. They are his first four successors and Talha, Zubayr, 'Abd al-Rahmān, Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqās, Sa'id ibn Zayd, Abū 'Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāh.

- example Talha, Zubayr, 'Ā'isha and Hafsa, after five daily prayers.
4. They introduced the Ghadr feast on 18th Dhu'l-hijja and consider it more important than the 'id al-fitr and 'id al-adhhā.
5. They introduced the Bābā Shujā' al-Dīn feast (the feast of 'Umar's assassin, the Zoroastrian whose original name was Abū Lūlū). According to the Shī'is the assassination took place on 9 Rabi' I. The feast was instigated by Ahmad bin Ishāq, but later traditions wrongly ascribe it to the Imāms. In fact, 'Umar was assassinated on 28 Dhu'l-hijja and buried on 1 Muharrām. Had the Imāms initiated this feast, they would not have deviated from the correct dates.
6. They initiated respect for the Nawrūz (New Year's Day) feast of the Zoroastrians, although 'Alī is said to have remarked "For us each day is Nawrūz and for us each day the sun enters Aries."
7. They instigated prostration before tyrant kings. This was started by Ākhund Bāqir Majlisī (T. 395-96).

The Shāh then criticizes the Shī'i rules for fasting, ablutions, prayers, pilgrimage, charity, war, weddings, trade, mortgage, usurpation, trust, lending, farming, gifts, divorce, and the rules for qādīs, law suits, witnesses and inheritance. The Shī'i practices of *mut'a* and the rules governing sexual intercourse with slave girls are again severely criticized (T. 396-416).

Chapter 10 : Shī'i Indictments (Matā'in)

Chapter Ten, dealing with the refutation of Shī'i *matā'in* (indictments) against the three caliphs, the Prophet's companions and 'Ā'isha, is enormous. The complaints about Abū Bakr which the Shāh answers number fifteen.

1. Once when Abū Bakr was going to recite *khutba*, Imām Hasan and Imām Husayn, who were present, asked him to get down from their grandfather's *mimbar* (pulpit). This shows that Abū Bakr was not qualified to act as caliph.

Answer : Imām Hasan was born in Ramadān in the 3rd year of *hijra* (March 625) and Imām Husayn was born in Sha'bān of the 4th year of *hijra* (January 626). The Prophet died in the 11th year of *hijra* (632). The Imāms' reaction indicated a childish, instinctive dislike of seeing others using anything belonging to their parents. During his last illness the Prophet appointed Abū Bakr as his caliph to lead prayers from Wednesday to Monday. During this period 'Alī recited prayers behind Abū Bakr and heard the *khutba* recited by him (T. 417).

2. Khālīd bin Walīd¹⁵², Abū Bakr's commander killed Mālīk bin
- 152 Khālīd b. al-Walīd fought against the Prophet at Uhud but embraced Islam in 6/627 or 8/629. After the Prophet's death in 11/632 he fought against the leaders of *ridda* or "apostasy". In 12/633 he conquered al-Hīra in 'Irāq and marched upon Syria to assist the Arab armies. 'Umar deprived him of his high command and he

Nuwayra,¹⁵³ who was a Muslim, in order to seize his beautiful wife. Khālid married her the same night without waiting for the completion of the 'idda¹⁵⁴ period of four months and ten days. Legally this was not marriage but adultery. Abū Bakr instituted no action against Khālid although even 'Umar took exception to Abū Bakr's tolerance of adultery.

Answer : According to the cross-questioning of Khālid, Mālik was an apostate. He had already divorced and imprisoned his wife and the 'idda period had passed. Khālid therefore committed no sin in marrying her and indulging in sexual intercourse with her the same night. Although we may not agree that Mālik was an apostate, Khālid definitely had doubts concerning Mālik's faith for the women of his household had observed festivities following the Prophet's death.

Abū Bakr was neither a Shī'i nor a Sunnī caliph and was not subject to their wishes. He was Prophet Muhammad's caliph and followed his traditions. The same Khālid had, during the Prophet's lifetime, killed hundreds of Muslims on suspicion of apostasy. When Khālid's atrocities were at one time reported to the Prophet, he declared, "O God, I have no hand in the steps taken by Khālid." However, the Prophet neither instituted *qisās*¹⁵⁵ nor *diyat*.¹⁵⁶ Abū Bakr cannot be blamed for overlooking Khālid's fault for he paid *diyat* from the *bayt al-māl* (public treasury). However, if Abū Bakr is censured for delaying full *qisās* against Khālid, 'Alī should be more severely blamed for delaying *qisās* against 'Uthmān's assassins. Lastly, Mālik's relatives, including Mut'ammim bin Nuwayra, his brother, who loved Mālik dearly, did not demand *qisās* from Abū Bakr. In 'Umar's reign, Mut'ammim confirmed Mālik's apostasy and 'Umar regretted his condemnation of Abū Bakr (T. 417-20).

3. Before his death the Prophet appointed 'Usāma his commander to fight the Byzantines who had killed Zayd bin Hārith¹⁵⁷. The Prophet was

(F. N. 152 *Contd.*)

fought in Northern Syria under Abū 'Ubayda and made several incursions into the Byzantine border before his death in Hims (or Medina) in 21/642.

153 Mālik bin Nuwayra was the chief of Banū Yarbū. After his conversion to Islam the Prophet commissioned him to collect the canonical taxes (*sadaqāt*), from among his fellow tribes-men. After the Prophet's death he refused to recognize Abū Bakr as caliph and stopped paying taxes. Khālid surprised and killed him. Mālik's brother Mut'ammim wrote touching elegies lamenting his brother's death.

154 The Qur'ān enjoins a wife not to re-marry for four months and ten days after the death of her husband. After a divorce the period is three months. *Qur'ān*, II, 234; LXV, 4.

155 Retaliation for killing a Muslim or a *dhimmī*.

156 Compensation for manslaughter.

157 Zayd b. Hārith was a slave of the Prophet Muhammad's wife Khadija and was given to her husband as a gift. The Prophet freed and adopted him. He died in 8/629 commanding the Mūta expedition.

so keen on this expedition that he had himself selected soldiers for 'Usāma's army and said "May God curse those who delay". The Shi'is censor Abū Bakr and his associates for not immediately marching under Usāma.

Answer : The Shāh first of all asks if Abū Bakr was criticized for not making preparations or for his dilatoriness. Drawing upon the *Rawdat al-Safā'*, the *Rawdat al-Ahbāb* and the *Habib al-Siyar*, he goes on to say that on Monday 26 Safar/23 May 632, the Prophet had ordered that an army be prepared to fight the Byzantines in retaliation for the assassination of Zayd bin Hārith. On Tuesday 'Usāma was appointed the commander. On Thursday, 28 Safar the Prophet fell ill, but despite his sickness, he prepared the commander's standard and ordered, "Fight in the name of Allāh and in the path of God against those who oppose Allāh." 'Usāma made Burayda bin Husayb Aslami the standard bearer, and stopped in the village of Jaraf to collect an army. *Muhājirs* and *ansārs* such as Abū Bakr Siddiq, 'Umar bin Khattāb, 'Uthmān, Sa'd bin Abi Waqqās, Abū 'Ubayda bin al-Jarrāh, Sa'd bin Zayd, Qatāda bin Nu'mān and Musalma bin Aslam also made preparations, but on Tuesday and Wednesday evening the Prophet's condition worsened. On Thursday evening, the Prophet appointed Abū Bakr as *khalifa* for prayers. On Sunday, 10 Rabi'I, the Prophet seemed better. 'Usāma's associates bade the Prophet farewell. The latter embraced 'Usāma and prayed for him. On Monday his condition again deteriorated and 'Usāma and the army returned. Burayda planted the standard at the Prophet's door. After the Prophet's burial, Abū Bakr ordered that the standard be planted at 'Usāma's door and that the army should assemble there. 'Usāma moved to Jaraf but then it was learnt that some Arab tribes had become apostate and were planning to invade Medina. Nevertheless, Abū Bakr ordered 'Usāma to proceed with his mission and to leave 'Umar with him for consultation. Abū Bakr said that he did not care if Medina was destroyed by savages. His principal concern was to comply with the Prophet's orders.

The Shāh comments that the extraordinary development of events, and his appointment as caliph, absolve Abū Bakr of the charge of procrastination. After the Prophet's death he was head of state and had to use his discretion in all administrative and military matters. He was duty bound to give priority to the defence of Medina. The Prophet's curse against those who delayed marching under 'Usāma was not quoted in Sunni works. Were it correct, not only Abū Bakr, but all Muslims, including 'Alī, were cursed. Lastly, to the Sunnis the Imām is not *ma'sūm*, but he must be just. Abū Bakr's alleged dilatoriness did not make him guilty of any serious crime (T. 420-23).

4. The Prophet had not assigned Abū Bakr any important duties, so, how could he become the supreme head of Muslim affairs after the Prophet's death ?

Answer: The Shāh replies that this is a lie and a false accusation. From time to time the Prophet did appoint Abū Bakr as commander to lead expeditions against his enemies. Even during the siege of Khaybar¹⁵⁸, he appointed Abū Bakr as his deputy to conquer the fort and a fierce battle ensued. In the 9th year of *hijra* (630-31) he made Abū Bakr the pilgrims' leader and ordered him to conduct the *Hajj* ceremonies on his behalf. From Thursday evening to the Monday before his death, Abū Bakr acted as *imām*. In short the Prophet made Abū Bakr his deputy in each of the three fundamental Muslim duties, *jihād*, *hajj* and *namāz*. However, the Prophet also considered Abū Bakr his main counsellor and did not wish to be separated from him. Lastly, should the commission to lead a specific expedition be the criteria for *imāma*, Hasan and Husayn would be equally disqualified for 'Alī always appointed their younger brother Muhammad bin Hanafiyya to fight dangerous battles. The latter magnanimously used to tell his friends that Hasan and Husayn were like eyes to his father and he and others were his hands and feet. So long as the hands and feet could operate, the eyes were not exposed to danger (T. 423-25).

5. During his caliphate, Abū Bakr appointed 'Umar as head of all state duties : in other words, he made him the *imām* of the *umma*, whereas, the Prophet had appointed 'Umar only as tax collector in charge of a territory, and had dismissed him after one year. Thus Abū Bakr violated the Prophet's guidelines.

Answer: The Shāh declares that this is a silly accusation for in the first place 'Umar was not dismissed but had completed his assignment. Secondly, if 'Umar could be deemed dismissed it was only in the same way as Aaron was when Moses returned from Tūr (Mount Sinai). The Prophet said: "Were there to be any Prophet after me it would have been 'Umar". Thus the alleged dismissal of 'Umar does not belittle his competence. Thirdly, Abū Bakr could only have violated the Prophet's guidelines if the Prophet had ordered him not to assign any duties to 'Umar (T. 425-26).

6. The Prophet had placed Abū Bakr and 'Umar under the command of 'Amr bin 'Ās¹⁵⁹ on one occasion and, another time under 'Usāma. Had Abū Bakr and 'Umar been competent leaders they would not have been assigned to a subordinate position.

Answer: Were the Shī'is to consider 'Amr bin 'Ās or 'Usāma qualified as *imāms*, the Sunnis could easily reply. Secondly, appointing minor

158 A prosperous Jewish valley with an impregnable fort, eight stages from Medina. It was conquered in 7/628.

159 'Amr b. al-'Ās embraced Islam in 8/629-30. He conquered Egypt and administered it efficiently. After his dismissal by 'Uthmān he began to lead a quiet life. After the battle of Jamal he joined Mu'āwiya and commanded the Syrian cavalry at the battle of Siffin. In 38/658 he defeated Muhammad bin Abī Bakr, 'Alī's governor of Egypt and Mu'āwiya made him the governor of Egypt again. He died in 40/661.

officers to some special supreme command is in no way equivalent to making them head of state (*imāmat-i kubrā*). For example the duties of catching thieves, fighting bandits and acting as *fawjdār* (district officer) are assigned to inferiors and not to leading *amīrs*. 'Amr bin 'Ās was known as a wily tactician and was most suitable for the command to which he was assigned. 'Usāma was appointed as commander to avenge his father's death. Thirdly, the Prophet intended Abū Bakr and 'Umar to gain practical experience in inferior positions in order to make them competent to hold the highest positions. Only those kings such as Tīmūr and Nādir who had risen from the humble position of a soldier to nobles and viziers were successful. The Prophet knew that as caliphs they would be called upon to supervise all aspects of military affairs, hence he assigned them to subordinate positions. The practical problems of state, the Shāh says, cannot be solved by Shi'i theorising. The remarkable success of Abū Bakr and 'Umar during their reigns, including their seizure of vast booty, can only be explained by their practical experience in different positions and in complex circumstances (T. 426-27).

7. Abū Bakr, during his caliphate violated the Prophet's traditions. The latter fully understood the turbulent nature of the times and did not appoint a *khalīfa* out of compassion for the *umma* (community), but Abū Bakr, violated this tradition by appointing 'Umar his *khalīfa*.

Answer: The Shāh asserts that this is a patent lie, for all Shi'i sects believe that the Prophet Muhammad appointed 'Alī as caliph. However, if they wish to follow the Sunnī line, the latter believe that the Prophet made Abū Bakr his *khalīfa* for prayers and *hajj*. This was a sufficient indication to the Prophet's companions who accordingly accepted Abū Bakr as *khalīfa*. However, in Abū Bakr's days the increasing conversion of Arab and non-Arab peoples to Islam made it necessary for him to declare his choice in writing.

Secondly, the *ahādīth* in Sunnī *Sihāh* show that the Prophet was convinced through divine revelations that after his death Abū Bakr would succeed him as caliph, so there was no need for him to leave a written document. According to the *Sahīh Muslim*, during his last illness the Prophet did indeed call Abū Bakr's son to prepare the relevant document but then desisted, considering that as none except Abū Bakr was acceptable as caliph to Allāh and the *umma*, it would be superfluous. Abū Bakr did not receive divine revelations but circumstances convinced him that the *umma* considered 'Umar the most suitable person to succeed him as caliph. History proved Abū Bakr correct for no other *khalīfa* glorified the faith and crushed the infidels as did 'Umar. Thirdly, Abū Bakr could only be guilty of violating the Prophet's tradition had the latter prohibited the nomination of a successor. Lastly, the Sunnis believe that 'Alī ignored the Prophet's tradition by appointing Hasan as caliph (T. 427-28).

8. Abū Bakr used to say, "Verily there is a devil who overpowers me, so help me when I walk straight and straighten me when I walk in a crooked way". A person who can be misled, the Shi'is allege, is not suitable as a *khalifa*.

Answer: First of all the tradition does not appear in this form in Sunnī works, the Shāh comments. However, Abū Bakr publicly declared in his first *khutba*, "I am not endowed with two specialities which the Prophet possessed ; firstly I do not receive divine revelation, and secondly I am not immune from Satan's machinations". Realising that he was not *ma'sūm*, he invited the Muslims to obey him in matters compatible with the Prophet's *sunna* and the *shari'a*. Were he to violate the latter he wished to be warned. Secondly an authentic tradition of Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq in Kulaynī's work tells us that there is for each man a particular devil who tries to mislead him. Only Prophet Muhammad was immune from Satan. If Satan could not undermine other prophets, how could he invalidate Abū Bakr's *imāma* ?, asks the Shāh. Joseph says in the Qur'ān,

"I do not exculpate myself. Lo! the (human) soul enjoineeth unto evil, save that whereon my Lord hath mercy. Lo! my Lord is forgiving, Merciful."¹⁶⁰

Lastly, in a sermon 'Alī says, "Don't hesitate to tell the truth or to offer just counsel. Verily I am not one who can make no error in judgment. I am also not satisfied with my actions as was mentioned earlier" (T. 428-30).

9. 'Umar said, "Be warned ! Abū Bakr's *bay'a* was unplanned and spontaneous. God saved the Muslims from its evil. Kill him who repeats these acts." Bukhārī's words are different but the essence is the same. This, according to the Shi'is, proves that Abū Bakr's caliphate had no basis and that he was not a true imām.

Answer : 'Umar made this statement in reply to someone who had said that when 'Umar died he would make *bay'a* with a particular person as others had thoughtlessly made *bay'a* with Abū Bakr, a decision that was later endorsed by the rest of the community. 'Umar's statement does not question the authenticity of Abū Bakr's *bay'a*. 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda bin al-Jarrāh were the two people who made the first *bay'a* with Abū Bakr Siddiq in Saqifa. *Saqifa* also means a hall where Arabs hold secret consultations. The *bay'a* made by 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda, declaring that Abū Bakr was superior to them, resulted in others following suit. As the *muhājirs* and *ansārs* approved this decision by 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda, the validity of Abū Bakr's eminence and position was estab-

lished. The *ansārs* had no doubt in Abū Bakr's competence but they were fighting for the appointment of an *ansār* caliph. 'Alī and Zubayr accepted Abū Bakr's apologies for ignoring them in the consultations and were convinced that the *ansārs'* protest had made haste essential. If the Shī'is wish to plead their viewpoint on 'Umar's statement they will also have to accept 'Umar's volumes praising Abū Bakr (T. 430-31).

10. Abū Bakr said, "In 'Alī's presence, I am not superior among you". Were this statement sincere, Abū Bakr did not deserve the imām's position; were he lying he was also unsuitable, for a liar is a sinner and is not worthy to be an imām.

Answer : The Shāh asserts that first of all no Sunnī work quotes this statement and Sunnīs are not duty bound to answer all Shī'ī forgeries. However, if for argument's sake the Shī'ī statement is accepted, we find Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn (d. 95/713) saying in the *Sahīfat al-Kāmila*, "I am one whose life is plunged into sin". This statement disqualifies his *imāma* completely. The Shī'is also add to the original statement, "You take away your *bay'a* from me" and consider this Abū Bakr's resignation. The Shāh goes on to say that according to the Shī'ī beliefs, Moses also resigned from the prophethood and wished Aaron to be appointed Prophet. Abū Bakr's alleged resignation was identical with that of Moses. The caliph's duties are so arduous that Abū Bakr accepted them hesitantly as, according to the Shī'is, so did 'Alī when he was invited to assume that position after 'Uthmān's assassination (T. 431-32).

11. The Prophet deputed Abū Bakr to convey the messages in the *Barā'at*¹⁶¹ chapter of the Qur'ān to the people of Mecca, but Gabriel appeared and asked him to transfer the duty to 'Alī. The Prophet sent 'Alī, although Abū Bakr had already left, to take the chapter away from him and to recite it himself to the people in Mecca. If Abū Bakr were not qualified to perform a single duty relating to the Qur'ān, how could he look after the entire community and the shari'a?, the Shī'is question.

Answer : The Shāh replies that the Shī'is confuse and distort the real facts in order to accuse Abū Bakr. The truth is that Abū Bakr was appointed as the leader of *hajj*. Later the *Barā'at* chapter containing the orders to break the previous agreements with the infidels was received. The Prophet deputed 'Alī to convey the new message in the *Barā'at* chapter. 'Alī's duties did not entail Abū Bakr's dismissal, for both were deputed

161 The ninth chapter of the Qur'ān entitled "the immunity". It is also known as *al-Tawbah* (repentance). The chapter was revealed because of the repeated violations of their treaties by the idolators of Mecca. The second section of the chapter deals with absolving Muslims from the liabilities of certain agreements and reiterates that the Muslims were to adhere to their agreement if the idolators reciprocated by keeping to their own.

to discharge different duties. Baydāwī, *Madārik*,¹⁶² *Zāhidī*¹⁶³, *Tafsīr Nizām Nishāpūrī*¹⁶⁴, *Jadhb al-qulūb*¹⁶⁵ and *Mishkāt* confirm these facts. *Ma'ālim*¹⁶⁶, *Husaynī*¹⁶⁷, the *Rawdat al-ahbāb*, the *Habīb al-siyar* and the *Madārij*¹⁶⁸, give the impression that the Prophet first appointed Abū Bakr to recite this chapter and then nominated 'Alī. There are two possibilities in this case. Firstly, the Prophet replaced Abū Bakr by 'Alī, secondly, 'Alī was appointed to collaborate with Abū Bakr. The *Rawdat al-ahbāb*, Bukhārī, Muslim and other hadīth scholars confirm the second possibility. The important fact is that Abū Bakr was not dismissed as the leader of *hajj* and continued to direct the people during these complex ceremonies. Throughout this journey 'Alī offered prayers behind Abū Bakr and performed the *hajj* ceremonies under his direction. When 'Alī reached Abū Bakr, the latter asked whether he was the commander (*amīr*) or subservient (*ma'mūr*). 'Alī replied that he ('Alī) was *ma'mūr*. Abū Bakr had the ability to read certain verses as any Qur'ān reciters could, but 'Alī was made the Prophet's deputy in pursuance of an established custom that an agreement could be broken or war declared only by the tribe's leader, his son or his son-in-law. The Shāh adds that even in his days that custom survived, "When the rulers, *amīrs* or *zamindārs* fight in order to settle their boundaries, no agreement can be ratified unless the princes according to *tora* confirm the agreement".

Secondly the *Barā'at* chapter was recited in Minā¹⁶⁹ where 600,000 people had assembled. This recitation demanded hard work and a loud voice which would prove too much for anyone directing the *hajj* ceremonies as well. Naturally the Prophet appointed 'Alī, who also enjoyed high status, in order that both functions should be performed smoothly. Had Abū Bakr alone been called upon to make the announcements in the *Barā'at*

162 *Madārik al-tanzīl* by Hafīz al-Dīn Abū'l-Barakāt 'Abd-Allāh al-Nasafī (d.710/1310) is a concise commentary on the Qur'ān.

163 Abū Nasr Ahmad completed the *Tafsīr Zāhidī* in Bukhārā in 519/1125.

164 Properly entitled the *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān wa raghā'ib al-furqān* by al-Hasan b. Muhammad Qummī, called Nizām Nishāpūrī, a pupil of Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī. He flourished around 710/1310.

165 *Jadhb al-qulūb ilā dār al-mahbūb* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī is a Persian history and topography of Medina, begun in 998/1590 and completed in 1000/1592.

166 *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl* is a very well known commentary on the Qur'ān, by Abū Muhammad al-Husayn b. Mas'ūd al-Farra' al-Baghawī (d. before 516/1122).

167 *Tafsīr Husaynī* or the *Mawāhib-i 'aliyya* by Husayn b. 'Alī al-Wā'iz Kāshifī (d. 910/1505) is a very important Persian exegesis on the Qur'ān.

168 *Madārij al-nubuwwa*, a detailed biography of Prophet Muhammad by Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī (b. 958/1551, d. 1052/1642).

169 A valley to the east of Mecca where pilgrims go before sunrise on 10 Dhu'l-hijja and perform the concluding rites; the slaughter of an animal, the clipping of the hair and nails and the lapidation.

chapter, people would have considered them trivial as they were not conveyed by a special messenger.

In *sūfic* parlance, the Shāh says, Abū Bakr was the manifestation of divine compassion and his duties were compatible with this position. 'Alī, who was the manifestation of divine majesty and adept at killing infidels, was assigned the duty of declaring war. These two commanders, the Shāh asserts, embodied divine beauty (*Jamāl*) and majesty (*Jalāl*).

Lastly, the Shāh says that if for argument's sake, we accept Abū Bakr's dismissal, it was not important, for many Qur'ānic verses and statements by the Prophet confirm Abū Bakr's superiority as a judge. A single incident cannot thus undermine his competence to perform the duties of a caliph (T. 432-36).

12. Abū Bakr did not give Fātima her share of her father's inheritance. Whereupon Fātima said "O ibn Abī Qahāfa! you are entitled to a share in your father's property but I am not. What justice is this?" Abū Bakr then argued with Fātima on his own authority and quoted the Prophet as saying that prophets neither inherit patrimony nor leave it to others. The following Qur'ānic verse allows shares to the successors of both prophets and non-prophets.

"Allāh chargeth you concerning (the provision for) your children; to the males the equivalent of the portion of two females, and if there be women more than two, then theirs is two-thirds of the inheritance, and if there be one (only) then the half."¹⁷⁰

The Shi'is also assert that the Qur'ān accepts inheritance among the prophets, quoting, "And Solomon was David's heir".¹⁷¹ Further the Qur'ān says :

"Who shall inherit of me and inherit (also) of the house of Jacob."¹⁷²

Answer : The Shāh says that Abū Bakr rejected Fātima's plaint following a hadīth he had heard from the Prophet. He was not motivated by ill-will or malice. Neither did he recognise any entitlement on the part of the Prophet's widows nor his uncle 'Abbās, who was an old friend of his. Abū Bakr relied on a hadīth which is related in Sunnī works by a dozen pious companions of the prophet and also by 'Alī. The Shāh says that the verses the Shi'is invoke regarding Solomon's succession to David relate to knowledge and piety and not worldly goods. The second verse concerns

170 Qur'ān, IV, 11.

171 Qur'ān, XXVII, 16.

172 Qur'ān, XIX, 6.

position and not property. The case of the ownership of the houses in which the Prophet's widows lived was not applicable to this dispute. The Prophet had given his wives these houses as he gave houses to Fātima and 'Usāma. The precedent quoted by the Shī'is, that Muhammad gave 'Alī a sword, a coat of mail and a horse is also irrelevant to Fātima's claim. These things were not given to him as an inheritance, for the Prophet's heirs were Fātima, his wives and 'Abbās. After the prophet's death these became *waqf* (endowments) which the caliph awarded to 'Alī at his own discretion, considering him the most suitable recipient. Some of the Prophet's belongings were given to Zubayr who was the Prophet's cousin. Muhammad bin Muslima also received some gifts.

13. Abū Bakr did not give Fadak ¹⁷³ to Fātima although it had been assigned to her by the Prophet as a *hiba* (gift). He refused to listen to her petition. When she was asked to present witnesses she produced 'Alī and Umm-Ayman. Bakr said that one man and one woman were not sufficient and that another woman was required to resolve the dispute. Fātima grew annoyed and stopped talking to Abū Bakr. According to the Prophet, by making Fātima angry, Abū Bakr had made the Prophet, too, angry with him.

Answer : The Sunnī works do not show that Fātima made a claim on the basis of *hiba* and produced 'Alī, Umm-Ayman or Hasan and Husayn as witnesses. These are Shī'i lies. Were the Shī'i story accepted, why did she not take possession of it during the Prophet's lifetime ? The plea of *hiba* remains unproven. Abū Bakr did not reject the evidence of 'Alī and Umm-Ayman but asked for another female witness to comply with the Qur'ānic law of evidence. However, both Shī'i and Sunnī *ahādith* show that when 'Alī interceded, Abū Bakr gave in to Fātima (T. 440-44).

14. The Prophet had willed Fadak to Fātima but Abū Bakr, contrary to the Prophet's wishes, refused to allow her its possession.

Answer : Firstly, no reliable Sunnī or Shī'i works mention a will, claims the Shāh. Secondly, after a prophet's death, his property becomes God's and is appropriated by the *bayt al-māl*. A will cannot apply to such property. Lastly, if for argument's sake, the existence of a valid will were accepted, Abū Bakr was not informed of it and, as its existence was not confirmed by witnesses, how could he implement it ? Lastly, had the Prophet actually made a will, why did not 'Alī during his caliphate assign Fadak to Hasan, Husayn and their sisters ?

The Shāh goes on to say that the Shī'i give four answers. The *Ahl al-Bayt* did not repossess the sequestered property because they followed

173 Fadak near Khaybar was a Jewish agricultural colony. When the Prophet marched against Khaybar, the Jews of Fadak were frightened and they surrendered without fighting.

the Prophet's precedent in not taking possession of his house after the conquest of Mecca. The Shāh rejects this reply because during 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Aziz's reign (99-101/717-720), Imām Muhammad Bāqir (d. 114/733) obtained possession over it. During the reign of Ma'mūn (198-218/813-833) it was reoccupied by Imām Ridā. 'Alī also, after 'Uthmān's death accepted the usurped caliphate. The second Shī'i answer is again confused. It says that, following Fātima's tradition, 'Alī obtained no benefit from Fadak. Why, the Shāh asks, did not the other Imāms, who did take possession of Fadak, follow Fātima's tradition? Why did 'Alī deprive Hasan, Husayn and their sisters of their mother's patrimony? The third Shī'i answer is also absurd, the Shāh claims. It states that 'Alī acted as a witness only to assert the truth and not for any material benefits. This does not satisfy the Nāsibis and Khārījīs who accuse 'Alī of obtaining material benefits for himself and his heirs. Had he been concerned for the truth, he would have willed that his descendants should not obtain any benefit from Fadak. The fourth Shī'i response, that the Imāms had performed *taqiya*, is not valid for, according to the Ithnā' 'Asharīs, if an Imām declares war, *taqiya* becomes unlawful. Hasan and Husayn accordingly did not assume *taqiya* so how could 'Alī have done so during Abū Bakr's caliphate?

Lastly, Shaykh ibn Mutahhar Hillī's statement that when Fātima presented her claim on Fadak, Abū Bakr gave her a letter returning it to her, must terminate the entire controversy. What remain to be discussed, the Shāh says, are the reasons for Abū Bakr's initial refusal and procrastination. The answer, the Shāh gives, is that firstly Abū Bakr wished to create a precedent for an important legal question and to decide the suit according to shari'a procedures. Secondly, he was unable to solve the problem of *sadaga* (public property used for benevolent purposes) which, according to the hadith, applied to the Prophet's property. Moreover, the Prophet's wives and 'Abbās had already started demanding their respective shares. Finding no way out of the impasse, Abū Bakr decided to incur Fātima's displeasure. Lastly, the Shāh says, Fātima had willed that her coffin should be strictly veiled and buried during the night to preserve the institution of veiling. 'Alī carried out her wishes. Abū Bakr, 'Umar and the other menfolk were excluded, not because of Fātima's anger with them, but because of the strict observance of veiling according to her will (T. 444-48).

15. Abū Bakr was not conversant with some shari'a ordinances hence he was not competent to act as a *khalifa*. Three main instances are quoted.

A. Abū Bakr ordered a thief's left hand to be amputated in violation of the order for the amputation of the right hand.

Answer : Abū Bakr ordered the amputation of the left hand because

this was the third occasion when the same thief was to be punished and his right hand and left foot had already been amputated.

B. Abū Bakr ordered that a sodomite be burnt alive in violation of the Prophet's order that no living being should be burnt.

Answer : The source of this tradition is Abū Dharr whose evidence is not conclusive for Sunnīs. According to Suwayd bin Ghafila's authentic evidence, Abū Bakr ordered that the sodomite's body be burnt after execution. According to Sunnī evidence, Abū Bakr once ordered that a sodomite be burnt alive but this followed from 'Alī's suggestion and not from his own *ijtihād* (individual reasoning). According to Bukhārī's *Sahih*, 'Alī ordered that several *zindiqs* (apostates) be burnt alive. 'Alī, according to the *Mishkāt*, also ordered two sodomites to be burnt alive. The Shi'ī works wrongly state that Abū Bakr burnt alive a robber Fija' Sulamī by name. As this case is identical with 'Alī's order that criminals be burnt alive, the Shi'īs have no right to complain about Abū Bakr.

C. Abū Bakr did not know the rulings on *jida* (wealth) and *kulāla* (ringlets dangling from the forehead) and had to consult others.

Answer : It is not imperative for an imām to know each and every ruling. He should use *ijtihād* and *istinbāt* (deduction). Since in Abū Bakr's days, all the judicial rules had not been compiled, he had to consult the Prophet's companions. According to the Shi'ī traditions, quoted by Sa'dān bin Nasr, 'Alī and Ja'far al-Sādiq also were unaware of the rulings for certain problems (T. 448-52).

Matā'in (Indictments) Against 'Umar

They number eleven :

1. The most important indictment, according to the Shi'īs, is the *qirtās* (paper) story based on the authority of ibn 'Abbās in the *Sahih*s by Bukhārī and Muslim. They state that four days before his death, the Prophet asked his companions, who were in his room, to bring paper, pen and ink in order that he might write a document which would prevent them from going astray after his death. Those present were divided as to whether to comply with his request or not. 'Umar said that the Prophet was in severe pain and there was no need for him to write anything as the Qur'ān was sufficient, some supported and others opposed. 'Umar ; someone said the Prophet was delirious. The Prophet was once more asked of his wishes. He ordered his followers to go away saying that it was not seemly to quarrel and be noisy near a prophet. The writing of the document was shelved because of the quarrel. The above, the Shāh says, is the true version of the story according to Sunnī sources. The Shi'īs do not disagree with it but make the following four charges against 'Umar.

Firstly, the Prophet's statements enjoy the status of divine revelation

but 'Umar rejected this. This means he rejected divine revelation and committed blasphemy. The relevant Qur'ānic verse says :

“Nor doth he speak of (his own) desire
It is naught save an inspiration that is inspired.”¹⁷⁴
“Whose judgeth not by that which Allāh hath revealed : such are disbelievers.”¹⁷⁵

Secondly, the Shi'is assert that the Prophet's companions accused him of being delirious and confused although the prophets are exempt from such states. It is unanimously believed that prophets cannot be mentally unbalanced or else no reliance could be placed on their statements. Their commands are to be obeyed at all times. Thirdly, the Prophet's companions were noisy and quarrelled which, according to the Qur'ān, is a serious sin. It says,

“O ye who believe ! Lift not up your voices above the voice of the Prophet, nor shout when speaking to him as ye shout one to another, lest your works be rendered vain while ye perceive not.”¹⁷⁶

Fourthly, according to the Shi'is, the Prophet's companions flagrantly violated the *umma* (community) interest, for the document might have prevented them from going astray. Now there is confusion and disagreement on both fundamental and subsidiary principles. 'Umar, who prevented the document being written, is responsible for these consequences (T. 452-53).

Answer : 'Abbās and 'Alī were also present on that occasion and either supported or opposed 'Umar. In any case they were also responsible for making the noise. Moreover those who had the *umma's* interest in mind could have provided paper and pen and obtained the document at some other time. The charge applies equally to both the 'Umar and anti-'Umar faction. When an indictment can be levelled against both parties, it loses its force. It should be noted that the Prophet had asked all of them to bring him some paper (*itūnī biqirtāsin*), not 'Umar alone so everyone is culpable and violated the shari'a. 'Umar did not reject divine revelation but was concerned about the Prophet's serious illness and wished to save him the trouble of writing or dictating anything. 'Umar knew that three months earlier the following revelation had been received :

“This day I have perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen for you as religion AL-ISLAM.”¹⁷⁷

174 Qur'ān, LIII, 3-4.

175 Qur'ān, V, 44.

176 Qur'ān, XLIX, 2.

177 Qur'ān, V, 3.

This verse had convinced 'Umar that the Prophet could not issue any new order but intended to reiterate the old ones. Hence to save him from any physical trouble, he said, "Allāh's book is sufficient for us". Previously 'Umar had expressed his opinions frankly and the steps taken by him had been endorsed by divine revelation. According to Bukhārī, 'Alī once disobeyed the Prophet's orders to recite the *tahajjud* (a supererogatory prayer repeated during the night). When 'Alī was writing the treaty of Hdaybiya¹⁷⁸ the infidels urged that the word "Rasūl-Allāh" (Allāh's messenger) should not be added after the Prophet's name. 'Alī refused to delete it even on the Prophet's order and the latter had to erase it himself. The Sunnis don't reproach 'Alī for disobeying the Prophet. The Shī'i literature also contains suggestions that 'Alī occasionally disagreed with the Prophet. Not all the Prophet's statements were divine revelations or else Allāh would not have taken exception to some :

"Allāh forgive thee (O Muhammad)! Wherefore didst thou grant them leave ere those who told the truth were manifest to thee and thou didst know the liars ?"¹⁷⁹

"And be not thou a pleader for the treacherous ;"¹⁸⁰

And seek forgiveness of Allāh. Lo ! Allāh is ever Forgiving, Merciful."¹⁸¹

"And plead not on behalf of (people) who deceive themselves. Lo ! Allāh loveth not one who is treacherous and sinful."¹⁸²

"Had it not been for an ordinance of Allāh which had gone before, an awful doom had come upon you on account of what ye took."¹⁸³

The Ithnā' 'Asharis also do not regard all the Prophet's statements as divine revelation. 'Alī's objection to staying in Medina during the Tabūk expedition has already been discussed.

As regards being noisy and raising their voices above that of the Prophet, both Sunnis and Shī'is regard this as inadvisable as it could have disturbed or stopped the flow of divine revelation. However, the repetition of representations to Allāh does not amount to rejecting divine revelations. For example, during the night of *mi'rāj*, at Moses' suggestion, the prophet

178 In Dhu'lqa'da 6/March 628, Prophet Muhammad marched from Medina with 1400 followers against Mecca and, eluding his enemies, reached Hdaybiyya on the edge of the holy precincts of Ka'ba. Although victory was at hand, to the disappointment of many of his followers, he made peace and returned.

179 *Qur'ān*, IX, 43.

180 *Qur'ān*, IV, 105.

181 *Qur'ān*, IV, 106.

182 *Qur'ān*, IV, 107.

183 *Qur'ān*, VIII, 68.

returned nine times to God to request a reduction in the burden of prayers on his *umma*. This repetition is not a repudiation of God's words and those who believe so are *mulhid* (apostate) or *zindiq* (infidel).

Further, there is no conclusive evidence that 'Umar accused the Prophet of talking deliriously or confusedly ; possibly this was done by those who favoured bringing paper and ink to obtain further confirmation of what the Prophet had in mind as they knew the Prophet did not write himself. As the prophets do not suffer from delirium, all those present were anxious to know his real intentions. Moreover, normally the Prophet would have said "Verily, Allāh has ordered me to write a document in order to save you from being misled". Those who accused the Prophet of talking deliriously were perplexed by his unusual behaviour, particularly as he was seriously ill. The latter do not deserve any reproach for seeking clarification. They talked loudly among themselves and did not raise their voices over that of the Prophet. The Qur'ān prohibits Muslims from raising their voices, but it does not prohibit noise. There is no evidence that 'Umar initiated the quarrel and the Prophet rebuked everyone and not specifically 'Umar.

The view that since the document could not be written, the *umma's* interest was flagrantly violated, is also wrong. After this incident the Prophet was alive from the rest of Thursday to Sunday. Had God commissioned him to write anything he would not have hesitated to communicate the divine command. It would thus appear that he had not wanted to write on religious matters and, if his teachings of twenty-three years, including divine revelations, could not save the *umma* from going astray, how could a few more lines be effective ?, asks the Shāh. It is clear therefore that the *umma* did not lose anything because the document was not written.

Some people presume that the Prophet wished to write about the *khilāfat*. The *khilāfat* could be awarded to either Abū Bakr or 'Alī. According to a hadīth in Muslim's *Sahih*, the Prophet during his last illness wished to write a document naming Abū Bakr but later decided to leave the matter to God and the Muslims' *ijmā'* (consensus of opinion). The hadīth states that the Prophet said to 'Ā'isha :

"Call your father and brother so that I might write my will. I am scared that some ambitious person or someone else might claim that there was none besides him. However, Allāh and the faithful would accept none but Abū Bakr."

2. 'Umar burnt Fātima's house and struck her with his sword so that she miscarried.

Answer : This story is entirely false, retorts the Shāh. Most Ithnā 'Asharis do not believe it. According to them, 'Umar had intended to

burn Fātima's house but desisted. As a matter of fact, some traitors who were plotting against Abū Bakr's caliphate had made Fātima's house a sanctuary like Ka'ba. Fātima also was unhappy about these meetings but, out of politeness, she did not stop them. 'Umar threatened the dissidents saying that he would burn the house or them in order to prevent these assemblies. The Prophet made a similar threat against those who missed congregational prayers. 'Ali resorted to stronger action against those who rallied around 'Ā'isha in Mecca demanding retaliation against 'Uthmān's assassins. 'Ali killed the rebels and did not show any respect to the mother of the faithful ('Ā'isha). The Shi'is defend 'Ali on the pretext that Abū Bakr's caliphate was unlawful but that argument has no importance for Sunnis who consider 'Umar's action as legal. Lastly, the traitors in Abū Bakr's reign deserved punishment. Consequently 'Umar had to threaten those who omitted prayers under the Prophet's appointed imām (T. 464-66).

3. 'Umar declined to accept the Prophet's death and swore he had not died. Ultimately Abū Bakr convinced him by reciting the following verse :

"Lo, thou wilt die, and lo! they will die."¹⁸⁴

Answer : To 'Umar the Prophet's death was so shocking that he lost his senses, states the Shāh. This type of emotional disturbance is ascribed both to prophets and imāms. 'Umar should not be reproached for it (T. 466-67).

4. 'Umar did not know the shari'a ordinances. He had, firstly, commanded that a pregnant adulteress be stoned to death. 'Ali intervened and 'Umar rescinded his order saying, "Had 'Ali not been with me, I would have been destroyed."

Secondly, although 'Umar's son Abū Shagma died while being flogged, the whipping was not stopped until the number of lashes had been completed.

Thirdly, 'Umar did not know the number of lashes which should be inflicted on a drunkard.

Answer : In relating these stories the Shi'is have not stated all the facts. The real truth is that 'Umar did not know that the adulteress was pregnant and there are innumerable instances of the prophets and imāms imposing the wrong punishment for want of complete information. 'Ali knew all the details and earned 'Umar's gratitude by bringing them to his notice. Even eminent prophets like Moses did not know all the details of each dispute, as was even the case with Prophet Muhammad. Knowledge

of all the circumstances surrounding a crime is not essential either for a prophet or for an imām whose duty is to know the shari'a rules. Conversely, 'Alī, according to a Shi'i tradition, imposed the full punishment even on juveniles. In the second case, Abū Shahma did not die but became unconscious and survived the flogging. In the third case until 'Umar's reign the number of stripes for drunkards had not been fixed. 'Umar in consultation with the other companions, including 'Alī, decided the number.

5-7. The fifth and sixth indictments also deal with the Shi'i criticism of 'Umar's decision regarding adultery. Indictment seven is concerned with 'Umar's alleged admission of ignorance of fiqh when a woman demanded the settlement of higher sums in *mahr* (a marriage portion or gift settled upon the wife before marriage). 'Umar pleaded for a lower sum. The woman quoted the following verse :

"And if ye wish to exchange one wife for another and ye have given unto one of them a sum of money (however great), take nothing from it. Would ye take it by the way of calumny and open wrong?"¹⁸⁵

'Umar said, "Everyone knows fiqh better than 'Umar, even the women living in veils are better informed".

Answer : The Shāh says that 'Umar kept quiet in deference to the Qur'ānic verse although it did not prove her point. 'Umar's reply was not an admission of incompetence but was designed to exhibit his humility. However, the Shāh adds, ignorance of some subtle secret in a legal controversy does not reflect adversely on an imām (T. 471-77).

8. 'Umar did not pay the *Ahl al-Bayt* their share in *khums* and violated the following Qur'ānic injunction :

"And know that whatever ye take as spoils of war, lo! a fifth thereof is for Allāh, and for the messenger and for the kinsmen (who hath need) and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer, if ye believe in Allāh and that which We revealed unto our slave on the Day of Discrimination, the day when the two armies met. And Allāh is able to do all things."¹⁸⁶

Answer : According to the Ithnā' Asharis, this verse relates to the distribution of *khums* and does not prove any entitlements. Abu'l-Qāsim, the author of *Sharā'i al-ahkām*, and other Ithnā' Ashari scholars assert that the imām is justified in ignoring one of the four classes when distri-

185 Qur'ān, IV, 20.

186 Qur'ān, VIII, 41.

buting *khums*. Possibly 'Umar, considering the Prophet's relations affluent, preferred to spend the *khums* on the orphans and the needy. 'Umar's policy was first to pay the money from *khums* to the orphans of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and deposit the rest in the *bayt al-māl* for expenditure on lawful items. The Prophet's relations' share was distributed through 'Abbās and 'Alī. 'Umar did not allocate shares to the Banī Hāshim members (T. 477-80).

9. 'Umar introduced religious innovations such as the *tarāwih*¹⁸⁷ prayers into congregational prayers.

Answer : All Sunnī *ahādīth* assert that the Prophet recited *tarāwih* prayers for three Ramadān nights with the congregation and not individually like *nafl*.¹⁸⁸ After three nights he abandoned them fearing that otherwise they might become obligatory. After the Prophet's death these fears ended and 'Umar revived the Prophet's *sunna*. The introduction of *tarāwih* therefore is not really a *bid'at* (innovation), but, if the law is very literally applied, it is *bida't-i hasna* (a good innovation) and not *bida't-i saiyyi'a* (a sinful innovation). How can the Shi'is, who have instituted innumerable innovations such as the *Ghadir 'id* (feast), respect for *Nawrūz*, thanksgiving prayers for 'Umar's assassination (9 Rabi' I), allowing unrestricted sexual intercourse with slave girls and debarring some family members from their inheritance dare criticise the *tarāwih* prayers ?, asks the Shāh (T. 480).

10. 'Umar issued hundreds of conflicting orders relating to property distribution.

Answer : The Nawāsibs accuse 'Alī of creating this confusion, consequently the actual subject of this indictment remains unknown. Possibly the Shāh says, it is Iblis (Satan), and both the Nawāsibs and Shi'is are his disciples, although the Shi'is, make some additions to the Nawāsibs' allegations. However, since this is not a Sunnī tradition, the Sunnis are not bound to reply to it (T. 480-81).

11. 'Umar prohibited *mut'a* (a marriage which holds for a specified time only and consequently does not require divorce when the period ends) and also disallowed *hajj-mut'a*, although they were both practised during the Prophet's lifetime. Thus 'Umar abrogated the divine commands, making unlawful what Allāh had made lawful. The Sunnī works quote 'Umar as stating, "in the days of the Prophet there were two *mut'as*, I disallow both".

Answer : The *Sahih Muslim*, the most authentic Sunnī hadith work, and other *Sihāh* works say that the Prophet himself forbade *mut'a*. It was

187 Twenty *rak'a* of prayers recited during the Ramadān nights with the congregation sitting and resting after every four *rak'a*.

188 Supererogatory prayers.

allowed for three days during the battle of Awtās¹⁸⁹ and was then made eternally unlawful. 'Alī, as corroborated by subsequent hadith narrators (*tawātur*) and the descendants of Hasan and Muhammad al-Hanafīyya, also assert that the Prophet had made *mut'a* illegal. The Shī'is have created confusion by saying that *mut'a* was made unlawful during the Battle of Khaybar but reinstated during the battle of Awtās. This misunderstanding is also a Shī'i creation. During the battle of Awtās, the meat from domestic asses was forbidden but the question of the illegality of *mut'a* on this occasion was controversial. In fact the Prophet had himself prohibited *mut'a* once or twice, and those who were informed of his injunctions refrained from it. In 'Umar's reign the evil of *mut'a* was so widespread that he firmly prohibited it. The Qur'ānic verses also forbid *mut'a*, but the Shī'i interpreters distort them. The following verse, when misinterpreted, is the only evidence in favour of *mut'a*: "Lawful unto you are all beyond those mentioned, so that ye seek them with your wealth in honest wedlock, not debauchery."¹⁹⁰ This verse, the Shāh says, does not justify *mut'a* but the different readings ascribed to 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Abbās and 'Abd-Allāh bin Mas'ūd¹⁹¹ respectively, distort the sense. The Shī'is assert that ibn 'Abbās permitted *mut'a*. Had the Shī'is accepted ibn 'Abbās' guidance in all matters they would have come to the right path.

'Umar never forbade the *hajj-mut'a*. *Mut'a* here means *tamattu'* (to obtain benefits) or to perform 'umra (pilgrimage to Mecca after *hajj* season).

Matā'in (Indictments) Against 'Uthmān

These are ten in number :

1. 'Uthmān appointed brutal and perfidious governors over the Muslims. These included his maternal uncle Walīd bin 'Aqaba, the governor of Kūfa. Walīd, who acted as imām although an absolute drunkard, performed four *rak'as* of morning prayers, saying "I have added these for you". He installed Mu'āwiya as governor of all the four Syrian provinces and made him so formidable that he rebelled during 'Alī's reign. He appointed 'Abd-Allāh bin Sa'd bin Abī Sarah¹⁹² as governor of Egypt and he so callously oppressed the people that they invaded

189 The battle took place in 8/630.

190 *Qur'ān*, IV, 24.

191 'Abd-Allāh ibn Mas'ūd was an important companion of the Prophet. He listened the Qur'ān directly from the Prophet himself and courageously popularized it in Mecca before the Prophet moved from there. His contributions to the Qur'ānic recitations, exegeses and hadith are very great.

192 Abū Yahyā 'Abd-Allāh bin Sa'd bin Abī Sarah al-'Āmīn was a foster brother of the caliph 'Uthmān and an able financier. In about 25/645-6, he was appointed governor of the whole of Egypt. He led many successful expeditions against Roman Africa. In about 34/655, he destroyed the Roman fleet in the naval

Medina. Finally 'Uthmān appointed Marwān¹⁹³ his *wazīr* and secretary. Marwān wrote that the Caliph had ordered Muhammad bin Abī Bakr¹⁹⁴ to be killed (*'uqtulūhū*) when all that the Caliph had told him was to write that Muhammad should be obeyed (*aqbilūhū*). 'Uthmān refused to listen to the Prophet's complaints against any of these governors and alienated the people. When the Caliph eventually dismissed them the political situation was out of control. A caliph who cannot choose a just administrator is not competent to hold that high position.

Answer : The imām assigns competent officers different duties. Except for the Shi'is, no Islamic sect expects the imām to be aware of divine secrets. 'Uthmān, according to his judgment, appointed competent, just, honest and loyal governors who extended the caliphate's boundaries up to Andalus, Kābul, Balkh and Byzantine. They restored peace in Khurāsān, which, in the second Caliph's reign, had been torn apart with rebellion. 'Uthmān did not respond hastily to complaints against his ministers but took action only after careful investigation. Subsequently Walīd was dismissed. Mu'āwiya remained loyal to 'Uthmān and gained impressive victories against Byzantine. 'Abd-Allāh bin Sa'd did in fact humiliate Muhammad bin Abī Bakr when the latter came into conflict with him. However, fortune did not favour 'Uthmān and he was not successful in averting sedition, like 'Ali who also adopted far-sighted administrative measures. Nevertheless 'Uthmān's governors were obedient and loyal. They remitted the amount received in *ghanima* and *khums* regularly to the capital making its residents rich and self-indulgent. 'Ali's governors on the other hand were disloyal, and embezzled public money and were defeated and disgraced. The *Nahj al-balāgha* confirms the treachery of 'Ali's governors. The Sunnis, however, credit both 'Uthmān and 'Ali with acting honestly and competently in the best interest of their people.

Divine secrets are known only to God, and sometimes even the prophets were deceived by dishonest and contemptible people until divine revelation warned them. However, Kulaynī and the Shi'i 'ulamā' assert that since the imāms know the past and the future, 'Uthmān could anticipate

(*F. N. 192 Contd.*)

battle of Dhāt al-Sawārī and annexed Carthage to Islamic territories. He left Egypt before 'Uthmān's assassination but could not see him and joined Mu'āwiya. In 36 or 37/656-8 he died in Askalon or Ramlah.

193 As 'Uthmān's secretary, Marwān b. al-Hakam was the virtual ruler of the caliphate. Mu'āwiya appointed him the governor of Medina but scared of Marwān's ambition dismissed him. After the death of Yazīd I (60-64/680-83) he settled down in Syria and became caliph in 64/683. He reigned between eight and eleven months.

194 One of the Caliph Abū Bakr's son who was a devoted follower of 'Ali bin Abī Tālib.

his governors' future conduct. For that matter, 'Alī was more culpable in that the governors he appointed were more corrupt than those chosen by 'Uthmān, and according to the Shī'i theory of the Imām, knowledge of divine mystery on the part of 'Alī would have made him aware of their future actions. Although Ziyād¹⁹⁵ was known as Abū Sufyān's bastard son, 'Alī appointed him governor of Fārs and Shīrāz and he also acted as a prayer leader. Mu'āwiya won him to his side. After 'Alī's death, Ziyād joined Mu'āwiya and was appointed governor of 'Irāq. However, Mu'āwiya sent a stern letter rebuking Ziyād for writing a rude letter to 'Alī's son, Imām Husayn, who had urged Ziyād to stop destroying 'Alī's friends and their property. Ziyād's son 'Ubayd-Allāh martyred Imām Husayn, his family and his friends (T. 485-93).

2. 'Uthmān recalled Hakam bin 'Ās, father of the devil Marwān, to Medina although the Prophet had expelled him from there.

Answer : Hakam was expelled by the Prophet because of his treachery but by 'Uthmān's time the rebellious forces had dissipated. Hakam was 'Uthmān's nephew and, according to Sunnī works, had obtained from the Prophet during his last illness permission to return to Medina. Abū Bakr and 'Umar did not accept 'Uthmān's unsupported statement of the Prophet's decision, however. In his own reign 'Uthmān recalled Hakam on his personal authority, fearing no treachery by him because of Hakam's advanced age (T. 493-94).

3. 'Uthmān made his own relations exceedingly wealthy at the expense of the *bayt al-māl* and squandered Muslim wealth on his favourites. He brought Hakam to Medina and gave him 100,000 *dirhams* (copper coins) and assigned Hakam's son Hārith the *'ushr* (tithe) from the bazaars of Medina and the taxes on *ganjs* and *mandawīs* (bazaars). The *khums* from Ifriqiya (the eastern part of the Maghrib) was assigned to Marwān. When 'Abd-Allāh bin Khālīd bin Asad bin Abī'l-'Ās bin Umayya came to Medina from Mecca he was given 300,000 *dirhams* (copper coins). 'Uthmān gave two priceless pearls to one of his daughters as a gift. To a second daughter, the Caliph gave a gold ring studded with priceless jewels and stones. A very large part of the revenues of the *bayt al-māl* was expended by 'Uthmān on constructing edifices and gardens for his personal use and on improving his farms. 'Umar's two *dāroghas* (superintendents) of the *bayt al-māl* resigned. Their successor, Zayd bin Thābit, also obtained huge amounts of money.

195 Ziyād's mother Sumaiya was a slave girl and a courtesan by profession. After 'Alī's death Mu'āwiya won Ziyād to his side and officially recognized him as his half-brother (Abū Sufyān's son). As a governor of 'Irāq he ruthlessly crushed anti-Mu'āwiya factions and made the eastern half of the Arab empire submissive to the Umayyad's. He died at Kūfa in 56-57/675-77.

Answer : To ascribe 'Uthmān's wealth to misuse of the *bayt al-māl* is a scurrilous libel. 'Uthmān was very rich even before Abū Bakr's caliphate, and his commercial undertakings prospered. During 'Umar's reign all the Prophet's companions including 'Alī grew wealthy. 'Uthmān not only spent money liberally on his family but gave large sums of money to charity and for freeing slaves. The real facts about his enormous gifts have been distorted. He did not pay for them from the *bayt al-māl*. 'Uthmān married his son to Hārith's daughter and gave him 100,000 *dirhams* from his own property as a bride gift (*sāchaq*). He gave his second daughter to Marwān bin Hakam in marriage and provided 100,000 *dirhams* from his property as a dowry (*jahīz*). The story that he gave the *khums* from Ifriqiya to Marwān is also incorrect. The truth is that 'Uthmān allocated 100,000 infantry and cavalry soldiers to 'Abd-Allāh bin Sa'd bin Abī Sarah in order to conquer Maghrib. The war was fought in Ifriqiya, and the conquest resulted in an enormous amount of booty. 'Abd-Allāh sent 500,000 gold coins to the Caliph and sold the heavy items, which would have been very expensive to transport, to Marwān for 100,000 *dirhams*. Marwān remitted a considerable portion of the money which he had obtained from the sale of the booty to Medina and promised to send the remainder to the Caliph later. 'Uthmān, however, in recognition of Marwān's outstanding achievement in gaining victory, decided to cancel the debt and treated him as having settled it in full.

The accusation that 'Uthmān's mansions, gardens and farms were acquired from the *bayt al-māl* funds is baseless. During his caliphate, besides his prosperous trading ventures, he founded many villages on abandoned arable land in 'Irāq and Arabia. He settled his slaves and *mawālīs* (dependents) there and gave them agricultural implements. They were allowed to make their livelihood from the land taxes and were encouraged to sink wells, dig canals and plant fruit gardens. The new villages transformed the barren Arab land into flourishing areas like those of Māzandarān, Kashmīr and Konkan. The growing village populace eradicated the wild animals and bandits from these areas. Following 'Uthmān's precedent, 'Alī also embarked upon settling new villages and promoted agriculture in Manba, Fadak, Zahra and other areas. Talha, Ghāba and Zubayr followed suit in Jaraf and Dhī Khashab. The imām is empowered to assign *amwāt* (uncultivated) land for working and improvement to competent people. He is also entitled to cultivate *amwāt* land at his own expense and make a profit (T. 494-99).

4. 'Uthmān replaced eminent companions of the Prophet by his favourites as public officials. He appointed 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Āmir as Governor of Basra to replace Abū Mūsā Ash'arī¹⁹⁶, in place of 'Amr bin

196 Abū Mūsā ibn Qays Ash'arī belonged to the Yemen and seems to have joined Pro-

'Ās he substituted 'Abd-Allāh bin Sa'd bin Abī Sarah, who had become apostate during the Prophet's lifetime, and he replaced 'Ammār bin Yāsir as governor of Kūfa by Mughīra bin Shu'ba. 'Abd-Allāh bin Mas'ūd was dismissed from the position of the qādī and the superintendent of the *bayt al-māl* at Kūfa.

Answer : 'Uthmān's choice of personnel, resulting in the extension of the caliphate boundaries, exhibits his far-sighted statesmanship. Had his assassination been delayed ten or twelve years, Sind, Hind, Turkey and China would also have become Shī'ite like Khurāsān (literally crying 'Alī-'Alī). Although 'Uthmān made the Umayyad predominant, they served the cause of Prophet Muhammad and 'Alī. 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Āmir conquered Khurāsān and Mashhad; without him Sabzvár and Nishāpūr would never have become Shī'i. Had the armies of 'Uthmān and the Umayyads not entered Rājpūtāna, Hind and Sind, Muhammad and 'Alī would have remained unknown there; only Rāma, Krishna, the Ganges and Jamunā would have been worshipped. As it was, Muhammad and 'Alī were not known in Turkistān and China even though the armies penetrated there too. Ibn Qutayba, Ahmad bin A'tham Kūfī¹⁹⁷ and Samsāti, the leading Shī'i historians, tell us that had Abū Mūsā not been dismissed, both Kūfa and Basra would have been destroyed because of his mishandling of leading sections of the population. 'Umar had already dismissed 'Amr bin 'Ās, and 'Uthmān dismissed 'Amr now on the request of the people of Basra. It is strange that the Shī'is side with Abū Mūsā and 'Amr bin 'Ās to malign 'Uthmān although they do not even regard them as Muslims. Some Sunnī humorists suggest that had 'Uthmān killed them, perhaps no bungling would have occurred in the arbitration between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya (Safar 37/June 657, after the battle of Siffin). 'Umar also had replaced 'Ammār bin Yāsir by Mughīra bin Shu'ba. In 'Uthmān's day, the repeated complaints against Mughīra prompted the Caliph to dismiss him. The policy of replacing a Prophet's companion with someone who was not a companion was also followed by 'Alī.

The Shāh underlines the fact that the charges against Abū Bakr and 'Umar are discussed only in Shī'i books where of course they are compatible with the Shī'i line of argument. Conversely those against 'Uthmān are not consistent because they have been indiscriminately borrowed

(F. N. 196 Contd.)

phet Muhammad in 7/628 and not earlier. The Prophet sent him to the Yemen in 10/632 to spread Islam. In 17/638 'Umar appointed him the governor of Basra (Tabarī, I, 2529). Between 17-21/638-42 he conquered Khuzistān and fought stubbornly against the Kurdish tribes.

197 Abū Muhammad ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (d. 314/926-7) was the author of a history from the accession of Abū Bakr to the martyrdom of Imām Husayn.

from the Khārījite works simply to increase the number of indictments (T. 499-503).

5. 'Abd-Allāh bin Mas'ūd and Abī bin Ka'b were deprived of the stipends granted them by 'Umar. Abū Dharr was banished to Rabadha. 'Abāda bin Sābit was censured for urging Mu'āwiya to perform an action which was lawful (*amr-i ma'rūf*), 'Abd al-Rahmān was scolded and proclaimed a *munāfiq* (hypocrite). 'Ammār bin Yāsir was badly beaten. Ka'b bin 'Abda Bahrī was disgraced as a result of speaking out against the Caliph, although he spoke the truth. The Shi'is argue that even the Sunnis could not tolerate someone who persecuted such eminent companions of the Prophet. Naturally 'Uthmān could not be considered a suitable caliph.

Answer : Most of the personalities, except Abū Dharr and 'Ammār according to the Shi'is violated the Prophet's commands regarding 'Alī and condoned the usurpation of the *Ahl al-Bayt*'s rights. To the Shi'is, this meant they deserved capital punishment. According to Shi'i principles, Abū Dharr and 'Ammār should have followed 'Alī's traditions and practised *taqiya* (dissimulation) when confronted with 'Uthmān's brutality, for they had not protested against Abū Bakr's alleged usurpation of 'Alī's rights, being in a state of *taqiya* at that time. They only abandoned this stance and started to protest when 'Uthmān was in power. 'Uthmān cannot therefore be blamed for suppressing their voices. Secondly, the duty of defending the caliphate and *imāmat* against rebellion had made it imperative to take action against them as 'Alī had against the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha and her supporters. According to the Sunni traditions, 'Uthmān only exhibited such remarkable patience with the rebels because of the Prophet's secret instructions to him. Lastly, according to the Shāh, these were in any case not true stories of Abū Dharr, 'Ammār and ibn Mas'ūd, and he then goes on to present his case (T. 503-14).

6. 'Uthmān did not apply *qisās* (the laws of retaliation) against 'Ubayd-Allāh bin 'Umar who had killed Harmuzān, king of Ahwaz because he considered him implicated in his father's ('Umar's) murder. 'Ubayd-Allāh also killed a minor, the daughter of Abū Lūlū and of Jafīna who was a Christian. 'Uthmān paid blood money from the *bayt al-māl*, but did not impose *qisās* as urged by the Prophet's companions and 'Alī.

Answer : The law of *qisās* did not apply to killing Abū Lūlū's daughter who was a Zoroastrian. Although Harmuzān had outwardly embraced Islam, he was strongly suspected of collaborating with Abū Lūlū in 'Umar's assassination. Secondly, the implementation of *qisās* would have provoked a civil war. 'Alī also refrained from applying the law of retaliation to 'Uthmān's assassins for fear of civil war. Thirdly, as not all Harmuzān's descendants were in Medina to demand *qisās*, blood-money was

the only alternative. 'Uthmān is also wrongly accused of not punishing Walid bin 'Aqaba for drinking alcohol. The charges relating to 'Uthmān's retreat during the battle of Uhud, and to his not helping the Prophet in the battle of Badr, were, however, generally omitted by the Shi'is (T. 514-18).

7. 'Uthmān made changes in the *sunna*. In Minā, near Mecca, where the pilgrims stay temporarily, he performed four *rak'a* of prayers instead of two.

Answer : 'Uthmān had taken a wife in Mecca and wished to remain there permanently. He was therefore no longer a traveller (T. 518-19).

8. 'Uthmān confiscated the famous Baqī' pasture near Medina and stopped others using it. He also doubled its size, although, according to the Prophet, all Muslims enjoy equal rights as regards water, grass and fire. 'Uthmān refused to allow others to buy dates from the Medina bazaar until his agents had finished buying theirs. He also assumed monopoly rights over boats for commercial purposes.

Answer : 'Uthmān asserted that he had taken the Baqī' pastures as *sadaqa* (reserved for state purposes) in order to graze the camels and *jihād* horses, as the Prophet had said, "The pasture prohibited to the public (*hama*) is the property of none but that of Allāh and His Prophet". The accusation of imposing a monopoly on the bazaar is false; this was done by the bazaar superintendent and was revoked two or three days later by 'Uthmān. 'Uthmān did not interfere with other people's boats but prohibited his own from carrying merchandise for others. Previously his boats had transported a variety of goods to Egypt and Morocco. 'Uthmān's decision was absolutely correct (T. 519).

9. 'Uthmān gave large tracts of land to his friends and companions as *jāgīr* and *iqṭā'*, ignoring general Muslim interests.

Answer : 'Uthmān gave his friends and companions land that was not being used (*amwāt*) ; cultivated land owned by others was not given (T. 519-20).

10. All the Prophet's companions were pleased when 'Uthmān was assassinated. They were so annoyed and disgusted with him that his body was left unburied for three days.

Answer : This is also a palpable lie. Even children know that Talha, Zubayr, 'Ā'isha, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr bin 'Ās later fought 'Alī in retribution for 'Uthmān's blood. The Prophet's companions tried to persuade the rebels to withdraw, before Zayd bin Thābit and 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Umar and their followers told 'Uthmān that his besiegers were neo-Muslims and had no respect for the *sharī'a*. They urged 'Uthmān to allow them to forcibly repel the rebels but he would not allow Muslim blood to be shed for his sake. 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Umar, 'Abd-Allāh bin Zubayr, Abū Hurayra, 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Āmir bin Rabi'a and other companions

cried to protect the Caliph without drawing their own swords. An army consisting of 'Uthmān's slaves could also have made short work of the rebels but 'Uthmān would not allow them to fight. 'Alī also ordered his sons, Ja'far's sons, and his slave Qambar to sit at 'Uthmān's door and protect him. Imām Hasan was severely injured while attempting to repel the invaders. 'Alī himself visited the Caliph. The rebels, however, entered the house by scaling the walls and killed 'Uthmān on Friday, 18 Dhu'lhiġja 35/17 June 656. In a sermon at Kūfa, 'Alī eloquently related how he had tried to defend 'Uthmān. On the Saturday night, although 'Uthmān's house was still under siege, some of the Prophet's companions bravely entered, prepared 'Uthmān's body for burial and buried him in Baqī' (T. 520-25).

Mata'in (Indictments) against 'Ā'isha

These are ten in number.

1. 'Ā'isha travelled from Medina to Mecca and thence to Basra violating the Qur'ānic injunctions:

“And stay in your houses. Bedizen not yourselves with the bedizement of the Time of Ignorance.”¹⁹⁸

Answer : The command in the above verse is not absolute. There were many exceptions and the Prophet took his wives to battlefields and for *hajj* and *'umra*. They also visited their parents' houses on family matters. The Shi'i books state that during Abū Bakr's caliphate, 'Alī took Fātima to the *ansārs*' houses in Medina to mobilize support for his cause. After the Prophet's death his wives are known to have travelled to Mecca for *hajj* and *'umra*. The Qur'ān says :

“O Prophet! Tell thy wives and thy daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks close round them (when they go abroad). That will be better, that so they may be recognised and not annoyed.”¹⁹⁹

According to 'Ā'isha's order, a strong litter was prepared to carry her when she marched to ask for retaliation for the just Caliph's blood. This journey, like *hajj* and *'umra*, was for a holy cause (T. 525-26).

2. 'Ā'isha was not related to 'Uthmān; therefore her war against 'Alī was motivated by malice and spite. Before 'Uthmān's assassination

198 *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 33.

199 *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 59.

she herself had incited people to kill the "bearded old man" (*na'thal* i.e. 'Uthmān).

Answer : The right to seek retaliation for the murder of a just caliph belongs to all Muslims, not only to his relatives. 'Ā'isha, the Prophet's widow, could not ignore her duty. There was no malice between her and 'Āli; they often extolled each other's virtues. 'Ā'isha said that to love 'Āli was an act of worship. 'Ā'isha intended to have 'Uthmān's murder avenged and his assassins expelled from 'Āli's army so that the Prophet's companions and Talha and Zubayr, who had fled fearing 'Uthmān's assassins, might return to assist the Caliph. Their return would even have deterred Mu'āwiya and the other rebels from resorting to extremes. In fact the stories recorded by ibn Qutayba, ibn A'tham Kūfi and Samsāti concerning Jamal and other battles are denounced by both Shī'is and Sunnis. The Sunnis rely on the evidence of Tirmidhī, ibn Māja and Abū Hātim Rāzi in such controversial matters (T. 526-28).

3. 'Ā'isha persisted in her expedition despite Prophet Muhammad's previous warning to refrain from doing so. The *Kitāb al fitan* by Na'im bin Hamād²⁰⁰ the *Tajārib al-umam* by Muhammad bin Miskawayh²⁰¹ and the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* by ibn Qutayba relate that when 'Ā'isha's army reached the Hawab spring, the dogs began to bark. When 'Ā'isha learnt the spring's name she said to Muhammad bin Talha that she wished to return home, explaining that the Prophet had said to his wives, "I find one of you in such a state that the dogs of Hawab bark at you. O! Hamayra ('Ā'isha), save yourself. Don't be one of them." However, 'Ā'isha did not return home.

Answer : 'Ā'isha's intention to return is proved even by this story. The Sunni traditions state that she wished to return but the army would not follow her. Then Marwān bin Hakam and the other leaders produced some eighty villagers who declared that the spring was not called Hawab. The hadīth, however, only points to the calamity which actually occurred, for peace was not made and one of the Prophet's dearest wives was humiliated. The prophecy did not impose any legal prohibition and only bigots or Islam's enemies consider the expedition violated the Prophet's wishes and was sinful.

4. 'Ā'isha's army plundered the *bayt al-māl* in Basra and expelled 'Āli's governor, 'Uthmān bin Hanīf Ansārī, who had been one of the Prophet's companions, in a miserable condition.

Answer : 'Ā'isha was not responsible for the governor's disgrace and

200 Na'im b. Hamād b. Mu'āwiya b. al-Hārith al-Khuzā'i al-Marūdī (d. 229/844) was the author of the *Kitāb al-fitan wa'l malāhim*.

201 Abū 'Āli Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Miskawayh, the author of the *Tajārib al-umam*, died in 421/1030.

when she heard of it she apologised and compensated him. Similar excesses were often perpetrated in wartime and, even in 'Alī's army, an anti-Abū Mūsā Ash'arī faction burnt down his house in Kūfa. Talha and Zubayr were justified in seizing the *bayt al-māl*. 'Uthmān bīn Hanīf did not comply with their request for funds from the *bayt al-māl*, which is the property of all Muslims, and 'Ā'isha's army had to be paid. Undisciplined Arab vagabonds and *ajlaf* (common people) then entered Basra and plundered the *bayt al-māl*. 'Ā'isha, Talha and Zubayr were not immune from sin, however. 'Alī's army killed Talha and Zubayr and disgraced 'Ā'isha, who were all of a higher standing than 'Uthmān bīn Hanīf, but the Shī'is did not condemn them (T. 529-32).

5. 'Ā'isha disclosed secrets concerning the Prophet's domestic life.

Answer : It was not 'Ā'isha but Hafsa, 'Umar's daughter, who told 'Ā'isha that she had seen the Prophet and Māriya Qibtiya (the mother of the Prophet's son Ibrāhīm who had died in infancy) on the bed. According to the arrangement between the Prophet and his wives, it was Hafsa's turn to spend the night with him but when the Prophet went to her house she had gone to visit her father.

6. 'Ā'isha said that she was jealous only of Khadīja. Although she had not seen her, she had heard the Prophet praise her (T. 532-33.).

7. 'Ā'isha said that she had fought 'Alī but would prefer to forget those events.

Answer : The true story is that when 'Ā'isha recalled the events of Jamal she would weep bitterly. According to Sunnī works those memories also made 'Alī cry and he would make the remarks attributed to 'Ā'isha (T. 533).

8. 'Ā'isha transformed the Prophet's room where she lived into a tomb for her father and his friend 'Umar.

Answer : The Prophet had foretold that Abū Bakr and 'Umar would be buried near him. Secondly, that house had been given by the Prophet to 'Ā'isha. According to Shī'ī works, Imām Hasan had also sought 'Ā'isha's permission to be buried there before he died but Marwān prevented it. The Shī'is deliberately pile up false stories, but their own evidence contradicts them. "The highest proof of a divine miracle is that liars contradict themselves."

9. Once during a sermon, the Prophet pointed to 'Ā'isha's house and remarked three times that calamity lived there. It was Satan's kingdom! The prophecy referred to the Jamal war in which thousands of Muslims were slaughtered (T. 533-35).

Answer : The Shī'is apply these remarks to 'Ā'isha because of their animosity towards her. The Prophet used the term "Satan's kingdom" on many occasions. The Prophet seems to have pointed towards Kūfa which is to the east of Medina. Several insurrections arose from there,

the first one being the rebellion by Mālik Ashtar²⁰² and his friends against 'Uthmān. (T. 535-36).

10. 'Ā'isha bought a slave girl and made her look attractive in order to entice some Quraysh youth to her own side.

Answer : First of all this story is related by unreliable authorities. "The Shi'is bray like asses and wag their tails like dogs without any basis", considering their own inventions sufficient reproach against the Mothers of the Faithful (the Prophet's wives). Secondly, neither during the Prophet's lifetime nor later was it considered objectionable to adorn girls in order to attract a suitable match (T. 536).

Mata'in (Indictments) against the Prophet's Companions

These are ten in number.

1. The Prophet's companions twice committed serious sins; firstly they fled from Uhud, secondly from Hunayn.²⁰³

Answer : When the Prophet's companions fled from Uhud the verse condemning it had not been received, and in any case Allāh pardoned them.

"Lo! those of you who turned back on the day when the two hosts met, Satan alone it was who caused them to back-slide, because of some of that which they have earned. Now Allāh hath forgiven them. Lo! Allāh is Forgiving, Clement."²⁰⁴

The Prophet's companions did not flee from Hunayn. In fact, the *munāfiqin* (hypocrites) fled before the defeat, but the believers fled only after learning about the Prophet's martyrdom. The factor which led to the retreat was that Khālīd bin Walīd had incorrectly stationed some men in a dangerous position in the valley. These were not companions. Even so they did not flee but attacked the enemy from a different direction and obtained victory. No important companions fled in any case. The Qur'ān says :

"Then Allāh sent His peace of reassurance down upon His messenger and upon the believers, and sent down hosts ye could not see, and

202 Mālik bin Harīth al-Nakha'i al-Ashtar was a strong supporter of 'Alī. In his battles against the Byzantines he was invincible.

203 Hunayn, a valley situated a day's journey from Mecca on the road to Tā'if. After the conquest of Mecca, the Muslim army marched against Hunayn in Shawwāl 8 January 630 but their first attack was repulsed. However, they returned and captured the valley. The Qur'ān says :

"Then Allāh sent His peace of reassurance down upon His messenger and upon the believers, and sent down hosts ye could not see, and punished those who disbelieved. Such is the reward of disbelievers." Qur'ān, IX, 26.

204 Qur'ān, III, 155.

punished those who disbelieved. Such is the reward of the disbelievers."²⁰⁵

Lastly, the Prophet's companions were not *ma'sūm* and their repentance obliterated their sins (T. 537).

2. When most of the Prophet's companions heard drums beating and the noise of the camels bringing grain they left the Prophet's sermons and indulged in fun and trade. They preferred petty worldly gains and entertainments to prayers. The following verse confirms the story :

"But when they spy some merchandise or pastime they break away to it and leave thee standing. Say: That which Allāh hath is better than pastime and than merchandise, and Allāh is the best of providers."²⁰⁶

Answer : The story belongs to the beginning of *Hijra* when the shari'a rules were not fully known. Famine was also prevalent; hence on hearing the noise of a caravan's arrival the Prophet's companions rushed desperately to buy grain. However, eminent companions such as Abū Bakr and 'Umar never left the mosque (T. 538).

3. The Shi'is quote the following hadith from the *Sunnī Sihāh*.

"Some men from my *Umma* would be brought. Then they would be taken to the left side of hell. I (the Prophet) would say 'They are my companions'. The reply would be given 'You do not know the innovations they made after you'. Then I (the Prophet) would say in the same way as the righteous slave of God (Christ) said, 'So long as I was alive with them I watched them. When you killed me you became their protectors. You are witness to everything.' Then it would be said, 'This group has become apostate since you left them'."

Answer : This hadith is clearly about apostates. No one considers it relates to the companions and no one calls them great. The Prophet's companions disseminated the Qur'ān, converted the infidels to Islam and waged *jihād* against the Sasānians and Byzantines. A large number of Qur'ānic verses praise them and promise them entry into paradise (T. 538-41).

4. Prophet Muhammad's companions began to quarrel when he asked them to bring him paper during his last illness and offered thoughtless excuses.

205 *Qur'ān*, IX, 26.

206 *Qur'ān*, LXII, 11.

Answer : As discussed earlier, the main intention of his companions was to avoid unnecessary trouble for the Prophet when he was seriously ill. Secondly, the *Ahl al-Bayt* were also present. The Prophet survived for five days. Had there been anything important to write, they could have provided writing materials another time (T. 541).

5. The Prophet's companions did not obey his orders promptly. For example, Hudhayfa says that on the day of the battle of Ahzāb²⁰⁷ it was very cold. The Prophet wished to obtain some information. No one volunteered to collect it. Then the Prophet called Hudhayfa the narrator of the story by name. Finding no excuse he set out. Surprisingly, he found that the cold had disappeared and he was in a bath of perspiration. He returned with the information and it became cold again.

Answer : Firstly, the Prophet's order in question was not imperative. Secondly, 'Ali was also present, so it was addressed to him as well. However, neither 'Ali nor the companions could be blamed for they were usually exceedingly prompt in carrying out the Prophet's orders. The Qur'ān, *ahādīth* and historical evidence afford many examples of their loyalty, assiduousness and enthusiasm in implementing the Prophet's commands (T. 341-43).

6. The Prophet said to his companions, "I hold your waist and drag you from the fire and you overpower me and fall into the fire".

Answer : As compared with the preceding accusations against the Prophet's companions, this one is most absurd. The Prophet's statement is obviously allegorical and is designed to teach the *umma* ethical values and to save them from damnation (T. 543).

7. In the *Sahīh Muslim*, a Prophetic tradition is thus described by 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Amr bin 'Ās :

"The Prophet said, 'What type of people and in what condition would you be when the treasuries of Persia and Byzantine are opened to you?' 'Abd-al Rahmān bin 'Awf said, 'As God has commanded'. The Prophet said, 'No, you would become greedy and malevolent, you would be averse to your duty and would be revengeful'."

Answer : The remaining portion of the hadīth was mischievously ignored. It says, "Then you will go to the houses of *muhājirs* and then you will make some of them ride over the neck of others." The complete

207 In 627, the Quraysh of Mecca formed a confederation of about 10,000 tribesmen and besieged Medina. The battle is known as the "Battle of Confederates" (*ahzāb*). It is also known as the "War of the ditch" (*khandaq*), for the Prophet, at the suggestion of his Irānian companion Salmān Fārsī, had a ditch dug at the northern side of Medina, its three remaining sides were protected by hills and houses.

reading shows he refers to neither the *muhājirs* nor *ansārs*. The class under discussion was the *tābi'in* (those who have met some of the Prophet's associates). Historically this referred to Muhammad bin Abū Bakr, Mālik 'Ashtar and Marwān bin Hakam, and not the Prophet's companions (T. 543-44).

8. The Prophet said, "He who annoyed 'Alī, annoyed me" and "He who enraged Fātima enraged me". All the Prophet's companions were hostile to 'Alī and Fātima. Abū Bakr ordered 'Umar's cousin to summon 'Alī to perform *bay'a*. When 'Alī refused, 'Umar angrily rushed to his house carrying piles of firewood. When he found the door was locked, 'Umar set the door alight and entered the house. Fātima came out and began to cry, remembering her father. 'Umar struck her with his scabbard and threatened to kill 'Alī if he did not perform *bay'a*. All the Prophet's companions were present but none helped the Prophet's daughter and son-in-law.

Answer : These palpable lies were invented by the Shi'is and the devils of Kūfa. They do not appear in Sunnī works and are therefore absurd calumnies. History clearly states that Abū Bakr and 'Umar showed 'Alī great respect and urged others to do so. The Prophet's companions never hesitated to help him. The wars between 'Alī and his opponents Talha, Zubayr and 'Ā'isha were not based on personal malice but were motivated by the desire for justice and the need to cleanse the Islamic community of 'Uthmān's assassins who had 'Alī in their power. According to one of 'Alī's sermons in the *Nahj al-balāgha*, he had also felt that they should be punished but they enjoyed the support of the Arab nomads and slaves. 'Alī's eulogies praising the Prophet's companions' piety and their enthusiasm to fight their own infidel kith and kin were too eloquent to allow history to be distorted (T. 544-51).

9. Abū Hurayra recounts the following tradition of the Prophet :

"The Day of Judgment will not take place until my *umma* begin to walk in the footsteps of the men of earlier centuries firstly by the length of a span and then a yard. When asked whether he was referring to the infidels of Fārs and Byzantine, the Prophet replied in the affirmative" (551-2).

Answer : This reproach relates to the *umma* and not to the Prophet's companions. In fact the Ithnā' 'Asharis are more devoted followers of the Persian and Byzantine traditions than anyone else.

10. The Bukhārī's *Sahīh* gives the following hadīth on 'Ā'isha's authority:

"Had the people of your tribe not been until recently infidels and had I not been scared of upsetting them, I would have ordered

them to demolish Ka'ba and would have made Him (God) who was expelled from there, enter there. I would have made in Ka'ba two doors, one in the east and the other in the west. I would have demolished the structure down to the Abrahamic foundation."

Answer : The above hadīth does not single out the Prophet's companions. If by 'Ā'isha's tribe, the entire Quraysh were meant, 'Alī and the Hāshimites were also included. It also does not prove the Shī'i assertion of *taqīya* (T. 552).

Chapter 11 : Characteristics of the Shī'i Religion

The eleventh chapter is not very long. It deals with the characteristics of the Shī'i sects. Although repetitive, it collects the condemnations of the Shī'is in one place. The Shāh says that Sunnī researches reveal five predominant Shī'i characteristics. Other Islamic sects either do not exhibit them or have learned them from the Shī'is :

1. Awhām (Fantasies)

It is well known that fantasies cloud the rational faculties. Children imagine that their toy horse can gallop, women imagine Shyakh Saddū²⁰⁸ and Zayn Khān create all diseases.²⁰⁹ If they ignore some wedding or funeral rites, they imagine they have violated the shari'a. Likewise, fantastic misconceptions dominate Shī'i minds and they are known as the women of the *umma*. Some of their fantasies are given below. They centre on the belief that Imāms should be *ma'sūm* (impeccable).

1. Finding that the Prophet's companions and the Sunnīs disagree over their beliefs concerning the *Ahl al-Bayt*, the Shī'is imagine that the Sunnīs must be enemies of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The identification of a difference of opinion with enmity is sheer stupidity. For example Qādī Abū Yūsuf and Muhammad Hasan Shaybānī differ from their teacher Abū Hanīfa on many points. According to Abū Makhnaf, Imām Husayn did not agree with his brother Imām Hasan's peace treaty (T. 553-54).

2. Since 'Alī was learned, brave and pious, the Shī'is fallaciously argue that one who is not learned, brave and pious cannot be an imām.

3. An illogical assumption stems from the belief that 'Alī is the "gateway of knowledge." The Shī'is assert that he who is "the gateway of knowledge" should also be the imām. They argue "Since the imām, who is the head of the *umma* is the gateway of state", 'Alī as the "gateway of knowledge" must be an imām. Obviously, however, the "gateway" to the city of knowledge and the "gateway" to the state are two different things.

208 *Supra*, p. 195.

209 Sunnī folk belief, *Supra*, p. 195.

4. The Shi'is argue that since 'Alī is *awla ba tasarruf*²¹⁰ (supreme with domination) he must be an imām. *awla ba tasarruf* and imām are identical and cannot therefore form different premises in a logical syllogism. Another example of their false reasoning is : "Every imām is *ma'sūm*, 'Alī is *ma'sūm*, therefore 'Alī is imām". The Sunnis consider 'Alī as an imām, but do not believe that he should have held that position immediately after the Prophet. The Sunnis consider only the prophets as *ma'sūm*; they regard imāms as *mahfūz* (protected).

5. The Shi'is argue that as the prophets are imāms and *ma'sūm*, their successor (imām) should also be *ma'sūm*. The fact is that the term imām is applied to prophets' and caliphs' successors in different senses. The Shi'is assert that the Prophet referred to 'Alī as the Prophet's self (*nafs*). The Prophet is *ma'sūm* and obedience to him is imperative. Since Prophet Muhammad was superior to all the prophets and created beings, 'Alī, as Muhammad's *nafs* according to the Shi'is, was superior to all the prophets and mankind. This is wrong because if a brave man is called a lion, he does not lose his human qualities.

6. The premises that every *ma'sūm* is worthy of being appointed an imām, and conversely the conclusion that everyone who is fit to be an imām should also be *ma'sūm* are invalid Shi'i deductions (T. 554-55).

7. The Shi'is argue that, as a prophet is the leader of the *umma* and is *ma'sūm*, all leaders of the *umma* should be *ma'sūm*. The real fact is that the prophets are *ma'sūm* because they can perform miracles and not because they are community leaders. The Shi'i reasoning that as Abū Bakr was ordered not to convey the *Barā'at* chapter, he was unfit to become the Prophet's successor, is false.

8. The Shi'is argue that for a long time the first three caliphs were infidels, but an infidel does not deserve to be an imām. They ignore the fact that two contradictory things, such as hot and cold cannot be found at the same time.

9. The Shi'is assert that 'Alī was an imām during the Prophet's lifetime, for the Prophet had declared that his relationship with 'Alī was identical to the relationship of Moses with Aaron. Consequently, if 'Alī were not appointed immediately as the imām, it was tantamount to his dismissal, which was not permissible. The fact is, the Shāh goes on to say, that though 'Alī was a potential imām he was not an actual imām. His supersession, in favour of someone more competent, was not wrong.

10. The Shi'i argument that the Prophet's descendants are *ma'sūm* for all prophets are *ma'sūm* is also fallacious.

210 *Supra*, pp. 302-304, 409-10.

11. The imām is the Prophet's deputy for transmitting divine ordinances. Consequently the messenger should be similar to the Prophet. However, it does not follow that as the Prophet is *ma'sūm* the imām also should be so. The Shi'is forget that the Prophet is a divine messenger in his own right, his deputy is a messenger only in that he obeys the Prophet. Similarly, the Shi'is incorrectly argue that since the Muslims' Prophet is superior to all other prophets, his deputy should also be superior to all other prophets (T. 556).

12. According to the Shi'is, 'Umar, who put forward some suggestions during the controversy about providing the Prophet with writing-paper, performed a detestable act. Women and children condemn advisers, although giving advice by itself is not reprehensible.

13. The Shi'is falsely argue that since the first three caliphs were not *ma'sūm* they were sinners.

14. None of the Prophet's companions was *ma'sūm*, consequently they all made mistakes.

15. The tenth day of Muharram in each year is regarded as the day of Imām Husayn's martyrdom and the Shi'is cry like women on that day. Now 1150 years have passed since that event so there is no actual connection between the present anniversary and the original martyrdom. Neither is this commemoration ('*Āshūra*) similar to the 'id which is celebrated after Ramadān, nor to the 'id *Qurbān*, celebrated to offer thanks for *hajj*. The last two 'ids bring renewed joyful messages. The Shi'i 'ids of Nawrūz, Bābā Shujā' al-Dīn and 'id *Ghadir* are their own fantastic creations (T. 557).

16. As children are excited with their toys and dolls and perform various dramas, so the Shi'is create dramas around the replicas of the graves of 'Alī, Hasan, Husayn, Fātima Zahra. They believe they are real graves and that those eminent personalities are really there. They exhibit great respect and even prostrate themselves before them. These stupid acts reduce adult imagination to childish fantasy.

17. Like children, the Shi'is on 'Āshūra day organise dramatic performances, re-enacting the roles of Yazīd and Shimr.

18. The Shi'is believe that if the divinely-appointed Imām is not present and no relevant Qur'ānic injunctions exist, then two contrary judgments by different *mujtahids* on the same question can hold good.

19. Shi'is discretion and judgment does not differ from that of children. For example they say 'Alī's knowledge, piety and forbearance resemble those of the great prophets. This makes 'Alī their equal and consequently he is superior to the other prophets (T. 558).

20. The Shi'is give preference to 'āda over the fundamental principles of Islam. Following the reasoning of the Sasānīd and Byzantine rulers, and the *zamīndārs* and Rājput *rājas*, they assert that succession is hereditary and that the son-in-law inherits his father-in-law's property. Some have

misgivings that the state could be inherited by the wife or, in the case of many wives, the favourite, or the wife who was virgin, could succeed to office. According to the *sharī'a*, the state is not hereditary and all these laws are wrong. The son-in-law, wife or daughter have no claim. Competence and ability, the Shāh goes on to say, are the main criterion for governing the state. Only those who are competent or who have been selected by the former incumbent during his lifetime should succeed him.

21. The Shi'is make analogies between the divine acts or the actions of the prophets and human actions. The Shi'i beliefs concerning Allāh and the resurrection are destroyed by applying these.

22. The Shi'i arguments are childish and self-contradictory. According to them the *imāma*, being the vicegerency of the Prophet is dependent on the Prophet's will and is therefore subject to the latter's authority. Love for 'Alī implies that since 'Ā'isha fought against 'Alī, she should be hated. The Shi'is do not believe that the converse also holds: that as the Prophet should be loved, so should his dear wife and the mother of the faithful ('Ā'isha) (T. 559).

23. The *ma'sūm* Imām, to whom obedience is imperative, is inspired by God regarding all *sharī'a* ordinances and worldly benefits. His plans are infallible. He therefore is present but hidden from our eyes. This belief is also fantastic. The Shi'is, says the Shāh, do not realize that "If the Imām is not seen and known, his existence or non-existence makes no difference".

24. Since their own books do not attach any importance to the Prophet's companions or wives, the Shi'is assert that all historical accounts of them are wrong. When they are shown the relevant Qur'ānic verses and *ahādīth*, they resort to claiming a different interpretation.

25. The Shi'is claim that since they hold worldly *mansabs* and are rich, influential and famous and control the army, their faith also is predominant: their 'ulamā' have written many well-known books and have many disciples, consequently their sect is superior. The fallacy in their argument is self-evident. The Shāh comments that they ignore the fact that the *corpus* of works of the Greek and Hindu philosophers is enormous (T. 559-60).

II. 'Ādat (Customary Law)

The Shi'i popular beliefs are very well-known, but their 'ulamā' do not commit them to writing. One such belief is that by weeping, making images and playing instruments as acts of worship on 'Āshūra day, their sins would be remitted. Shi'is also make statues of 'Umar out of dough, fill it with honey, "kill" it, and take the honey to the 'id of the Bābā Shujā' al-Dīn festival. They deny the miracles of the *sūfī* saints, consider Monday inauspicious, avoid the number four, and believe the number twelve

as lucky. Different Shi'i sects practise a large number of other innovations. However, the Shi'i 'ulamā' and élite do not approve of most of them, they will not be discussed further. Many other practices such as the abandoning of Friday night prayers, wiping of the feet after *wudū*, rejecting wiping stockings as permitted by the Sunnis, not reciting *tarāwih*, unnatural types of sexual intercourse, asserting superiority to *mut'a* etc., do not belong to this class and have been discussed in the chapter on fiqh (T. 553).

III Ghulū (Exaggeration)

The Shi'is transgress the limits of reason in showing devotion to their beloved heroes and ignoring the historically recognised contributions of others.

IV Ta'assub (Bigotry)

Bigotry and *ghulū* emanate from the same source, viz, an unreasonable adherence to one's own false beliefs. Both involve the refutation of logical facts and the defence of illogical ones. Some examples of Shi'i *ta'assub* (bigotry) are as follows :

1. The Shi'is reject the clear, reliable Sunni *ahādith* emanating from the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the Prophet, and accept disputed and weak Ithnā' 'Ashariyya *ahādith* transmitted by unreliable narrators. According to the Sunni 'ulamā' of hadīth, those *ahādith* narrated by reliable and contemporary or near-contemporary authorities are most trustworthy. The Shi'is, on the contrary, ignoring the rules of Arabic grammar and usage, accept only such *ahādith* as serve their religious purpose. They consider them as clear injunctions, and view the *ahādith* confirming the Sunni point of view as ambiguous (*mutshābih*). Strangely enough, when *dhimmi* infidels who are ignorant of Arabic and Islam, are presented with translations of the controversial verses, they confirm the Sunni point of view and not the Shi'i one (T. 560-61).

2. The Shi'is consider the status of 'Ali equal to that of Prophet Muhammad whom they believe superior to all created beings.

3. According to the Shi'is, the Shāh says, 'Ali's friends, whether Jews, Christians or Hindus, will enter paradise. Those who in their heart are friendly to Prophet Muhammad's companions will go to hell, irrespective of the fact that they are pious and love the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Although love for 'Ali and the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the glorification of their virtues amount to worshipping God, these are void without true belief. The Qur'ān says :

"Then whoso doeth good works and is a believer, there will be no rejection of his effort. Lo! We record (it) for him."²¹¹

As love for the Prophet without belief in Islam cannot help the infidels, how could love for 'Alī and the *Ahl al-Bayt*, who are subordinate to the Prophet, do any good?, asks the Shāh. He asserts that those Sunnis who love the *Ahl al-Bayt* will certainly enter paradise, although according to the Shī'is, devotion to the Prophet's companions is an abominable sin (T. 561-2).

4. The Qur'ān says :

"That day mankind will issue forth in scattered groups to be shown their deeds.

And whoso doeth good an atom's weight will see it then,

And whoso doeth ill an atom's weight will see it then."²¹²

However, the Shī'is maintain that the sins of those who love 'Alī do them no harm.

5. Because of their enmity towards the Prophet's companions, the Shī'is believe Muhammad's *umma* is an accursed *umma* (*ummat-i mal'ūna*). They ignore the following verses and the commentary on them by Imām Hasan 'Askari which ibn Bābuwayh repeats :

"Ye are the best community that hath been raised up for mankind."²¹³

"Thus We have appointed you a middle nation, that ye may be witnesses against mankind, and the messenger may be a witness against you."²¹⁴

6. The Shī'is believe that the version of the Qur'ān compiled by 'Uthmān contains interpolations, and curse it.

7. The Shī'is prefer cursing 'Umar on Allāh's *dhikr* and on reciting the Qur'ān.

8. The Shī'is consider cursing the Prophet's eminent companions and his wives equivalent to obligatory prayers. Pharaoh and Nimrod, who were Allāh's enemies, are never cursed by them (T. 562).

9. Since the Prophet's daughters Ruqayya and Umm-Kulthūm were married to 'Uthmān, the Shī'is refuse to accept that relationship to Muhammad. Some Shī'is do not even consider them Khadija's daughters by her former husband. However, reliable Shī'i evidence contradicts this belief, for the *Nahj al-balāgha* and Shaykh al-Tā'ifa Abū Ja'far Tūsī in the *Tahdhib* state that Ruqayya and Umm-Kulthūm were the Prophet's daughters. Kulaynī says that when the Prophet married Khadija he was

212 *Qur'ān*, XCIX, 6-8.

213 *Qur'ān*, III, 110.

214 *Qur'ān*, II, 143.

over twenty years old. Qāsim, Ruqayya and Umm-Kulthūm were born to him before he assumed the prophethood; Tayyib, Tāhir and Fātima were born afterwards (T. 562-63).

10. Although the Shi'is know that during his last illness the Prophet appointed Abū Bakr as the imām to lead prayers, they consider him and 'Umar and 'Uthmān to be *munāfiqs* (hypocrites).

11. The Shi'is believe that Abū Bakr and 'Umar secretly worshipped idols. Had Abū Bakr been a polytheist, how could he have married 'Amis's daughter Asmā', who was a believer? How could 'Alī have treated Abū Bakr's son Muhammad as his own son? How could 'Alī have married one of his own daughters to 'Umar?

12. The Shi'is regard all the Qur'ānic verses describing the merits of the *muhājirs* and *ansārs*, particularly of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Talha, Zubayr and 'Ā'isha as *mutshābihāt* (ambiguous) (T. 563).

13. The Shi'is assert that the Sunnis are called Nawāsibs for they hate 'Alī and his pious children, Ibn Shahr Āshūb²¹⁵ is their principal authority. However, the facts contradict this. Sunnī works contain excerpts from Bayhaqī, Abū al-Shaykh²¹⁶ and Daylamī²¹⁷ underlining the importance of loving the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Shaykh Farid al-Dīn 'Attār²¹⁸ extols in his verses love for 'Alī and his children. Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī²¹⁹ reproduces these verses in his *Kashkūl*. Abū Hanīfa obtained spiritual discipline and other knowledge from Imām Muhammad Bāqir, Imām Muhammad Ja'far al-Sādiq and Zayd bin 'Alī bin Hasan. Abū Hanīfa's father Thābit had visited 'Alī bin Abī Tālib with his father. Shi'i works reproduce Shāfi'i's verses elaborating his love for 'Alī. Imām Mālik was a favoured companion of Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq and sat at his feet for the whole of his life. When Imām 'Alī Ridā reached Nishāpūr, the eminent sūfī Shāfiq Balakhī held the nose-strings of the Imām's camel while a body of Sunnī sūfis held their scarves over his head to protect him

215 Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Shahr Āshūb (d. 588/1192) was a leading Shi'i scholar. Of his works *al-Asbāb wa'n-nuzūl ilā madhhab Āl-i Rasūl* and *Mathālib al-Nawāsib* are very important.

216 'Abd-Allāh b. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Hibbān al-Isfahānī (d. 369/979) was an eminent scholar of hadīth and an historian.

217 Ishāq b. Gabriel al-Daylamī, the author of the *Tārīkh al-Samāwiyāt wa'l ardiyāt* died in 689/1290.

218 A famous sūfī poet, Farid al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Attār was a prolific writer; according to general belief he was born in 513/1119 and died in 627/1230. The date of his death assigned by Mir 'Alī Shīr Niwā'i is 586/1190 and seems to be reasonable.

219 Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī, was born in 953/1547 in Jabal 'Āmila in Syria. He migrated to Irān and was warmly patronized by Shāh 'Abbās Safavī (996/1038/1588-1629). Of his works, *Jāmi'-i 'Abbās*, a manual of Shi'i fiqh and the anthology, *al-Kashkūl*, (the beggar's bowl) are very famous.

from the sun. Hāfiz Abū Zara Rāzī and Muhammad bin Aslam Tūsī left their *khanqāhs* to welcome the Imām. At their request he read the following hadith, narrated by his ancestors, "My stronghold is 'there is no God but Allāh'. Who repeateth these words enters my stronghold and is saved from hell-fire." Imām Ahmad ibn Hanbal adds that this hadith could cure a lunatic when read to him. All the *sūfī silsilas* originate from the imāms, and the respect accorded by the Sunnis to their *pīrs* (mystic guides) need not be repeated. In view of the fact that the founders of all the four schools of jurisprudence and all *sūfī* orders obtained their knowledge from the Imāms, how could they or the Sunnis hate the Imāms? The Shī'is, the Shāh challenges, can assess the depth of Sunni devotion to the *Ahl al-Bayt* only by adopting Sunnism for a few days (T. 563-566).

14. The Shī'is allege that the Sunnis do not consider 'Alī's assassination a crime, claiming that Bukhārī had recorded traditions from ibn Muljam, 'Alī's assassin, which the Sunnis accepted as authentic and reliable. Refuting this allegation, the Shāh says, "This is a shameless lie for thousands of copies of Bukhārī's *Sahih* are available in all Islamic towns. The Sunnis consider the assassination of a believer an abominable sin and his assassin a *mushrik*, the assassin of a holy person such as 'Alī would be anathema to them. This false accusation was invented by ibn Shahr Āshūb and has constantly been repeated since his time" (T. 566-67).

15. The Shī'ī 'ulamā' curse the Prophet's *sunna* in order to satisfy their hatred of the Sunni 'ulamā' who are dedicated to the Prophet's *sunna*.

16. The Shī'is accuse the Sunnis of possessing works that allege that once the Prophet forgot the correct number of *rak'a* (genuflexions) during *namāz* and that on a different occasion he missed morning prayers because he had overslept. Refuting this the Shāh says that "These allegations were originally made by Hillī who bitterly criticises the Sunnis for undermining the importance of Muhammad's prophethood. The fact is that both traditions have also been recorded by Abū Ja'far Tūsī in the *Tahdhīb* and Kulaynī in the *Kāfī*. Moreover to forget is human, what is objectionable is to err when transmitting divine ordinances" (T. 556-68).

17. The Shī'is allege that the *namāz* of those who say "Exalted be the glory of thy Lord" is wrong. However, the Shāh points out that the Qur'ān says, "And (we believe) that He—exalted be the glory of our Lord."²²⁰ The Shāh observes that not only did the Sunnis recite this verse, but the Shī'is did not prohibit it either (T. 578-79).

220 *Qur'ān*, LXXII, 3.

18. Ibn al-Ma'lam²²¹ and other Shi'is allege that Sunnis are worse than Jews and Christians. The Shāh asks, "Is n't it extraordinary that to the Shi'is, the Sunnis, who believe in Allāh, the prophets, the Qur'ān, the Day of Resurrection and all the divinely revealed books and are devoted to Prophet Muhammad and his progeny, are identified with the Jews and the Christians? All the Sunni devotion to prayers and charities are, according to the Shi'is, of no avail. The Shi'i belief resembles that of the Jews who consider that the Prophet's companions were worse than polytheists and idol-worshippers." It would seem that the Jewish condemnation of the Prophet's companions have made Jews Shi'i favourites, who are deemed superior to the Sunnis. It is true that "the value of dogs is known only to those who rear them."

19. The Shi'is allege that the Ghulāt, Kaysāniyya, Ismā'īlī and other Rāfidi sects who condemn the Prophet's companions as liars would, because of their love for 'Alī, be rewarded with paradise; conversely the Sunnis who are friends of all the imāms and regard them as their leaders in the shari'a and the *tariqa*, would, because of their devotion to the Prophet's companions, be consigned to perpetual hell. It remains to be explained by them why the Sunni devotion to 'Alī could not help them.

20. The Shi'is don't follow some of Prophet Muhammad's traditions in their fiqh, which to their great misfortune, are followed by the Sunnis. Some of these, for example, relate to the Sunni rules for ceremonial ablutions and bathing. Thus Muhammad bin Bābuwayh Qummī urges the Shi'is to keep their distance from Sunni practices. However, the Shāh reminds them that flight from the Sunni principle is useless for some parts of the *kalima* and the Qur'ān are common to both sects (T. 569-70).

21. A large number of Shi'i works assert that since the Sunnis are filthier than the Jews or Christians, anything they touch should be washed. It is incredible, says the Shāh, that the Shi'is who do not consider human excrement unclean, deem the Sunnis foul.

22. Instead of starting their meals or beginning other acts with Allāh's name, the Shi'is start their business with curses on Abū Bakr and 'Umar. They allege that if a person suffering from fever inhales the smoke from the burning of an amulet on which the names of Abū Bakr and 'Umar are written, he will instantly recover. Kulayni alleges that Allāh does not despise anything more than the name Humayra, 'Ā'isha's title. The Shi'is also allege that 'Alī named his sons Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Possibly they think that 'Ā'isha's malice and envy of 'Alī made her worse than everyone else.

221 No details of this author could be traced.

23. The Shi'is curse Hafsa, as they do 'Ā'isha, considering it an act of worship. Her sin to them is that she was 'Umar's daughter. It is a Shi'i paradox that they admire Muhammad, Abū Bakr's son, for befriending 'Alī, but show no regard for Hafsa who was the Prophet's wife.

24. Miqdād, a Shi'i leader, alleges that 'Umar committed adultery with Mu'āwiya's mother, although Sharif Murtadā in the *Tanzih al-Anbiyā'* and other Shi'i 'ulamā' assert that 'Umar and the other caliphs, in order to maintain their prestige, exhibited a very high standard of outward piety and promulgated the shari'a laws (T. 570-71).

25. The Shi'is allege that the Prophet authorised 'Alī to divorce 'Ā'isha or any of his wives. This absurd fabrication, the Shāh goes on to say, ignores the following verse which shows that Allāh had rescinded Prophet Muhammad's authority for divorce, let alone allowing the Prophet to empower others. The Qur'ānic verse says :

"It is not allowed thee to take (other) women henceforth, nor that thou shouldst change them for other wives even though their beauty pleased thee, save those whom thy right hand possesseth." ²²²

The exceptional divine honour shown by Allāh to the Prophet's wives was mainly due to the fact that they had abandoned worldly pleasures in order to devote themselves to the Prophet's service. The Shi'i exegesis on the *taqiya* verse also confirms the Prophet's wives' devotion to him. To authorise someone to divorce one's own wives is meaningless. However, if for arguments sake the Shi'i claim is granted, no divorce occurred during the Prophet's lifetime. After his death the question of divorce does not arise for it is unanimously agreed that after the death of the master, any power delegated by him to an agent becomes null and void (T. 571).

The third section, relating to *hafawas* (absurdities) covers a detailed discussion on *taqiya* (literally guarding oneself, dissimulation). The Shāh says that according to the Shi'is it is incumbent upon the prophets and the imāms to conceal their faith. Shi'is do not understand the contradiction inherent in this claim. With the concealment of faith, the *raison d'être* of the prophetic mission would disappear. The Qur'ān says :

"Who delivered the messages of Allāh and feared Him, and feared none save Allāh. Allāh keepeth good account." ²²³

222 *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 52.

223 *Qur'ān* XXXIII, 39.

Had the prophets indulged in *taqiya* there would be no need to suffer hardships, persecution and exile. Even ordinary believers are admonished thus by the Qur'ān :

“Lo! the noblest of you, in the sight of Allāh, is the best in conduct.”

Curiously enough, the Shāh says, the Shi'i exegesis writers interpret *atqākum* (best in conduct) in the above verse to mean *taqiya*.

Had the Shi'i exegesis been correct, the Shāh comments, it would mean that prophets such as Zakariyya and Yahyā, and imāms such as Husayn, who did not perform *taqiya*, did not deserve Allāh's respect. The Shi'is falsely assert that Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq also discussed the merits of *taqiya*. Surely he would not contradict his great-grandfather 'Alī, whose sermons in the *Nahj al-balāgha* ask the believers to speak the truth even when faced with danger. The Ithnā 'Ashariyya works also incorrectly assert that 'Alī did not protest against 'Umar's wrong decision for want of resources. The Shi'is hold conflicting views about *taqiya* in 'Alī's case. Some of them consider that before he was appointed caliph it was lawful but when he assumed office it became unlawful. Sayyid Murtadā asserts that *taqiya* was lawful even after 'Alī became caliph, for he was caliph in name only. His army was packed with the sons of the Prophet's companions who were hostile to him. The Sunnis however do not agree with Sayyid Murtadā, as 'Alī had imposed military and administrative control over the entire caliphate region extending from Arabia to Īrān; while Mu'āwiya's rebellion was confined to Syria. Previously, when Abū Bakr started his reign, the power of the caliphate, even in Arabia was tenuous, but he remained steadfast. The sons of the Prophet's companions were not predominant in 'Alī's army. It consisted of the soldiers from Kūfa and Egypt, who had killed 'Uthmān and were loyal to 'Alī. In short, the Shāh asserts, 'Alī did not perform *taqiya* even after the Prophet's death on questions such as Fadak, *bay'a* with the first three caliphs and the marriage of his daughter Umm-Kulthūm to 'Umar. He participated in the major counsels of the first three caliphs and differed from them whenever he found it necessary. The Shāh quotes twelve *ahādīth* from the standard Shi'i classics. He draws the following conclusions from a detailed hadīth by Kulaynī :

1. The imāms rigorously carried out divine ordinances and their missions were divinely ordained. None of them seized land or interfered with state policies.
2. Allāh ordered 'Alī to be quiet under the first three caliphs and to submit to their rule.
3. *Taqiya* was not lawful for some imāms such as Muhammad Bāqir and Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq (T. 572-74). In the conclusion, the Shāh

states that the Sunni *ahādīth* supported by a sound chain of authorities are correct and the *ahādīth* transmitted by Imām Abū Hanīfā and Imām Mālik on Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq's authority are unquestionably based on divine command. The Shi'is simply distort them in order to validate the practice of *taqiya*. The Shāh concludes the section with what he believes is the correct interpretation of *taqiya*. He says that the Shi'i books exaggerate its importance and resort to heresy for trifling considerations. The Khārijis and the Zaydiyyas follow puritanical shari'a rules. Only the Sunnis pursue a middle of the road policy, although this has not been explained in Sunni works. In fact, *taqiya* is compatible with the shari'a. The following two Qur'ānic verses justify it :

"Let not the believers take disbelievers for their friends in preference to believers. Whoso doeth that hath no connection with Allāh unless (it be) that ye but guard yourselves against them taking (as it were) security."²²⁴

"Whoso disbelieveth in Allāh after his belief save him who is forced thereto and whose heart is still content with Faith—but whoso findeth ease in disbelief : On them is wrath from Allāh."²²⁵

Taqiya is performed to protect one's life, property or honour from enemies. There are two kinds of enmity; one arises from religious differences such as between infidels and Muslims, and the other is based on mundane matters such as disputes over country, property or women. Consequently *taqiya* is also of two kinds. In the first case, if a believer happens to reach a place where he cannot safely declare his faith, he should perform *hijra* (migrate): it is not necessary to dissimulate on the pretext of helplessness. The Qur'ān says :

"Lo! as for those whom the angels take (in death) while they wrong themselves, (the angels) will ask : 'In what were ye engaged?' They will say : 'We were oppressed in the land.' (The angels) will say : 'Was not Allāh's earth spacious that ye could have migrated therein?' As for such, their habitation will be hell, an evil journey's end."²²⁶

However, should there be some valid reason such as fear for one's life or that of one's family, one could to a limited extent co-operate with one's enemies. Nevertheless one should never cease trying to escape from that place. In the face of minor dangers and threats such dissimulation is

224 *Qur'ān*, III, 28.

225 *Qur'ān*, XVI, 106.

226 *Qur'ān*, IV, 97.

prohibited. Far from complying with this Shi'is hoping for worldly promotion flatter their enemies. Some reliable Shi'i works say "one who performs prayer behind a Sunni imām, performs it behind the Prophet." To the Shāh, this hypocritical statement is a terrible example of materialism involving the profanation of prayer and demonstrating the lack of steadfastness and devotion of the Shi'is to their faith. Their energies are mainly directed to cursing the prophets.

So far as the practice of *taqiya* to safeguard worldly interests is concerned, members of the 'ulamā' take as a guide the verse: "and be not cast by your own hands to ruin."²²⁷ However, it is unanimously urged that those who are in danger from some enemy must leave the country although they earn no merit for their *hijra*. Since 'Alī did not perform *hijra* under the first three caliphs, there was no threat to life, property or honour. In this connection, the Shāh says, Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī foolishly claims that since before the Prophet's *hijra* no war took place between him and the people of Mecca, 'Alī similarly did not fight the three caliphs. Sneering at this misguided analogy, the Shāh says that there is no comparison between Prophet Muhammad's situation and that of 'Alī. Before his *hijra* the Prophet persistently condemned the idolatrous practices of the Mecca infidels, urging them to embrace Islam. The Prophet endured indescribable hardship and insults, 'Alī on the other hand never thought of performing *hijra*, or enforcing what was lawful and preventing the unlawful (T. 574-84).

Those of the remaining twenty-two *hafasas* (blunders), discussed in this chapter, refute: the Shi'i allegations of Abū Bakr's treachery, their condemnation of the Prophet's companions and their charges of interpolations in the Qur'ān. The exaggerated merits of *mut'a* in the beliefs of the Shi'is and their attempt to prove 'Alī's superiority to the prophets, are also countered. Among the Shi'i blunders are their beliefs in their imāms' infallibility, in the occultation of the Twelfth Imām and in the illegality of *jihād* during his absence. The chapter also quotes twelve Qur'ānic verses and refers to many others which, to the Shāh's mind, assert Sunni superiority in all religious matters. The Shāh concludes that the basis of the Shi'i/Sunni differences are five, concerning mainly to beliefs about the imāms (T. 584-607).

1. That 'Alī was the imām immediately after Prophet Muhammad.
2. That the number of imāms can never be increased or decreased.
3. That the inordinate age of the last imām and his disappearance, is not baseless.
4. That the Prophet's companions were apostates and heretics, concealing the truth and proclaiming lies. The Shi'is ignore the un-

ambiguous Qur'ānic verses and convincing arguments relating to their superiority.

5. That the imāms performed *taqiya*. They revealed to their Shi'is (partisans) such matters as they concealed from the devoted disciples who sat at their feet (T. 607-8).

The Shāh concludes the chapter with a note that the Shi'i faith is similar to Judaism, Christianity, Sābism, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism. The Shi'i have borrowed something from each of them and differ totally from the Sunnis. The Shi'is have learned from the Jews to exaggerate the importance of their own faith. From this source also they have derived their belief that they have nothing to fear from the divine plan (*makr*) and will not be questioned about their actions on the day of resurrection. They have also borrowed from them their enmity to the Prophet's companions.

From the Christians, the Shi'is have learned an exaggerated notion of love for their imāms, the belief in their divinity or the descent of the divine spirit into the imāms' bodies, their belief in the imāms' infallibility, their knowledge of divine secrets and their control over their own death. Imitating the Christians, who do not consider Christ God's servant, the Shi'is believe that the imāms are the supreme controller and judge of heaven and hell. The Shi'is interpret only one half of the Qur'ān according to its obvious meaning, and the rest, which praises the Prophet's companions, *muhājirs* and *ansārs*, is absurdly misinterpreted. These Shi'i characteristics are also common to the Jews and Christians. As the Jews confine the prophethood to Isaac's sons, the Shi'is restrict the imāma to Husayn's descendants. The Shi'is have also taken from the Jews an exaggerated notion of their own saintliness and praise 'Alī's Shi'is in hyperbolic terms. The Qur'ān refers to them in the following verse :

"Say (O Muhammad), O ye who are Jews! If ye claim that ye are favoured of Allāh apart from (all) mankind, then long for death if ye are truthful."²²⁸

The Shi'is have also learned from the Jews the art of making interpolations in the Qur'ān. The Jews believe that until Masīh Dajjāl appears, *jihād* is not imperative; according to the Shi'is, *jihād* is not essential until the Mahdī reappears. Like the Jews, the Shi'is delay evening prayers until the stars appear. Neither the Jews nor the Shi'is consider a wife can be divorced by saying so three times. The Jews consider killing of Muslims meritorious, the Shi'is deem the murder of Sunnis equivalent to seventy years' prayers. The Jews do not hesitate to plunder Muslims and rape their women, the

Shi'is act likewise towards the Sunnis. The Jews abuse Christ; his mother and his apostles ; the Shi'is abuse the Prophet's companions and wives and the caliphs. The Christians do not consider themselves unclean if they are smeared with human urine and excrement. The Shi'is clean themselves in a slipshod fashion after passing urine or after seminal effusion. The Christians prostrate themselves before God in all directions, the Shi'is also prostrate in all directions in their supererogatory prayers.

The Shi'i resemblance to the Sābis relates to their concern with the moon and stars. The Shi'is do not embark on any new acts when the moon is in Scorpio. The Shi'is are very superstitious about auspicious and inauspicious days of the month. They highly revere *Nawrūz* and the time when the sun enters Aries. The Sābis consider the stars creative agents in mundane matters. The Rāfidis also consider all heavenly bodies creators or creative agents. The Zoroastrians believe that Yazdān created good and Ahriman created evil. The Rāfidis believe that God created good and Satan created evil. The Zoroastrians make their women available to others for sexual relations. The Rāfidis unashamedly walk in their footsteps by making *mut'a* legal and permitting liberal sexual intercourse with their women. The Rāfidis even make their daughters and sisters freely available (T. 608-9).

The Shāh points out many similarities between the Hindus and Shi'is. While the Hindus worship idols, the Shi'is worship the effigies of their imāms' graves (*ta'ziyas*). The (Hindus) bathe these images, place them in carriages, play musical instruments to them, and place food before them which food is then distributed to others. The (Shi'is) celebrate Imām Qāsim's²²⁹ weddings exactly like those of living beings. They are more superstitious than the Hindus. The Hindus worship statues of human beings, the Shi'is worship graves and biers. The Hindus believe cow urine and dung as pure, the Rāfidtis believe that the urine and excrement of humans and cows are not filthy. Neither the Hindus nor the Shi'is bother to conceal their sexual organs. One of their groups even strips off his clothes during prayers. During the circumambulation of Ka'ba and during prayers, the Shi'is have no objection to remaining nude providing their testicles are plastered with clay. The Hindus rub their foreheads on the earth before their gods, Shi'is prostrate themselves on a piece of dried Karbalā clay (*sajdagāh*). To wear unpolluted clothes during worship is not imperative for Hindus. The Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas consider wearing polluted clothes during worship lawful so long as the clothes do not touch the body. Unpolluted clothing is anything which does not come in contact with

229 Imām Hasan's son and Imām Husayn's nephew. According to a legend, Imām Husayn, according to his elder brother's will, married Qāsim to his daughter on the eve of the 10th day of Muharram.

urine, such as turbans, trouser strings, socks, scarves covering the head, etc. The Hindus do not pray in a particular direction. The Shi'is also do not necessarily face towards the *qibla* in their supererogatory prayers. Hinduism permits some types of food during fasts, Shi'is also allow things such as wax which are not normally consumed to be eaten. Hindus consider drinking the blood spilt when an animal's throat is cut as lawful. The Shi'is also do not consider food containing such blood unlawful. The Hindus do not believe in publicizing their marriages, the Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas follow the same rule for *mut'a*. The Hindus allow everyone to have sexual intercourse with their girls, the same rule is followed by the Shi'is. Both Hindus and Shi'is don't consider the payment of *zakāt* on uncoined gold and silver imperative (T. 610).

Chapter 12 : *Tawalla and Tabarra*

The twelfth chapter of the *Tuhfa* discusses *tawalla* and *tabarra*. The Shāh defines *tawalla* as love and *tabarra* as enmity, and claims to base his discussion on Shi'i beliefs (T. 610). In a long introduction to the chapter he discusses the situation which makes the co-existence of love and enmity in two different groups both possible and impossible. However, all infidels should be treated as enemies, the Shāh asserts. The Qur'ān says :

"Thou wilt not find folk who believe in Allāh and the Last Day loving those who oppose Allāh and His messenger, even though they be their fathers or their sons or their brethren of their clan."²³⁰

Similarly all believers should be friends with each other or else they cannot enjoy divine love.

The highest type of love should be shown to the Prophet and the three principal groups of the *umma* (community), namely :

1. The Prophet's progeny and relations (the *Ahl al-Bayt*).
2. The Prophet's pious wives.
3. The Prophet's companions, both *muhājirs* and *ansārs*.

These three groups sincerely loved each other, for, firstly, all of them were closely associated with the Prophet ; secondly, they also played a prominent role in the promulgation of the shari'a, both in spirit and action. On the basis of an analogy from worldly rulers, the Shāh pleads that those who are associated with the consolidation of a state from its very inception are accorded the highest respect (T. 611-12). However he goes on to say, the cornerstone of love and respect is the faith. Were any of these rulers to violate the faith, their entitlement to love from the believers would end. Even their close relationship to the Prophet would be of no avail ; Abū

Lahb, the Prophet's uncle, is a case in point. Those who die infidels deserve to be cursed, but sinners do not. As pointed out by Khwāja Nasir al-Dīn in the *Tajrīd al-'aqā'id*, it is not lawful to curse sinners. As regards 'Alī's enemies, Khwāja Tūsi says, "'Alī's opponents are sinners and only those who fought against him are infidels!" According to the Shī'i rules, *tabarra* (enmity or cursing) of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān is unlawful (T. 614-16). Qādi Nūr-Allāh Shustarī in the *Majālis al-mu'minīn* says that the Sunnī wrongly allege that the Shī'is consider Abū Bakr and 'Umar to be infidels. No classic on Shī'i principles mentions this fact. Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Mashhadī, the author of the *Izhār al-Haqq*, says that those who deny 'Alī's right to become imām through incorrect interpretation of either Qur'ānic injunctions or other texts, are not heretics. The Prophet's companions who fled from the battle of Uhud, deprived 'Alī of the caliphate, usurped Fadak or refused pen and ink to the Prophet, cannot by any criteria of religious judgment be accused of heresy or polytheism. Thus their faults, if accepted as such for argument's sake, do not undermine their piety and devotion to Islam (T. 617-19).

Early Shī'i scholars, the Shāh goes on to say, condemned all those who fought against 'Alī as heretics and abused them. However, later Shī'i scholars realised that, like the enemies of the prophethood, the Imāms' enemies could not be condemned as heretics and apostates, for that would undermine many basic Islamic principles. For example, the Imāms gave their daughters to the Prophet's companions whose daughters they in turn took in marriage (T. 619-20).

Then again, the leaders from the *Ahl al-Bayt* also splintered into groups and established rival *imāma*. All these leaders could not be accused of apostasy and infidelity. However, a neat distinction was made. Those who did not believe in any of the twelve imāms were known as enemies and sinners but those who actually warred against the imāms were called as heretics. The Shāh however suggests that the Shī'i belief that war against an imām amounts to infidelity is illogical. Fighting the Prophet on questions of divine revelation and prophethood is infidelity, not warring over money and worldly interest. The Qur'ānic verse on bandits and usury clarifies the position :

"The only reward of those who make war upon Allāh and His messenger and strive after corruption in the land will be that they will be killed or crucified, or have their hands and feet on alternate sides cut off, or will be expelled out of the land. Such will be their degradation in the world, and in the Hereafter theirs will be an awful doom"²³¹ (T. 622-24).

Consequently the wars of 'Ā'isha and her supporters against 'Alī, did not make them infidels. These considerations, the Shāh says, prompted Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī to define Shi'ism thus:

"Shi'ism means that after the Prophet Muhammad, his immediate *khalīfa* was 'Alī. Abuses and curses are not justified in Shi'ism. The Shi'is can utter the first three caliph's names without cursing them. The plea of ignorant Shi'is that it is imperative to curse the first three caliphs has no basis. The Shi'is are not at all justified in using outrageous and obscene language against 'Ā'isha. Abusive language even against the common people is illegal, let alone against the Prophet's wife. However, when 'Ā'isha violated the Qur'ānic injunction to the Prophet's wives which says 'And stay in your houses' and went to Basra to fight 'Alī, according to the hadith she virtually fought against the Prophet. On this ground she is liable to condemnation." Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Mashhadī considered this war a dreadful sin (T. 624-25).

The Sunnis, however, the Shāh goes on to say, believe that opposition to 'Alī is equivalent to errors by the *mujtahids*. Since both 'Alī and the Prophet's companions were *mujtahids*, their differences were trivial. The *mujtahids* are rewarded by God even though they err. The Sunnis unanimously believe that those such as the Khārijīs who fought 'Alī out of enmity and envy were infidels but not apostate (*murtadd*). According to the Sunnis no prayers for the forgiveness of the Khārijīs' sins should be offered. Even their funeral should not be attended. Those who fought 'Alī at Jamal and Siffin erred in their *ijtihād* (individual judgments). However, since they had previously been praised by the Prophet for their piety and were devoted to him, they should not be condemned. This criteria should be applied to those who fought 'Alī at Jamal. There is no positive injunction against those who fought 'Alī at Siffin, therefore it is imperative that Muslims should not comment (T. 625-26).

Lastly, the Shāh asserts that the Shi'is believe that 'Alī's partisans, despite their opposition to the imāms and wars against them, should not be condemned because they loved 'Alī. An important case in point is Mukhtār who refused to recognise Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn and killed 'Alī's son 'Abd-Allāh at Kūfa. The Shāh demands that this justification be applied also to the Prophet's relations and companions. All of them claimed to love the Prophet and fought his enemies. They also served the Prophet's wives and their families. Consequently the Shi'is must love and not curse them (T. 634-35).

In a short treatise called the *Wasīlat al-najāt*, the Shāh offers some practical suggestions for determining the truth of the Shi'i-Sunni dispute.

The Sunnis claim that only their religion is true and is based on the Qur'ān. They assert that the Shi'i books are false and wrongly claim that their religion emanated from the *Ahl al-Bayt* who followed the Shi'i faith. The Shi'is for their part claim that their religion is based on the Qur'ān and that they follow Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq's path. They also allege that the Sunni works are false and unreliable. The Shāh suggests that the way out of the impasse is to ignore the sectarian literature and investigate the bases of the respective sects. These should then be reconciled with the Qur'ānic verses. Only the religion with a firm basis should be followed and its books read. That religion with a false basis should be considered a compendium of the devil's inspirations and its book should be destroyed. It should be treated as Satan's faith and not that of the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

With this as his thesis the Shāh set out to prove the soundness of the basis of the Sunni faith. He says that the Sunni religion is founded on piety, virtue and truth. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī and thousands of the Prophet's companions waged *jihād* under the Prophet, performed *namāz* behind him and devotedly helped him. After the Prophet's death the first three caliphs instituted a just government and were loyal to the *Ahl al-Bayt*. 'Alī co-operated with them, joined them in *jihād* and performed *namāz* behind them.

The Shi'is believe that the first three caliphs were infidels and hypocrites who performed even *hijra* for worldly gains, and, together with thousands of other companions, waged *jihād* and prayed hypocritically. After the Prophet's death they made life difficult for the *Ahl al-Bayt*, refused to help 'Alī and usurped his rights. 'Alī, fearing for his life, performed *taqiya*. He co-operated with them, recited *namāz* behind them and was even forced to marry his daughter to 'Umar. It was because of *taqiya* that 'Alī named his own sons Abū Bakr 'Alī, 'Umar 'Alī and 'Uthmān 'Alī. Very few of the Prophet's companions were sincere; the exceptions were Abū Dharr, Miqdād, Salmān, Ammār, Jābir and a few others.

The Shāh then quotes some Qur'ānic verses which according to him admire Prophet Muhammad's companions and states that none were treated as *munāfiqs* (hypocrites). According to His promises in the Qur'ān, God helped and glorified them. During their reign, the first three caliphs elevated the lawful and extinguished the unlawful. The fourth Shi'i imām, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, acknowledging the Prophet's companions' contributions to Islam, in his *Sahīfat al-Kāmila* prayed for their salvation.

After all, the Shāh adds, the Prophet's battles were not won by a handful of companions. Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn's prayers were for all the companions who suffered hardships and sacrificed their lives for Islam. Consequently the Shi'i traditions which conflict with the Qur'ān and Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn's viewpoint deserve to be damned as fabrications and not attributed to the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

CHAPTER SIX

The Shi'i Refutations of the Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya and the Sunnī Counter-Attacks

The *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* was completed in 1204/1789-90. The Shāh, as stated earlier, himself challenged the Shi'is to write a reply. His work, he asserted, was designed to induce people to become either indifferent to Shi'ism or to abandon it.¹ The Sunni scholars considered the *Tuhfa* the ultimate defence of Sunnism and the complete refutation of the Shi'i faith. (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khān writes :

"In the early part of his (Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's) life, the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya sect caused considerable uproar and became the source of confusion to the heart of the ignorant Sunnis. The Shāh, at the request of the seekers after perfection (truth), wrote the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* which is so famous that it does not call for any introduction. This voluminous work was written by the Shāh in a short time and without much effort. A study of the work made even ordinary Sunni students fully competent to enter into polemical discussions with Shi'i 'ulamā'. It is learnt from reliable sources that the Shāh dictated the work so fluently that it appeared he had learnt it by heart. He would orally quote from memory extracts from rare Shi'i works whose titles were hardly known to the eminent Shi'i 'ulamā'."²

Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahim Diyā' of Haydarābād Deccan (A. P.) who wrote his *Maqālāt-i tariqat* on the basis of information from Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's descendants, asks us to believe that the publication of the *Tuhfa* so deeply shocked a Shi'i *nawwāb* of Calcutta that he sent the book with a considerable sum of money to the 'ulamā' in Īrān and urged them to write a reply. The 'ulamā' took the money and were engaged in studying the book for some time but could write nothing. They replied that for the past hundred years or so Sunnism had been extinct in Īrān and the Sunni

1 *Supra*, p. 261.

2 *Tadhkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, p. 53.

works quoted by the *Tuhfa's* author were not available to them. No rebuttal of the *Tuhfa* could therefore be produced for want of source material.³

There is no doubt that the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* became famous immediately after its publication. The son of Nawwāb Muhammad 'Alī Khān of Arkat had it translated into Arabic by Mawlawī Aslāmī and sent copies to the Arabic speaking countries.⁴ The growing fame of the *Tuhfa* stimulated the Indian Shī'īs to write its confutation and gave rise to an unending chain of refutations and counter-refutations.

The first Shī'ī scholar to write countering the first and second chapter of the *Tuhfa* was Mīrzā Muhammad Akhbārī al-Nishāpūrī, (d. 1232/1816-17). I'jāz Husayn al-Kintūrī, the author of *Kashf al-hujub wa'l-astār*,⁵ says that he had seen the work, which was entitled *al-Sayf al-maslūl*. Unfortunately the present author could not trace it.

However, immediately after the *Tuhfa's* publication, Hakīm Mīrzā Muhammad Kāmil bin 'Ināyat Ahmad Khān Kashmīrī Dihlawī plunged into the task of writing its rebuttal. The Hakīm had studied medicine under Hakīm Sharīf Khān and Mawlawī Sayyid Raham 'Alī, the author of *Badr al-Dujā'*; and religion under the tutorship of Achhe Miyān, Emperor Muhammad Shāh's brother. The Hakīm was Shāh's friend and often called on him and discussed sectarian controversies. After the *Tuhfa's* publication, Hakīm wrote replies to the first, third, fourth, fifth and ninth chapters in his *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*. Letters were also exchanged between him and Rashīd al-Dīn Khān. Mawlawī Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī says that the author of *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* wrote a letter to Hakīm Sharīf Khān expressing his interest in studying the *Nuzha* but, after reading it, was unable to write a reply.⁶ The Hakīm also produced several other books, for example *Tārīkh al-'ulamā'* (the history of the Shī'ī 'ulamā'), *Kitāb Tanbīh ahl al-kāmal wa'l-insāf 'alā ikhtalāl rijāl ahl al-khilāf* (Refutation of the authorities of the Sunnī *ahādīth*), *Idāh al-maqāl fī tawjīh aqwāl al-rijāl* (authorities of Shī'ī *ahādīth*) and works on *ahādīth*, philosophy and prosody. According to Mawlawī Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī, a Sunnī nobleman related to Emperor, Akbar II, poisoned the Hakīm and he died in 1235/1819-20.⁷

The most outstanding 'ālim to write a rebuttal of the *Tuhfa* was however, Ghufrān Ma'āb Mawlānā Sayyid Dildār 'Alī bin Muhammad

3 *Maqālāt-i tarīqat*, Ma'ārif No. 4, vol. 96, p. 195.

4 *Malfūzāt*, p. 23.

5 I'jāz Husayn Kintūrī, *Kashf al-hujub wa'l-astār*, Calcutta 1935, p. 314.

6 Mawlawī Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī, *Nujūm al-samā' fī tarājīm al-'ulamā'*, Lucknow 1303/1886. The Shāh's letter to Hakīm Sharīf Khān is reproduced in the margin of *Sayf-i Nāsirī*. Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow, f. 9b.

7 *Nujūm al-samā'*, pp. 352-62.

Mu'in bin 'Abd al-Hādī al-Ridawī al-Naqawī. The Mawlānā was born in 1166/1752-3 in Jā'is-Nasīrābād (modern Rae Bareilly district, east of Lucknow). After completing his education in India he studied in Karbalā, Najaf and Mashdād and then returned to his home town after 1194/1780-81. From there he moved to Lucknow. On the initiative of Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla, the Mawlānā worked out the format of the Shī'i Friday congregational prayers. He wrote more than two dozen books, the most important being the *'Imād al-Islām*. It is divided into five volumes. The first volume discusses *Tawhīd* (Divine Unity); the second volume, *'adl* (justice); the third volume, the prophethood; the fourth volume, the *Imāma*; the fifth volume, bodily resurrection. His *Shihāb-i thāqib* is intended to refute sūfism, particularly the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* aspect. The following books are designed to disprove different chapters of the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*.

Sawārim-i Ilāhiyāt : A refutation of the fifth chapter of the *Tuhfa* relating to *Ilāhiyāt* (divinity).

Husam al-Islām : A refutation of the sixth chapter of the *Tuhfa* relating to *Nubuwwa* (prophethood).

Ihyā' al-Sunna : A refutation of the eighth chapter of the *Tuhfa* relating to resurrection.

Risāla-i Dhū'lfaqār : A refutation of the twelfth chapter of the *Tuhfa* relating to *tawalla* and *tabarra*.

Khātima-i Sawārim discusses the *Imāma* and the *Risāla-i Ghaybat* is designed to refute Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's dissertation relating to *ghayba* (the concealment) of the twelfth Imām.

The Mawlānā died on 19 Rajab 1235/2 May 1820. His eldest son Sultān al-'ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad (d. 1284/1867) was also a very distinguished scholar. Ghufrān Ma'āb's other four sons, Mawlānā Sayyid 'Alī, Mawlānā Sayyid Hasan, Mawlānā Sayyid Mahdī and Mawlānā Āqā Sayyid Husayn were also renowned for their learning. Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī, (Ghufrān Ma'āb), had a large number of disciples; the most prominent of whom was 'Allāma Muftī Sayyid Muhammad Qulī (d. 1260/1844). The 'Allāma and Sultān al-'ulamā' wrote a number of works rebutting different chapters of the *Tuhfa* and also wrote replies to the counter-refutation of the Shī'i works by Rashīd al-Dīn Khān and Mawlānā Haydar 'Alī Faydābādī.⁸ The following books by Sultān al-'ulamā' seek to confute different chapters of the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*: *Bawāriq-i mubaqa* : The refutation of the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfa* relating to the *Imāma*.

Ta'n al-rimāh and the *Bāriqa-i dayghamiyya* seek to counter the tenth chapter of the *Tuhfa* discussing the *matā'in* (indictments).

8 *Infra*, pp. 466-69.

Tard al-mu'ānidin is designed to refute the twelfth chapter of *Tuhfa* relating to *tawalla* and *tabarra*.

Barq al-khātif by Sultān al-'ulamā' answers the defence of 'Ā'isha in the *Tuhfa*. His *Samsām al-qāti' wa'l burhān al-lāmi'* discusses the Sunni enmity towards the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the greatness of the Shi'i faith. *Thamrat al-khilāfa* seeks to prove that the appointment of caliphs by election was doomed to failure and resulted in assassinations and martyrdoms.

The following works by 'Allāma Mufti Muhammad Quli confute various chapters of the *Tuhfa*.

Sayf-i nāsiri seeks to rebut the first chapter of the *Tuhfa* relating to the appearance of the Shi'i religion.

Taqīb al-makā'id endeavours to answer the second chapter of the *Tuhfa* concerning Shi'i *makā'id* (strategems).

Burhān-i sa'ādat contains arguments against the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfa* relating to the *Imāma*.

Tashyid al-matā'in concerns the refutation of the tenth chapter of the *Tuhfa* discussing the *matā'in* (indictments).

Musāri' al-afhām seeks to refute the eleventh chapter in the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*.

'Allāma Mufti Muhammad Quli's son, Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn, wrote eighteen volumes of the '*Abaqāt al-anwār*. The Mawlānā's son, Mawlānā Sayyid Nāsir Husayn, also contributed five volumes to it. This great work is ostensibly designed to rebut the *Tuhfa* and the other books that were published subsequently but, in reality, it comprises a voluminous literature on 'Alī's superiority over the first three caliphs and his right to immediately succeed the Prophet.

All the above Shi'i authors first quote passages from the *Tuhfa* and then confute them. Some works also include the corresponding passages from Nasr-Allāh Kābuli's *Sawāqi'*, in order to demonstrate Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's alleged plagiarism. All the Shi'i scholars refer to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz as a *Nāsibi*. According to Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad the *ahādīth* of the Imāms suggest that the *Nāsibis* were the enemies of the Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas for none admitted hostility towards the *Ahl al-Bayt*.⁹ Below are the refutations of the first chapter by Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad from the *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* Volume I.

Confutation of the First chapter of the *Tuhfa* : *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* Volume I.

The Hakīm says that the caliphs and kings in earlier centuries had tried to destroy Shi'ism but its survival and growing popularity, which was a matter of great concern to the author of the *Tuhfa*, was a partial fulfilment

9 Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad, *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, Lucknow n. d. I, p. 96.

of the divine promise to make truth predominant. It indicated that Imām Mahdī would appear soon. He would fill the world with the light of true belief and justice as had been mentioned in the *istikhlāf*¹⁰ verse of the Qur'ān (N. 11-12).¹¹ It was unnecessary for the Shāh to complain that the common Sunnis were ignorant of history, for even the educated Sunnis had no knowledge of it. The Shāh himself, the Hakīm says, exhibits ignorance of historical works such as *Tārikh-i Tabarī*, *Wāqidi*,¹² *Tārikh-i Ahmad bin A'tham al-Kūfi*, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* by ibn Khallikān, *Tārikh-i yāfi'i*,¹³ *Qisas al-Anbiyā'*,¹⁴ *Ma'ārij al-Nubuwwa*,¹⁵ *Madārij al-Nubuwwa*, *Rawdat al-ahbāb*,¹⁶ *Rawdat al-safā'*,¹⁷ *Ḥabīb al-siyar*,¹⁸ *Khulāsat al-akhbār*, *Muntakhab al-tawārikh* by Badā'ūnī and the works on *rijāl* such as *Istī'āb*, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* etc. (N. I, 22). The historical truths about the *Ahl al-Bayt* were unpalatable to the Sunnis and all those who praised the Prophet's family were condemned as *Rāfidīs* by them. For example Makhdūm al-Mulk Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Sultānpūrī considered Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn 'Atā'-Allāh bin Fadl-Allāh al-Husaynī, the author of *Rawdat al-ahbāb*, which speaks highly of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, a Sunni.¹⁹ There is no Sunni work which does not at some place or the other praise the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Historical works are of no value to Sunnis for, as the Tūrānis state, "Everything subjected to investigation turns out to have been written by a *Rāfidī*" (N. I, 16).

Hakīm reminds the Shāh that the Shi'i principles described in the *Tuhfa* could not be taken as correct on his authority by the Shi'is. As he had embarked upon the refutation of Shi'ism, he must have based his arguments on reliable Shi'i histories. He had not adhered to his promise to do

10 *Supra*, pp. 295-96; *Qur'ān*, XXII, 41; S. W. T. p. 253.

11 Like the page numbers of the *Tuhfa*, those of Shi'i works are also given along the text. N. stands for the *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*.

12 Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi (d. 207/823) was a very distinguished historian. His *Futūh al-Shām* is a very important work.

13 The mystic and historian, 'Afīf al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh bin As'ad al-Yāfi'i, was born in Yemen and settled in Mecca in 718/1318. He died there in 768/1367. He produced an abridgement in Persian of the Arabic *al-Durr al-nazīm fī fadā'il al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm*, by ibn al-Khashshāb, dealing with the talismanic virtues of the Qur'ān.

14 Written by Muhammad Huwayzī in 352/963 the *Qisas al-anbiyā'* (the stories of the Prophets) has been translated in many languages.

15 *Ma'ārij al-Nubuwwa fī madārij al-futuwwa* by Mu'in al-Dīn bin Sharaf al-Dīn Hājji Muhammad Farahī (d. 907/1501-2) is a detailed life of Prophet Muhammad.

16 It is not correct to say that the Shāh had not studied the *Qisas al-anbiyā'*, *Ma'ārij al-Nubuwwa*, *Madārij al-Nubuwwa* and *Rawdat al-ahbāb*.

17 *The Rawdat al-safā' fī sirat al-anbiyā' wa'l mulūk wa'l khulafā'* by Muhammad bin Khāwand Shāh, known as Mīr Khwand (d. 903/1498), is a general history from the Creation to the Timūrid Sultān Husayn.

18 *The Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar* and *Khulāsat al-akhbār* are general histories in Persian by Ghiyāth al-Dīn bin Humām al-Dīn Khwand-Amīr (d. 942/1535-6).

19 *Supra*, p. 277.

this. No trace of what he described as the history of the emergence of Shi'ism was available in Shi'i works (N. I, 18-24).

Challenging the Shāh's assertion that Shi'ism was invented by 'Abd-Allāh ibn Sabā', the Hakīm says that reliable Sunnī and Shi'i works claim that 'Alī ruthlessly punished 'Abd-Allāh ibn Sabā' and his followers. 'Allāma Hilli calls 'Abd-Allāh, an accused *ghālī* (extremist) (N. I, 55). One of the greatest Sunnī 'ālīms, 'Abd al-Barr, states in the *Kitāb al-Istī'āb* that Salmān Fārsī, Miqdād, Abū Dharr Ghifārī, Habbāb, Jābir bin 'Abd-Allāh Ansārī, Abū Sa'id Khadrī and Zayd bin Arqam considered 'Alī superior to the other companions. Were, to the Shāh, asks the Hakīm, the above Prophet's companions 'Abd-Allāh's disciples? According to the Hakīm, the Sunnī tradition, stating that 'Alī reprimanded those who considered him superior, was a fabricated figment of the Sunnī imagination. The truth of the Tafdīliyya doctrines are well established both in classical and later Sunnī works (N. I, 62). Then he quotes from both categories at length. The Shāh's classification of the Shi'is into different groups, the Hakīm says, has no historical basis and his invention of the term Shi'a-i Tafdīliyya is absurd. The Tafdīliyyas, the Hakīm continues, are those who consider the Prophet's first three caliphs his rightful successors and 'Alī as the fourth caliph although superior to his predecessors. Conversely, the Shi'is are those who believe 'Alī to be the Prophet's rightful immediate successor and the first three caliphs usurpers. The Shāh's attempts to identify the Tafdīliyyas with the Shi'a-i ūla, and to call them the *ahl al-Sunna wa'l jama'a*, shows the palpable self-contradiction, the Hakīm observes (N. I, 62-63). The Hakīm strongly criticizes the Shāh for confusing the false beliefs of the Zaydiyyas, Ismā'īliyyas and Ghulāts with the true beliefs of the Ithnā' Ashariyyas. He asserts that as only the latter were found in northern India, the author of the *Tuhfa* deliberately intended to give the false impression that the beliefs of all Shi'i sects were identical. The Shāh, the Hakīm observes, tended to imitate his ancestor Mu'āwiya who in order to save himself from annihilation at the battle of Siffin, ordered his army to raise the Qur'ān on spears as an invitation to both parties to resort to arbitration based on the Qur'ān (N. I, 17).

Replying to the Shāh's accusation of changes in the Shi'i faith, the Hakīm says that the constant alterations in Sunnism are more serious and destructive to them (N. I, 20). In Sunnism, the different schools violently condemn each other of introducing heresy (N. I, 17).

The third categorization of the Shi'is as *Sabbīyyas*, as given by the Shāh, the Hakīm says is meaningless. Abuse is not permissible in the Ithnā' Ashariyya faith and its followers are forbidden even to abuse and revile the infidels and polytheists. The Qur'ān, however, curses the tyrants, infidels and liars (N. I., 66). It says :

"Those who hide the proofs and the guidance which We revealed, after We had made it clear in the Scripture : such are accursed of Allāh and accursed of those who have the power to curse."²⁰

"Lo! those who disbelieve, and die while they are disbelievers ; on them is the curse of Allāh and of angels and of men combined."²¹

Prophet Muhammad cursed those who deserved it. The Shi'is follow strictly the example of the Qur'ān and the Prophet in abusing miscreants. Consequently the Shi'is follow God and the Prophet, and not the accursed 'Abd-Allāh, in cursing tyrants and liars. *Tabarra* does not constitute abuse ; it is simply dissociation from tyrants and liars. Like the physical diseases which call for cleansing of the bowel, the diseases of the soul are also cured by *takhliyya* (vacating or abandoning) and *tajliyya* (brightening). *Tabarra* is *takhliyya* and *tawalla* is *tajliyya*. The Shi'is do not consider all the Prophet's companions as tyrants and usurpers. According to Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq, says ibn Bābuwayh, the Prophet's companions numbered 12,000 (8,000 from Medina, 2,000 from other places and 2,000 freed slaves). None of them were Qadriyyas²², Jabriyyas²³, Murjiyyas (those who believe that a Muslim does not lose his faith although he sins), Hurūris (those who abuse 'Alī) or Mu'tazilas.²⁴ These companions would not make additions to God's religion. Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī has given a list of one hundred of the Prophet's leading companions whom the Shi'is praise enthusiastically. The classical Shi'i scholars are known to have written books relating *rijāl* although the Shi'is' enemies have destroyed them (N. I, 83-85). The Sunnis praise all the Prophet's companions who did not participate in the *ridda* wars. The Shi'is do not make this discrimination but praise those companions who were endowed with 'adl (justice). Those who usurped the caliphate and Fadak and made Fātima unhappy are not considered 'ādil (just) by them. The Shi'is do not accept the Sunni glossings of the war between the "mother of the faithful" ('Ā'isha), Talha and Zubayr on one hand and 'Alī on the other and consider them imbued with *nifāq* (hypocrisy) and enmity to 'Alī like the earlier caliphs. According to the Shi'is, the caliphate of Yazīd, Mu'āwiya, 'Uthmān, 'Umar and Abū Bakr are interlinked with each other and Imām Husayn's martyrdom is not an isolated event. It is for this reason that some Sunni 'alims do not approve of Yazīd being cursed (N. I, 88-89).

The Hakīm seeks to call attention to the fact that the Ghulāts are divided into two categories. The true Ghulāts believe in 'Alī's divinity, the

20 *Qur'ān*, II, 159.

21 *Qur'ān*, II, 161.

22 *Supra*, p. 246.

23 *Supra*, p. 246.

24 *Supra*, pp. 246, 247.

untrue ones are the *sūfis* who consider 'Alī and the other *ma'sūm* imāms as God. They are wrongly suspected by the common people, who do not understand them, of believing in their own divinity, *hulūl* (infusion of God into man) and *ittihād* (identifying the divine with the human). The Ghulāts are 'Abd-Allāh's disciples but the *sūfis* are not.

The Hakīm challenges the Shāh's conclusion that the Shī'is were divided into three sects. He says that earlier the Shāh divided them into five. His hypothesis that all three were created by 'Abd-Allāh and emerged simultaneously was wrong. The Hakīm goes on to say that, as mentioned earlier, the battle of Jamal and all the other disputes have a common origin. It is not wrong to consider the deliberations in Saqīfa as the earliest source of the disputes and subsequent splintering into groups. The Hakīm asserts that the Nāsibīs are opposed to the Shī'is although they know that the Shī'is love the Prophet and his descendants. Had the Sunnī 'ulamā' been convinced of their duty to show devotion to the Prophet they would have supported his *Ahl al-Bayt* through their speeches and writings and by fighting their enemies (N. I, 96-98). The Hakīm, reminding the Shāh how he saved his life when Dhū'lfaqār al-Dawla (Mīrzā Najaf) was in power, by writing *Izhār al-haqq*,²⁵ states that he should call himself an opportunist Shī'i rather than a sincere one. The Hakīm expresses his deep resentment at the Shāh calling those Sunnīs devoted to 'Alī, the Shī'a-i ūla. This, he says, amounts to describing black as white. The Sunnī enmity towards the *Ahl al-Bayt* makes them nothing but Nāsibīs and all attempts to camouflage the truth are futile. The claim that all the *muhājirs* and *ansārs* were Shī'a-i ūla is a patent lie and contrary to the truth. 'Ubayd-Allāh bin 'Umar, Sa'd bin Abī Waqqās, 'Abd-Allāh bin Zubayr, Abū Hurayra, Amr 'Ās, 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Umar and Mughīra, who never helped 'Alī cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be called 'Alī's Shī'as (N. I, 111). The Hakīm, however, is in general agreement with the first part of the Shāh's observations that the *muhājirs*, *ansārs* and their descendants who joined 'Alī, were named Shī'is but contradicts the Shāh's chronology. The Hakīm destroys the Shāh's theory saying that the split took place after 'Alī's accession to the caliphate and reiterates the Shī'i belief that the division occurred after the Prophet's death in the 11th of Hījra/632. The Hakīm also repudiates the Shāh's theory that the Tafdīliyyas emerged two years after 'Alī's accession. According to the Hakīm, the Shāh's chronology has no historical basis and "Shī'a-i tafdīliyya" is a meaningless term (N. I, 270-72).

The Hakīm points out innumerable factual mistakes, self-contradictions and chronological errors in the Shāh's history of the Shī'i sects (N. I, 111-324). Referring to his version of the Ithnā 'Ashariyya history, the Hakīm

25 No copy of the work is available. *Supra*, p. 83

says all religions are reinforced by the state. The prophethood is also a form of government. However, religions are propagated by missionary activity. The efforts the Prophet made to preach Islam and the hardships and insults he endured at Quraysh hands are well known. The Ithnā' 'Ashariyya Shī'i missionary activity was designed to disseminate the teachings of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The usurpers were the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphs who annihilated the *Ahl al-Bayt*'s descendants. The Buwayhids had descended from Bahrām Gūr and did not indulge in fowling²⁶ as the *Rawdat al-Safā* says. The Hakīm gives his version of Buwayhid history. He defends the prohibition on Friday congregations made by some Shī'i 'ulamā' on the grounds that Sunnis also consider the ruler's permission essential for Friday prayers. The Shī'is are therefore not incorrect in suspending Friday prayers so long as permission from the *Imām-i ma'sūm* was impossible. The 'Abbāsid Caliph Mutawakkil (232-247/847-861) even destroyed Imām Husayn's tomb, hence the Safavid destruction of some sūfī tombs in retaliation, were this accepted as a fact, should not have upset the Shāh (N. I, 337-42). The Hakīm stresses that the Safavids were Sayyids and also great rulers. The language used by the Shāh to describe the Turkish invasions of Īrān is loathsome and contrary to the canons of polemical discussions (N. I, 343). The Hakīm then gives the Safavid genealogy and describes the respect accorded to their ancestor, Shaykh Safī (d. 735/1334) by Muslims. He also outlines the Safavid history. He reminds the Shāh that the Shī'is were the *wazīrs* and noblemen of the Tīmūrīd rulers from the inauguration of Mughal rule in India and made very significant contributions to the consolidation and extension of their empire. The Hakīm gives a short history of eminent Mughal Shī'i noblemen such as Bayram Khān, Khān-i Khānān, Fath-Allāh Shīrāzī,²⁷ Mīrzā Rustam Safavī, Husayn Qulī Khān (Khān-i Jahān), Mīrzā Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Alī Qazvīnī (Āsaf Khān), Mīrzā Mīrak Ridawī, Sādiq Muhammad Khān, Ridawī Khān Bakhshī, Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, Khwāja Fath-Allāh Bakhshī, Mīrzā Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān (in Akbar's reign), I'timād al-Dawla, Nūr Jahān, Āsaf Khān (in Jahāngīr's reign), Mīr Jumla, Khalīl-Allāh Khān, Rūh-Allāh Khān, Amīr Khān, governor of Kābul, and Ja'far Khān (in Awrangzīb's reign). Even before Mughal rule, the Bijāpūrī sultāns were Shī'is and it was Shāh Tāhīr who converted them to the Shī'i faith (N. I. 432-47).

The *Sayf-i Nāsiri* entitled *Burhān-i Imāmi* by 'Allāma Muftī Muhammad Qulī, also offers counter-arguments to the first chapter of the *Tuhfa*.

26 *Supra*, p. 266.

27 In Akbar's reign Fath-Allāh Shīrāzī practised Shī'ism. Nūr Jahān's relations were known to be Shī'is and so was Mīr Jumla. Rūh-Allāh Khān was known as a Shī'i to Awrangzīb but he always posed as a Sunni. Sarkār, J. N. (tr). *Anecdotes of Awrangzīb*, Calcutta 1963, 4th edition, pp. 122-25.

The Hakīm presented his arguments in a restrained sober manner but the 'Allāma's language in the *Sayf* and other works is unduly harsh. Referring to the Shāh's concealment of his well-known name and the use of the name "Hāfiz Ghulām", the 'Allāma contends that the Shāh was certainly not practising *taqiya* for, in predominantly Sunni Delhi, even the Shī'i authors did not resort to such tactics. He suggests the Shāh was scared either of the remnants of Nādir Shāh's Qizilbāshs, who had insulted and manhandled his father (Shāh Walī-Allāh) for criticising 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib,²⁸ or of being assassinated as was Mirzā Jān-i Jānān. According to the 'Allāma, the Shāh concealed his name for fear of a counter-attack on the *Tuhfa* by the Shī'is. He was also nervous of provoking the Sunnis who the Shāh believed would be annoyed both with the *Tuhfa*'s contents and its language (S. N. 7a). Comparing the Shāh with "treacherous Satan", the 'Allāma goes on to say that the Shāh chose the title *Tuhfa-i Ithnā 'Ashariyya* (A Gift to the Ithnā 'Ashariyyas) in order to mislead the ignorant Shī'is into buying the book, in the belief that it was one of their own religious works. The Shāh, according to the 'Allāma, hoped that after reading it they would renounce their own faith and embrace Sunnism which comprised innovation and deviation from the truth (S. N. 25b).

Discussing the Shī'is' origin, the 'Allāma says that literally "Shī'i" means "a group of followers devoted to their leader". Before the Prophet's death this applied to 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib's devoted followers, who were known as Shī'is. 'Alī was made the Prophet's successor and Caliph at Ghadīr Khumm. The Prophet nominated him on the return journey of his farewell pilgrimage to Mecca. This occurred in obedience to the divine command conveyed in the following verse:

"O Messenger! Make known that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy Lord, for if thou do it not, thou wilt not have conveyed

28 According to Mawlānā Rahīm Bakhsh, the translation of the Qur'ān by Shāh Walī-Allāh sparked off the bigoted Sunnī mullās' opposition to him and they hired the Delhi vagabonds to assassinate him. One day after afternoon prayers, the Fathpūrī mosque, where the Shāh prayed, was besieged by the vagabonds led by the mullās. The Shāh courageously faced them and went away unhurt. When Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz (b. 1159/1746) heard of the incident he was filled with sadness. Shāh Walī-Allāh had no influence at court. It was also known that the Shī'i leaders had inspired the mullās' attack. In this state of helplessness the Shāh left for Mecca. *Hayāt-i Walī*, Lahore reprint n. d., pp. 308-10 footnote. The story is anachronistic. The Shāh's translation was not completed before 1151/1738 (S. W. T., p. 231). The Shāh went to Mecca in 1143/1731 and returned in 1145/1732 (S. W. T., 219-20). The 'Allāma's story seems more plausible. He states that during the period of growing anarchy after Nādir Shāh's invasion, Shāh Walī-Allāh was manhandled by the Qizilbāshs of Nādir's army who had stayed behind in Delhi.

His message. Allāh will protect thee from mankind. Lo! Allāh guideth not the disbelieving folk."²⁹

All those who were present made *bay'a* with 'Alī and the following verse was revealed as a mark of divine satisfaction.

"This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen for you as religion AL-ISLAM."³⁰

From that day belief in 'Alī's right of immediate succession to the Prophet came to be identified with the meaning of Shi'ism. The *Kutāb Kāmil Bahā'i*, written by a Shi'i 'ālim,³¹ says that the only title prevalent in the Prophet's days was "Shi'a". Some of the Prophet's eminent companions such as Salmān Fārsī, Abū Dharr Ghifārī, 'Ammār bin Yāsir, Miqdād bin al-Aswad al-Kindī, who were devoted to 'Alī, were known as 'Alī's Shi'as.

The 'Allāma then presents an analogy from Muhammad's prophetic career. He states that at the beginning of the Prophet's career his followers were very small in number. After a long time their number increased, nevertheless some were hypocrites and others, such as Abū Jihl, were openly hostile to him. Likewise the number of 'Alī's followers also increased after some time and his *imāma* flourished. Nevertheless many insincere Muslims had infiltrated his ranks (S. N. 11a).

The 'Allāma goes on to discuss the history of various Islamic sects at some length and concludes that after Prophet Muhammad's death, the Muslims were divided into two groups. 'Alī's Shi'as joined him in preparing the Prophet's body for burial but the rest deliberated in Saqifa to elect the Prophet's successor, ignoring their pledge to 'Alī in Ghadir Khumm.

It was 'Umar, the 'Allāma says, who caused a split in the body politic of Islam. He quotes *al-Mīlāl wa'n-nihāl* by Shahrastānī which says that opposition started in the world when Satan refused to prostrate himself before Adam. In Islam the first schism was sparked off by 'Umar's opposition to presenting pen and paper to the Prophet on his deathbed (S. N. 64b).

The Shāh traces back the schism in Islam and the appearance of new insincere converts to the time of the conquests by Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The 'Allāma, using an expression almost identical with that of the Shāh, says that in the Prophet's time, Mecca and other territories belonging to

29 *Qur'ān*, V, 67.

30 *Qur'ān*, V, 3.

31 Bahā' al-Din 'Āmilī, *Supra*, p. 343.

the infidels, Christians and Jews, were conquered by 'Alī single-handedly without any assistance from the Prophet's companions. Finding all avenues of reconquest closed because of Islamic dominance, the defeated communities covertly embraced Islam but in their hearts were determined to destroy it and were antagonistic to 'Alī and his close associates. Among the Prophet's companions there was also a body of dissimulators who had embraced Islam in the hope of sharing in the booty from Arab and Irānian conquests, as prophesied in Jewish and Christian classics. The newly converted Muslims united with the hypocritical companions of the Prophet and decided to exclude the Prophet's family from the caliphate. Their leaders were Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Abū 'Ubayda and the Sunnis of Mecca who for many years had been idolaters (S. N, 108a-b).

The 'Allāma repeatedly denounces the allegations by the Sunnis and the Shāh that Shī'ism was founded by 'Abd-Allāh ibn Sabā'. He says that in fact the Shāh himself was a favourite disciple of ibn Sabā' for, after writing the *Tuhfa*, he asked his followers to believe that his motive in writing it was not for personal prestige. Consequently he had not claimed authorship in the preface and did not wish his name to be associated with the book.³² However, the Shāh's disciples, the 'Allāma says, ignored their *pir*'s instructions and made his authorship of the *Tuhfa* widely known. They followed the precedent of 'Umar and the Prophet's wives. The Prophet's wives disclosed his secrets while 'Umar frequently opposed him (S. N, 136a).

The 'Allāma defines Nāwasīb or Nāsibīs as those people who were 'Alī's enemies. All the Islamic sects falsely assume themselves to be true lovers of 'Alī and consider their rivals Nāsibīs. It was for this reason that the Shāh himself, being a Nāsibī, applied this title to the Shī'īs. Previously, eminent Sunnis, such as Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī, had done likewise. In fact the Sunnis were known as Nāsibīs for they appointed their imāms themselves. *Nawāsib* is the plural of *Nāsib* (S. N. 159a).

The 'Allāma continues that the Shāh, despite quoting a considerable number of sayings by ibn Abī'l-Hadīd praising Abū Bakr and 'Umar and condemning the Ithnā 'Ashariyyas, calls ibn Hadīd a Shī'ī. However, he considers the Tafdīliyyas, the Shī'a-i ūla and the Sunnis as identical. Nevertheless he rejects many statements by ibn Abī'l-Hadīd and other Tafdīliyyas. The contradictions in the Shāh's statements are so numerous, the 'Allāma asserts, that they could make a separate book on their own (S. N, 208b).

Refuting Sunnī allegations of frequent changes in Shī'ism, the 'Allāma says that Abū'l-Hasan Ash'arī, the founder of the Ash'ariyyas, was a disciple

32 It would seem that the 'Allāma was aware of the Shāh's letter, which was subsequently included in the *Fatāwā*; *Supra*, pp. 257-58.

of al-Jubba'i Mu'tazili. In his *Sharh 'Adudiyya*³³, Dawwānī, himself an Ash'arite, says that most of the Shi'i principles were similar to those of the Mu'tazilas. The differences between them centred on the *imāma* question. Since, according to the great Sunni scholar, Dawwānī, Shi'i principles correspond to those of Mu'tazila, Shi'ism could not have changed as alleged by the Shāh. This allegation is sheer ignorance. According to the Shi'i 'ulamā', the Ash'ariyya sect in its early stages was very insignificant. A continued and prolonged discipleship to the Mu'tazila and the Shi'is enabled the Ash'ariyyas to obtain training in the rational sciences and to compile the rules of their sect. They then became the sultāns' protégés and propagated their beliefs under the royal patronage. Differences among their *mujtahids* were not confined to their attitude to the Shi'is. All Islamic sects deduce their subsidiary rules from Qur'ānic verses and *ahādith*. These are open to different interpretations. The Sunnis claim that differences between the Prophet's companions were a blessing and contributed to the beauty of their sectarian beliefs. The later Shi'i *mujtahids* were bound by the firm Ithnā' Ashariyya principle of not departing from the decisions of those 'ulamā' who were near contemporaries of the Imāms. This restriction was imposed because the ancient 'ulamā' were in a better position to judge the authenticity of the rules and *ahādith* than the later 'ulamā'. In these circumstances the Shāh's allegation that the Shi'i rules were formulated during the Safavid reign was a patent lie.

Confuting the Shāh's accusation that Shi'ism perpetrated heresy, impiety and violation of the shari'a, the 'Allāma says that the sūfis, who were the Sunnis' religious guides, were pastmasters of this. One might refer to the works by Muhyi al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī and the *Gulshan-i Asrār* written by a disciple from the Mujaddid's *silsila*. According to Junayd, until someone was referred to as impious by thousands of other holy people, he was not a pious person. The revered sūfi saint, Hallāj, was condemned for calling himself a prophet. He became angry and said that this was an insult. He was God (S. N. 187).

The Refutation of the Second Chapter of the Tuhfa : Taqlīb al-makā'id.

The refutation of charges of *makā'id* (making strategems) against the Shi'is was made by 'Allāma Mufti Sayyid Muhammad Qulī in *Taqlīb al-makā'id* (printed on 522 pages of 30 cm × 22 cm in Delhi). He also wrote another book of 55 pages on the *nifāq* (hypocrisy) of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The 'Allāma says in his introduction to the *Taqlīb al-makā'id*, that *kayd* is used in two different senses in the Qur'ān. In its real sense it is used

33 A commentary on Ījīs 'Aqā'id al-'Adudiyya by Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad bin As'ad al-Dawwānī (d. 907/1501).

for infidels and tyrants. For example the Qur'ān says, "...and that surely Allāh guideth not the snare (*kayd*) of the betrayers".³⁴ Metaphorically Allāh refers *kayd* to His Own Self and His prophets. For example, the Qur'ān says: "Lo! my scheme (*kayd*) is strong". Consequently, the 'Allāma consoles the Shī'īs, saying they should not be upset that the *Tuhfa's* author uses *kayd* in connection with them but they should apply it to themselves (Shī'īs) in a metaphorical sense. He goes on to say that the Shāh was convinced that the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya beliefs and fiqh were based on rational arguments and divinely sent books and that the Shī'ī 'ulamā's' arguments were irrefutable. In condemning their clear proofs and categorical arguments, and the teachings of the Shī'ī Imāms and their companions together with the writings of the Sunnī historians or 'ulamā' and their criticism by the Shī'ī 'ulamā' as Shī'ī *makā'ids*, the Shāh far exceeded Iblīs (Satan) in knavery and falsification (T. M. 6-7). He did not know that according to Allāh's promise Satan could not overpower His devotees and could not turn them away from the straight path. 'Alī had said that were someone to hack his sincere friends into pieces, it would not make them his enemies. The Shāh says, the 'Allāma goes on to assert, that those who were not aware of Shī'ī basic and subsidiary principles would not benefit from his *Tuhfa*.³⁵

To this one may add, the 'Allāma says, those who were attracted by the Shāh's book and had given up their own research, would be unable to gain a true perception of Sunnī beliefs (T. M. 7). The Shāh gives the impression that seven categories of missionaries are regarded as indispensable by all Shī'īs for the establishment of a religion. This is palpably wrong as only the Ismā'īlīs hold it (T. M. 7-9).

The 'Allāma says that a large number of Sunnī accusations against the Shī'īs have been derived from the *Kashf al-haqq wa Nahj al-Sādiq* by 'Allāma Hillī but the Shāh had distorted the original by his own additions and omissions. He had believed that people would trustingly refrain from comparing his quotations with the original (T. M. 39). The 'Allāma admits that the Shāh had mastered the *Ihqāq al-haqq* by Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī but in his replies only repeated Fadl bin Rūzbihān's arguments (T. M. 49). The 'Allāma suggests that the Shāh should first have reproduced Fadl bin Rūzbihān's assertions, followed by Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī's counter-arguments and then should have presented his own conclusions. This scheme was followed by ibn Abi'l-Hadīd Mu'tazilī in his *Sharh Nahj al-balāgha*. He first reproduced Sayyid Murtadā's accusation against the first three caliphs and then the rejoinder by Qādī al-Qudāt, the author of the *Mughnī*. After re-stating their polemics he rebuts Sayyid

34 Qur'ān, XII, 52.

35 *Supra*, p. 182.

Murtadā to the best of his ability and, when he fails, admits the superiority of the Sayyid's arguments. As the Shāh did not possess ibn 'Abī'l-Hadīd's depth of scholarship and sense of justice he could do nothing but repeat the dirty slanders (. . . .rags of menstrual discharge) which originated with the Umayyad caliphs. The 'Allāma goes on to say that Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī in his exegesis of the following Qur'ānic verse has asserted that there were things incumbent upon God:

"O people of the Scripture! Now hath Our messenger come unto you to make things plain after an interval (of cessation of messengers)." ³⁶

"And when those who believe in Our revelations come unto thee, say 'Peace be unto you!' 'Your Lord hath prescribed for Himself mercy, that whoso of you doeth evil and repenteth afterwards thereof and doeth right, (for him) lo! Allāh is Forgiving, Merciful.'" ³⁷

"Whoso migrateth for the cause of Allāh will find much refuge and abundance in the earth, and whoso forsaketh his home, a fugitive unto Allāh and His messenger, and death overtaketh him, his reward is then incumbent on Allāh. Allāh is ever Forgiving, Merciful." ³⁸

To deny divine obligations, the 'Allāma says, is bigotry, but if the denial of specific obligations is intended, the Shāh's own statements become incompatible and self-contradictory. Denying the Shāh's remarks concerning Shī'i beliefs about God in relation to Iblīs (Satan), the 'Allāma says that these doubts were originally raised by Ash-Shahrastānī in his *al-Milal wa'n-nihal* (T. M. 41-44). Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī argued against Shahrastānī in a separate book (T. M. 41-44). According to the 'Allāma, the Shī'is believe that God created Iblīs to expose the wickedness and sins of the people and to offer them the opportunity of learning a lesson from his condemnation. Those who defeat Iblīs, efforts to dominate them are rewarded and those who submit to Iblīs are damned to perdition. The 'Allāma reminds the Sunnis that the overwhelming sūfi ideal of God's immanence implicitly asserts that they do not believe in His transcendence. The 'Allāma quotes the Sunni Taftāzānī's remarks that there is some wisdom or expediency in acts decreed by God. Therefore, according to Taftāzānī, everything decreed by God is not wise and expedient (T. M. 56-63). The Shī'i posture is that the existence of Iblīs glorifies divine wisdom and does not condemn it (T. M. 43-55). Referring to the Shī'i belief concerning God, ³⁹ the 'Allāma says that this is also a distorted

36 *Qur'ān*, V, 19.

37 *Qur'ān*, VI, 54.

38 *Qur'ān*, IV, 100.

39 *Supra*, pp. 286-90

version of 'Allāma Hilli's charges against Sunni beliefs. Rūzbihān, another Sunni, also criticized 'Allāma Hilli but Qādī Nūr-Allāh had comprehensively dealt with that problem. Mawlānā Sayyid Dildār 'Alī discussed this controversy in his *Sawārim*.

Regarding the alleged Shi'i belief in God's cruelty the Shāh states that it is false and sheer calumny. Ibn Bābuwayh says that the evaluation of three different traditions on the subject of infidel children shows that they are with their father in the *barzakh*⁴⁰ and plunged into hellfire. However, it does not harm them. This does not prove that the Shi'is believe that the children are cruelly punished in hell. According to Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī, infidel children are not sent to hell, while, according to others, they go to paradise and serve its residents. Some believe they remain in limbo ; other authorities claim that God treats them differently. Sunni *ahādith* also record varying traditions on the fate of infidel children (T. M. 63-69).

Replying to the problems relating to 'ismat, (the impeccability) of the prophets, the 'Allāma says that the Shāh had distorted 'Allāma Hilli's views on the subject. The tradition saying that Prophet Muhammad praised Lāt and 'Uzza in a morning prayer is mentioned in the *Sihāh* and the Shāh had lifted it from there and made it a source of accusation against the Shi'is. The 'Allāma goes on to relate the views of different Sunni sects such as the Khawārij, Hashwiyya, Karrāmiyya and some of the Mu'tazila groups who believe that before his call to the prophethood, Muhammad was an infidel (T. M. 70-71). As related by the commentator of the *Mawāqif* and the *Maqāsid* the 'Ashariyyas believe that the prophets told lies (T. M. 71-72, 89-94). The Shi'i belief in prophetic 'ismat, asserts the 'Allāma, is based on the Imāms' logical teachings and is irrefutable (T. M. 74-77).

Replying to the allegations concerning the Prophet's alleged mistake during *namāz* (prayers), the 'Allāma says that, as the Shāh was not competent to refute the strong Shi'i arguments, he did not quote the original words but distorted and falsified the Shi'i objections. The 'Allāma goes on to say that as far as possible, he would give excerpts from the original Sunni works. He then quotes Sunni *ahādith*, including *Sharh-i Sufar al-Sa'āda*⁴¹ by Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī, saying how the Prophet once made a mistake during *namāz* (T. M. 77-79). According to Imām Muhammad Bāqir, the 'Allāma asserts, the prophets and imāms

40 An intervening state between death and resurrection on the Day of Judgment and whoever dies enters into it.

41 *Sufar al-sa'āda* by Majd al-Dīn Muhammad bin Ya'qūb al-Firūzābādī (d. 817/1414) deals with the practices of Prophet Muhammad in regard to religious observances. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq completed his commentary in 1016/1607.

are infallible (*ma'sūm*) and neither commit mistakes nor suffer loss of memory (T. M. 89).

The Shi'i Qur'ānic interpretation, the 'Allāma contends, does not deviate from the rules of grammar or the lexicon and Arabic usage. Even Nasr-Allāh Kābulī, whose work the Shāh had translated, did not accuse the Shi'is of these alleged deviations. Nasr-Allāh says, according to the Shi'is, "Rabb" means "'Alī", "heretics" means Sunnis and "*munāfiqs*" (hypocrites) means the Prophet's eminent companions. He then quotes Rajab Bursī's *Kitāb Mashāriq Anwār al-Yaqīn*⁴² which says that each *ilāh* (god) is lord, but conversely each lord and master is not *ilāh*. The 'Allāma then quotes *Surāh*⁴³ Qastallānī's⁴⁴ *Sharh Sahih Bukhārī* and Shi'i works by 'Allāma Hillī and others to prove that "Rabb" in some specific verses, according to Sunni and Shi'i *ahādith*, is intertwined with 'Alī's greatness (T. M. 190-92).

The 'Allāma throughout his work is most enthusiastic in demonstrating Sunni enmity to the *Ahl al-Bayt*. He goes on to say that for the Shi'is, love for the *Ahl al-Bayt* does not depend on simple declaration and pronouncement, but is deeply entrenched in their heart. Sunni beliefs, the 'Allāma asserts, betray their hostility to the Prophet's family. For example the Sunnis believe that 'Ā'isha's army consisted of Sunnis although they were fighting 'Alī. The *fatwas* from the 'ulamā' of Transoxiana assert that each Muslim should be hostile to 'Alī (T. M. 203-6). Their enmity to 'Alī is admitted by a number of other Sunni scholars such as Khatīb Baghdādī⁴⁵, the 'Allāma says. The facts relating to the usurpation of the *Ahl al-Bayt*'s rights are mentioned not only in Shi'i works but also in Sunni canonical *ahādith* (T. M. 331-2).

The art of forging *ahādith* and confusing their followers was the Sunni speciality, observes the 'Allāma. He informs the Shāh that there were more than two ibn Qutaybas. The Shi'is' authors quote from the bigoted Sunni 'Abd-Allāh ibn Qutayba to rebut Sunni beliefs, and do not confuse the Sunnis. The 'Allāma goes on to say that he has himself inspected the portion of the *Kitāb al-Imāma wa'l-siyāsa*⁴⁶ by 'Abd-Allāh bin

42 Radī al-Dīn Rajab b. Muhammad b. Rajab al-Bursī wrote the *Mashāriq Anwār al-Yaqīn* in 813/1410-11.

43 A dictionary of the Arabic language by Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. 'Umar b. Khālīd called Jamāl Qarshī written in 681/1282-3.

44 The commentary on the *Sahih* by Abu'l-'Abbās Qastallānī of Cairo is entitled the *Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharh al-Bukhārī*.

45 Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, the author of the *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām* (a history and topography of Baghdād), died in 463/1071.

46 Abū Muhammad 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim al-Dīnawarī ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) was the author of many important religious, political, literary and philological works. According to some scholars the *Kitāb al-Imāma wa'l-siyāsa* was written by ibn al-Qūliyya (d. 367/977).

Muslim bin Qutayba, quoted in the *Ihqāq al-Haqq* and has discovered no departures from the original (T. M. 188-89).

Refuting the Shāh's allegations that the Shi'i 'ulamā' were guilty of fraudulent practices concerning *ahādith*, the 'Allāma says that the Sunni 'ulamā' with whom the Shi'i scholars associated, were duly impressed with their integrity and scholarship. Those Sunni 'ulamā' were not like the Shāh or other Nāsibīs hostile to the Shi'is. Those Sunni scholars believed that, were the *corpus* of Shi'i *ahādith* ignored, a large number of the Prophet's *ahādith* would be excluded. For example, Dhahabī⁴⁷ and Shāfi'i praise both the Shi'i sources and their integrity. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī also commends Shi'i traditions as trustworthy. (T. M. 178-84). Although Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd and Nisā'i were aware that Jābir Ju'fī⁴⁸ was a Shi'i, they incorporated his traditions in their works for they were not violently bigoted like Bukhārī and Muslim. Some of the commentators on the *Sahih al-Bukhārī* have remarked that Muslims rejected about 70,000 *ahādith* by Jābir Ju'fī based on Imām Muhammad Bāqir's authority (T. M. 184). The 'Allāma goes on to say that it is a well-known Sunni habit to condemn any authors who praise the *Ahl al-Bayt* as Shi'is in order to save their religion from contradictions (T. M. 184-5, 289).

The Shāh's criticisms concerning the authorship and interpolations in the *Nahj al-balāgha*, the 'Allāma says, had already been refuted by ibn Abī'l-Hadīd Mu'tazilī who initially accepted, for argument's sake, that either the whole or part of the *Nahj al-balāgha* was spurious. The first view according to him, was untenable for the chain of authorities for it had been quoted by a large number of non-Shi'is. The second alternative was also incorrect for those who were gifted with literary talents could easily discover interpolations. He finally concluded that the whole of *Nahj al-balāgha* was marked by the unique eloquence, elegance and maturity that characterised 'Alī's style (T. M. 296-302).

Rebutting the Shāh's allegations that Shi'is wrote books under the Imāms' names, the 'Allāma says that the Shāh's accusation that ibn Bābuwayh compiled Imām Hasan 'Askari's exegesis is a patent lie. In fact the authentic exegesis ascribed to Imām Hasan 'Askari was dictated by him to Hasan bin Khālīd Baraqī. The second exegesis by Muhammad bin al-Qāsim Astarābādī, who claims to have based it on ibn Bābuwayh's

47 Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352-3) was a famous Arab historian and 'ālim. The 'Allāma quotes his *Mizān al-i'tidāl fī naqd (or tarājim) al-rijāl*, Lucknow 1301/1883-4.

48 Jābir b. Yazīd b. al-Hārith, al-Ju'fī al-Kūfī (d. 128/746) was an important historian. He wrote the *Kitāb al-tafsīr*, *Maqāl al-Husayn*, *Kitāb al-Nahrwān* and the *Kitāb al-Sifīn*.

authority, is spurious. Two other unknown authors have also written exegesis ascribing them to Imām Hasan 'Askari but the Shi'i scholars have declared them inauthentic. Perspicacious scholars easily identify genuine works (T. M. 303).

As regards the Shāh's allegations that the Shi'i arguments resemble the Jewish and Christian criticism of Prophet Muhammad, the 'Allāma rejects the analogy on the ground that they criticise Muhammad's prophethood on the basis of their heavenly books. The Khārijis and Nāsibis, however, despite learning the truth about the *Ahl al-Bayt* from the Qur'ān and Prophet Muhammad's *ahādith*, conceal these because of their hostility to the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

The Shi'is are unable to find any reference to virtues in the Prophet's companions in the Qur'ān and the *ahādith*. The Shi'i sources describing the faults in the Prophet's companions are the same as the Sunni sources. The so-called *corpus* of their virtues is a fabrication by the Nāsibis and Khārijis (T. M. 39). The Shi'is base their criticism of Abū Bakr and 'Umar on Sunni works. These may be studied in the *Kashf al-Haqq*. Some will be mentioned in connection with the refutation of the *matā'in* (indictments).

The 'Allāma goes on to say that the Shāh's arguments denying 'Alī's superiority are based mainly on Nasr-Allāh's reasonings. Rebutting them, the 'Allāma says that the Sunni *ahādith* assert that Allāh obtained the agreement of all the prophets to Muhammad's prophethood. No Sunni questions how that agreement could be obtained from the prophets who preceded Muhammad. The real meaning of the prophets' prayers to God to make them 'Alī's Shi'is, is that 'Alī's status is higher than that of the rest of creation (T. M. 259-60). The 'Allāma continues that Gabriel's indebtedness to 'Alī is discussed in *Bustān al-kirām* by Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī (T. M. 212). Other angelic debts to 'Alī are related in all standard *sūfi* works. Islamic historical and biographical literature discusses at length the creation of Prophet Muhammad's *Nūr* (light) long before God created the heavens. The Shi'i belief in the creation of 'Alī and the Prophet from the same *Nūr* simultaneously is not an exaggerated Shi'i notion (T. M. 313-5).

The Shi'i belief that 'Alī visits them on their deathbed, the 'Allāma asserts, is not fictitious. The following Qur'ānic verse confirms it :

"There is not one of the People of the Scripture but will believe in him before his death, and on the Day of Resurrection he will be a witness against them."⁴⁹

The 'Allāma goes on to say that any similarities between the Shi'i and Christian faiths do not undermine the Shi'i faith (T. M. 316-17). The 'Allāma quotes ibn Khallikan's *Wafayāt al-a'yān* to show that 'Alī bin Jahm was regarded as an eminent Sunni and asserts that the Shāh's own arguments reveal that hostility to 'Alī is an orthodox Sunni doctrine. The 'Allāma endorses Qādi Nūr-Allāh's views on Sunnis and says that in chapter eleven the Shāh himself has written that Sunnis performed *taqiya*. Among the early Sunni leaders—who took advantage of *taqiya* was 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Umar. The Sunni historians, the 'Allāma says, accepted the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids as caliphs by way of dissimulation. Qādi Ījād Māliki considered Walid the twelfth caliph and Shaykh ibn Hajar 'Asqalāni believed the Qādi was correct. History tells us that the Sunnis performed *taqiya* to save their lives from the tyrants who ruled over them (T. M. 330-32).

The 'Allāma asserts that the Sunni belief that "Satan runs away from 'Umar" means that they consider him superior to the Prophet Muhammad and other prophets. The 'Allāma pleads his case on the basis of the following verse :

"Never sent We a messenger or a Prophet before thee but when He recited (the message) Satan proposed (opposition) in respect of that which he recited thereof. But Allāh abolisheth that which Satan proposeth. Then Allāh establisheth His revelations. Allāh is Knower, Wise."⁵⁰

The 'Allāma says that Satan did not run away from the prophets; therefore the belief that Satan fled from 'Umar definitely established his superiority over them. The analogy of kings and *kotwāl* in the Sunni⁵¹ defence given by the Shāh is also ridiculed by the 'Allāma who says that to identify kings with prophets is most disrespectful to the latter.

The 'Allāma, confuting the Shāh's allegations that Shi'is forged books in the name of Sunni authors, says that all controversial matters in Shi'i works on history and *kalām* have now been deemed correct by eminent Sunni scholars who frequently drew upon them. It was wrong to condemn them as Shi'i forgeries. The fact that 'Alī delayed accepting Abū Bakr as caliph is recorded not only in the *Rawdat al-ahbāb* ; the *Sahihs* of Bukhārī and Muslim also discuss the issue in the same manner (T. M. 291). The Sunni 'ulamā' discourage the study of history without any qualifications and even forbid the study of the history of Imām Husayn's martyrdom ; ibn Hajar's *Sawā'iq muhriqa* is a case in point. Taftāzāni, a great Sunni

50 *Qur'ān*, XXII, 52.

51 *Supra*, pp. 276-77.

authority, relying on historical literature, has gone to the extent of condemning some of the Prophet's companions for their sins and tyranny. The Shi'i scholars who have quoted from the *Tārīkh Kabīr* by Tabarī had access to the original; it is rare only in the present day. Misquotations and interpolations are strongly condemned by the Shi'i scholars and no standard author practises such frauds.

As regards Abū Makhnaf⁵² Lūt, he was referred to as a Shi'i in the Sunni work, *Lisān al-mizān* by ibn 'Adī. Without supporting evidence Abū Makhnaf cannot be assumed a Shi'i for other Sunni scholars do not accuse him of holding Shi'i beliefs (T. M. 293-94). The 'Allāma does not consider the story of Halīma's visit to Hajjāj rationally unacceptable but judges it contrary to nature. He says that the story that Halīma died before the reign of the first three caliphs is untrue. He continues that, according to the Shāh's calculation, Halīma's age, at the time of Hajjāj's appointment as governor of 'Irāq, would have been 140 years but the 'Allāma suggests that it is possible to live longer than this time. According to authentic Sunni works Salmān Fārsī is said to have lived for 250 to 500 years. Disputing the Shāh's estimate that Halīma would have been at least seventeen years old when she became Muhammad's foster-mother, the 'Allāma claims that, according to Avicenna's *Qānūn*⁵³ it was possible for a girl of nine to give birth to a child. Hajjāj despite his enmity towards the *Ahl al-Bayt*, the 'Allāma says, appointed Yahyā bin Y'amar, a member of the Prophet's family, a *qādī*. Consequently the payment of 1000 dinārs to Halīma for praising 'Alī is not historically impossible (T. M. 411-44). The 'Allāma also asserts that it is not unlikely that Muhammad Ghazālī renounced his ancestral faith, became a Shi'i and wrote *Sirr al-'ālamayn*.⁵⁴ The Sunni scholar 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad bin 'Uthmān bin Dhahabī has also quoted *Sirr al-'ālamayn* in connection with the account of Hasan bin al-Sabbāh⁵⁵ in his *Mizān* (T. M. 192-93).

The 'Allāma denies the Sunni contention that the Shi'is' ascription of the legalisation of homosexuality to Imām Mālik is based on a fraudulent

52 Abū Makhnaf Lūt b. Yahyā (d. 157/774) was the author of about thirty two historical works, some of which have been preserved in the Arabic Chronicle of Tabarī.

53 *Qānūn fi't-tibb* (Canon of Medicine) by ibn Sīnā or Avicenna (370/980-428/1037) was the most outstanding contribution to medicine. The use of modern experimental science has undermined its utility but its theories are still popular among traditional medical practitioners.

54 *Sirr al-'ālamayn* ascribed to Ghazālī is available in Buhār (Calcutta), Berlin and Cairo. It was also published. Although the topics correspond to the ethical works of Ghazālī, its some portions are pro-Shi'ite.

55 Hasan was the son of an Imāmi Shi'i 'Alī b. Sabbāh of Kūfa but at the age of seventeen he became an Ismā'ili. In 483/1090 he seized the rock fortress of Alamūt. Four years later he broke with the Fātimid Egyptian government in support of the claims of their rival Nizār to the *imāmate*. He died in 518/1124.

book. The 'Allāma says that not only do the Shi'i works contain Imām Mālik's permission for homosexuality, but Sunni works also mention it. Even Mullā Jāmī refers to it in *Bahāristān*.⁵⁶ Imām Fakhr al-Dīn in *Tafsīr Kabīr* does not specifically refer to Imām Mālik but considers homosexual acts between master and slave legal. Surely this is on Imām Mālik's authority. Further, Qastallānī, in his commentary on *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, also accuses Mālikī of permitting homosexuality. Qastallānī states that Mālikī's followers deny this but the fact is well known (T. M. 240-41).

Referring to Imām Mālik's permission of *mut'a* (marriage for a specified time only), the 'Allāma says that not only does the *Hidāya* ascribe it to Imām Mālik but other Sunni works such as the commentaries on *Maqāsid*, *Mashāriq al-anwār* and *Kanz*⁵⁷ also mention that Imām Mālik authorised *mut'a*. Referring to the discussion on *mut'a* in Akbar's court, recounted in *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* by Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, the 'Allāma says that in previous centuries the eminent Sunni 'ulamā' had accepted that Imām Mālik considered *mut'a* legal. The Shāh must detail his sources defending Imām Mālik, the 'Allāma challenges. He goes on to say that the Shāh's story that Imām Mālik considered *mut'a* a serious offence must be based on some fabricated Sunni work, and not on Imām Mālik's genuine *Muwatta*. Further, according to Abū Hanīfa, no legal punishment can be inflicted on a woman who receives money for sexual intercourse. This, the 'Allāma adds, legalises prostitution. In view of the fact that Imām Mālik, who was superior to the other three Imāms (all of whom founded schools of fiqh) legalised *mut'a*, its rejection by the remaining three can only be based on enmity towards 'Alī and not on *ijtihād*. Sunni authorities such as 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd al-'Azīz bin Jurīh who, according to Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī, died in 150/767, considered *mut'a* legal (T. M. 232-35).

In reference to the Shāh's allegations concerning Shi'i forgeries, the 'Allāma says that these did not call for any refutations as the Shi'is could also call the repugnant material in their faith a Sunni interpolation (T. M. 235-36).

Condemning the Shāh's vulgar language when discussing Sharīf Murtadā⁵⁸ the 'Allāma starts his comments with the remark, "May Allāh curse the liars". He goes on to say that classical Sunni scholars such as ibn Khallikān, Yāfi'i and Jalāl-Dīn Suyūti have also written biographical

56 A collection of moral anecdotes in prose and verse composed by Mullā Jāmī in 892/1487.

57 *Kanz al-Daqa'iq* by 'Abd-Allāh b. Ahmad b. Mahmūd Nasāfi (d. 710/1310-11) is an abstract of the author's own *al-Wāfi* on Hanafī law.

58 Sharīf Murtadā (355/966-436/1044) the brother of Sharīf Radī is a highly respected Shi'i author. *Supra*, p. 280.

notes on Sharīf Murtadā and given lists of his works but none has accused him of drawing up on forged books and fictitious authors. He then quotes the *Risāla* by Yūhunna and other standard works relating how eminent Sunnī scholars from different schools abused each other, calling the other infidel, burnt each other's mosques and killed each other. The differences in the basic Sunnī principles were enormous, the 'Allāma asserts. He concludes the discussion using similar language about the Shāh as the latter employed about Sharīf Murtadā. He says, "Whatever this Nāsibī (the Shāh) has written in this book and called his own composition, considering it fine garments, contains mostly the dirty material encrusted with excrement (*fadla*) from Fadl bin Rūzbihān and old rags stained with menstrual discharge from Nasr-Allāh Kābulī and other Sunnī leaders. The Nāsibī (Shāh) picks them up from abandoned dung hills, and washes them and stitches a robe of honour for the Sunnis from them. To the Shi'is of the holy *Ahl al-Bayt*, they are feebler than cobwebs and weaker than mulberry leaves which have been trampled by school children" (T. M. 218-24).

Confutation of the Third Chapter of the Tuhfa, Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya, Vol. III

A detailed refutation of the third chapter of the *Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* was written by Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil Dihlawī who wrote the rebuttal of its first chapter.⁵⁹ The Hakīm says that there is no evidence that the ancestors of the Shi'is were 'Abd Allāh ibn Sabā's disciples. On the basis of the Sunnī canonical *ahādīth* the Hakīm demonstrates that Shi'ism is founded on the teachings of Prophet Muhammad. Both the Shi'i and Sunnī works show that Shi'ism is grounded on the teaching of the imāms and the *Ahl al-Bayt* in the same way as the Hanafiyya laws are based on the teachings of Abū Hanīfa Kūfī or Shafi'i laws are founded on Shafi'i's teachings. Imām 'Alī himself condemned 'Abd-Allāh and the Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas consider him infidel and perverted. He is not the source of any Ithnā' 'Ashariyya traditions. The Shāh's insistence that 'Abd-Allāh was the leader of the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya violates his own promise to quote Shi'i principles from their own religious literature.

The Hakīm accuses the Sunnis of holding Jewish beliefs themselves. He continues that *Mishkāṭ*, on the authority of *Kitāb al-i'timās*, states that 'Umar went to the Prophet to seek his permission to write down some Jewish traditions which he found attractive. The Prophet condemning 'Umar's boldness, said that he (the Prophet) was presenting to them the bright rules of the shari'a which, had Moses been alive, he would have followed. The *Mishkat* also says that once 'Umar annoyed the

59 The folios of the Persian manuscript of the Delhi Persian Collection (India Office) were marked in pencil and could not be read on the microfilm.

Prophet by showing him the book of Moses. Hakīm then quotes other Sunni *ahādīth* and authorities which show that the Sunnis had derived their rules and laws from Jewish works. Like the Israelites who danced before the golden calf constructed by Sāmīrī, the Sunni sūfis also indulged in dancing.

During 'Alī's caliphate, the Hakīm says, his Shi'is consisted of the Prophet's companions and their successors. Some 27,000 to 40,000 were killed in the battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawān. Nevertheless 'Alī's army was composed of both loyal and disloyal soldiers. The latter were mainly residents of Kūfa who were devoted to 'Umar and had joined 'Alī for money and to consolidate their position. They were not 'Alī's Shi'is. They were treacherous, refused to listen to his sermons and caused him infinite trouble. They were descended from 'Umar's followers and those who deserted the Prophet before his defeat at Uhud. Even during that critical period only 'Alī, 'Abbās, Abū Sufyān bin al-Hārith and 'Abd-Allāh bin Mas'ūd remained with the Prophet. The Hakīm then describes 'Alī's exploits in different battles for the glory of Islam. The Hakīm asserts that the Ithnā 'Ashariyya believe that the *Nahj al-balāgha* contains sermons delivered by 'Alī and compiled by Sayyid Radī. The Hakīm says further that the sermons from the *Nahj al-balāgha* quoted by the Shāh were incorrect and he gives the true version.

Challenging the Shāh's allegation that the soldiers in Imām Hasan's army were Shi'is, the Hakīm says they belonged to different categories. Some were Khārijis, who would not listen to any arguments and insisted on fighting Mu'āwiya, some were subordinate only to their own leaders and some had assembled for the booty. Others were loyal followers of the sect to which the Shāh and his father belonged. Imām Hasan's devoted Shi'is were helpless before the dominant seditious groups. It is wrong to call the people of Kūfa, who had invited Imām Husayn to come there and then deserted him, Shi'is for, by submitting to Yazīd, they changed from being the Imām's Shi'is to being Yazīd's followers. They became Sunnis for they considered Yazīd one of the twelve *khalīfas*.

The Hakīm discusses at great length the principles of hadīth criticism by different Shi'i groups. He says that differences between various Shi'i sects do not prove that all are false. Referring to Zayd Shahīd's argument with Imām Muhammad Bāqir, he says that Zayd Shahīd believed that Imām Muhammad Bāqir was a true Imām. He differed from him on the point that a war to establish a government to promote divine commands did not require the Imām's permission. The Hakīm asserts that the Shāh's information about Zaydiyya works was mythical and he had no knowledge of the Ismā'iliyya works either. A large number of the latter were available in Southern India and the Hakīm quotes some titles. Criticising the Shāh's list of Shi'i 'ulamā', the Hakīm points out that some of them were not at

all famous. Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Mashhadī, whose *Izhār al-haqq*, the Shāh had drawn upon profusely, was not a recognised scholar and the works of Shī'i 'ulamā' do not mention him. Possibly the Mullā, says the Hakīm, during his student days compiled the *Izhār al-haqq* but he was unable to complete his draft. The Hakīm then discusses at great length the self-contradictions in the Sunnī canonical *ahādith*, where one author argues vehemently against another. Refuting the contradictions in Shī'i works pointed out by the Shāh, he says that the Shī'is did not believe that everything in the *Kāfi* and *Man la yahduruhu'l faqih* was from the *Imām-i ma'sūm* but they considered them *sahih* (authentic) in the sense that they were fairly dependable.

Refutation of the Fourth Chapter of the Tuhfa, Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya, Vol. IV

The fourth chapter of the *Tuhfa* was rebutted by Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil in the fourth volume of the *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*. The *Nuzha*, published in Ludhiāna in 1279/1862-63, gives excerpts from the *Sawāqī'* by Nasr-Allāh Kābulī along with the extracts from the *Tuhfa* which the Hakīm intended to refute.

The Hakīm considers the Shāh's definition of the different categories of Shī'i *ahādith* misleading. The Shī'i *Sahih* (sound) *ahādith* go back to the *Imām-i ma'sūm* and their narrators should be credited with 'adl (justice). 'Adl means "infinite piety" the Hakīm says and the capacity to shun serious sins and avoid minor ones. To the Shī'is unless the hadīth is linked with the *Imām-i ma'sūm*, it is not a hadīth. The Shī'i requirement for 'adl in narrators is much higher than that envisaged by the Sunnis. *Ahādith* by narrators in whom the *Imām-i ma'sūm* had no confidence are not credible. He then quotes some *ahādith* narrated by unreliable authorities from *Sahih Muslim* and *Sahih Bukhārī*. Bukhārī, the Hakīm says, did not hesitate to include *ahādith* from the Khārijī narrators in his work (N. IV, 1-43). The *ahādith* of other Sunnī sects such as the Qadriyyas, Jabriyyas and the anthropomorphists are also included in the Sunnī *ahādith* (N. IV, 44-49).

Defending the *ahādith* regarded as *hasan* (good) by the Shī'is, the Hakīm says that the Sunnī scholars regard even fabricated *ahādith* as *hasan*. He then gives some examples and reiterates that the Sunnī scholars also follow the Shī'i definition of *hasan ahādith*. The Hakīm criticizes the examples quoted by the Shāh in his discussion on *muwāththaq* (trustworthy) and *da'if* (weak) *ahādith* and asserts that the Shī'is consider even those *ahādith* as *da'if* which the Sunnis accept as *sahih* and *hasan*. (N. IV, 49-60).

The Hakīm accuses the Shāh of ignorance regarding the *Imāmiyya rijāl* works. Around 200/815-16 Hasan bin 'Alī bin Fadl and 'Abd-Allāh bin Jabla wrote books on *rijāl* and on hadīth criticism. Hamīd bin Ziyād

Naynawī, 'Alī bin Hasan bin Fadal and Muhammad bin 'Isa bin 'Ubayd produced books on the above subjects around 300/912-13. In the third century (of Islam) Hujjat al-Islām Shaykh Muhammad bin Ya'qūb Kulaynī wrote a work on *rijāl*; he was followed by ibn Bābuwayh. Later on Kishī, Nijāshī, Shaykh Abū Ja'far Tūsi and others contributed works on *rijāl*. The 'Abbāsīd reign was one of terror for the Shi'is and most of their classical works were destroyed. Later 'ulamā', such as Hillī, Taqī al-Dīn bin Dāwūd and Shaykh Shahīd Thānī produced books on these subjects and they were followed by a galaxy of scholars (N. IV, 62). However, Shi'i scholars were never allowed any peace; even Sayyid Murtadā's house was destroyed. Karkh near Baghdād, where the Shi'is lived, was constantly devastated by the Sunnis (N. IV, 64-65). The Hākīm then goes on to detail some Sunni narrators among whom were included such known apostates as 'Uthmān's foster-brother, 'Abd-Allāh bin Abī Sarah, liars such as Ash'ath bin Qays and Walid bin 'Aqaba, and drunkards such as Walid bin 'Aqaba and Shimr Dhi'ljawshan. The latter murdered Imām Husayn (N. IV, 67-69). The Hākīm accuses the Shāh of not properly understanding the Shi'i principle of *ahādīth* criticism because of his bigotry and evaluating it in the light of the Sunni pattern of hadīth criticism, which he considered true and final. The Hākīm also accuses the Shāh of not having studied the classical Shi'i *ahādīth* and having based his criticism on the later simplified versions. He reminds the Shāh that to the Shi'is the fabrication of *ahādīth* is unlawful and he cannot blame the Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas on the basis of the Ghulāt traditions. He states that the Shāh knows that the Karrāmiyyas, sūfis and other Sunni ascetic sects were past-masters at fabricating *ahādīth*. A large number of Sunni scholars such as Abū Hanīfa Sarraj Ummati were known authors of false *ahādīth* (N. IV, 101-11).

The Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas never hesitate to discuss hadīth among themselves and with other sects, pointing out their defects and sometimes using strong language. This always happens during heated discussions and examples from these do not prove that the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya scholars fall into self-contradictions. The Hākīm then remarks that Sunni works suffer more blatantly from these defects. For example Abū Hurayra, a prolific Sunni hadīth narrator, was challenged by the Prophet's companions for fabricating the Prophet's *ahādīth*. The Hākīm also refers to disputes between other eminent Sunni *ahādīth* narrators (N. IV, 1250-3). He then quotes at great length those Sunni *ahādīth* which he considers fabricated (N. IV, 131-93).

The Hākīm strongly defends the Shi'i beliefs concerning Imām Mahdī and says that differences in the date of Imām Mahdī's birth and place of disappearance do not invalidate the theory. These dates were kept secret for fear of political persecution. This naturally led to discrepancies but

astronomers such as Abū Rayhān Birūnī,⁶⁰ Māshā'-Allāh Mīshī⁶¹ Abū Ma'shar Balakhī⁶² upon whom the Shāh relies, have no authority for the Shi'is (N. IV, 248-53). Their authority is the Qur'ānic injunction and they base their belief in the Mahdī on it. According to Shi'i beliefs the question of longevity in regard to the Mahdī's age does not arise. The presence of the Mahdī, who is Allāh's vicegerent, is a divine grace and part of the scheme of the divine secret of creation. The Shāh's challenge regarding the presence of the Mahdī amounts to challenging the creativity of Allāh. The Hakīm quotes innumerable Sunni authorities, particularly the sūfis, whose writings corroborate the Shi'is theory of the Mahdī (N. IV, 258-62).

Refuting the Shāh's allegations regarding Shi'i beliefs in the Qur'ān, the Hakīm says that both leading classical and later Shi'i authorities such as Shaykh Sadūq Muhammad ibn Bābuwayh Qummī, Shaykh Abū Ja'far Tūsi, Sayyid Murtadā 'Alm al-Hudā, Mullā Muhsin Kāshī, the author of *Wāfi*, and Shaykh Hurr-i 'Āmilī⁶³ believe that no interpolations, additions or deletions have occurred in the Qur'ān. The portions said to have been deleted are not meant to be recited. Although the Shi'is do not possess the Qur'ān compiled by 'Alī, they base their doctrine on the existing Qur'ān and the *ma'sūm* Imāms recited this. Some traditions from Shaykh Kulaynī give the impression that he believed that portions had been deleted from it but scholars such as Shaykh Sadūq do not apply the apparent meaning to the controversial traditions by Kulaynī. Sunni *ahādith* authors such as Bukhārī and Muslim have also incorporated similar traditions. The Hakīm then quotes ibn Bābuwayh who says "We (the Shi'is) believe that the Qur'ān sent by Allāh to the Prophet is the same which is bound between two boards and is in the hands of the people. There is nothing additional" (N. IV, 271). The Prophet's hadīth says, "I leave with you two weighty things and if you hold fast to them you will not be misguided. Neither of these will be separated from the other and will reach me conjointly at the Kawthar pond in paradise." This hadīth, the Hakīm says shows that both the Qur'ān and the *Ahl al-Bayt* would remain with the people until the end of the world and that obedience to them was imperative (N. IV, 273). The Hakīm goes on to say that the whole of the Qur'ān was recited by Prophet Muhammad to some of his eminent companions such as 'Abd-Allāh ibn Mas'ūd and ibn Ka'b. The

60 The great mathematician, astronomer and scientist Abu'l-Rayhān Muhammad al-Birūnī (d. after 442/1050) was the greatest scholar of his day.

61 Māshā'-Allāh Mīshī flourished in the reigns of Mansūr and Ma'mūn (198-218/813-833).

62 Abū Ma'shar Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Balkhī known as Albumasar (d. 272/886) was an astrologer. Some of his works have been translated in Latin.

63 For their works see Bibliography.

Qur'ān's protector is Allāh and no interpolations have occurred. The Hakīm then remarks how some *Sahīh* Sunnī *ahādīth* inform us that in the decades following the Prophet's death, there was considerable scepticism among 'Ā'isha and the other companions about the Qur'ān's authenticity and content. The methods of reciting it also varied. The Hakīm quotes the list of those Prophet's companions whom the Shi'is ardently respected given in the *Majālis al-mu'minin*, in order to contradict the Shāh's allegations about the Qur'ān's transmitters (N. IV, 308-18).

Contradicting the Shāh's allegations against the Shi'i beliefs concerning hadīth, the Hakīm states that the Shi'i differences on the appointment of imāms do not make all the narrators and transmitters unreliable. The Ithnā' 'Asharis in all countries adhere to the *ahādīth* of 'Alī and the Imāms who were descended from him. The Ithnā' 'Ashariyya beliefs about the imāms are based on Qur'ānic verses and the Imāms' *ahādīth* are logical and rational (N. IV, 319-21).

Turning to the question of *ijmā'*, (consensus of the recognised religious authorities), the Hakīm says that the Shi'is reject the caliphate of Abū Bakr not because they doubt *ijmā'* but because of the way it operated in that case. *Ijmā'* means the agreement of the *mujtahids* of the *ummat* at a particular period of time on a shari'a question. The caliphate of Abū Bakr did not fulfil this condition, for 'Alī, 'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, all the Banī Hāshim and a large body of the Prophet's companions such as Salmān Fārsī, Abū Dharr Ghifārī, Miqdād, Hadhifa, 'Ammār Yasir, Sa'd bin 'Ibāda, Qays bin Sa'd, a large number of the members of Khazraj tribe and others were not present and were not consulted regarding his election. Even Talha and Zubayr in the beginning did not approve of Abū Bakr's election. Eminent Sunnī 'ulamā' also do not claim that Abū Bakr's election was based on *ijmā'*. They say that he was appointed caliph because of the *bay'a* of the influential and dominant group (*ahl al-hall wa'l 'aqd*). Many other questions such as the rejection of Fātima's claim to her father's property by the first caliph and the repudiation of the legality of *mut'a* by the second caliph were not based on *ijmā'*. The Shi'i *ijmā'*, the Hakīm goes on to say, operates on two bases. In its real sense it means decisions made directly under the imāms or approximating their lifetime on the principles derived from their authentic statements. Secondly the unanimous decision, by those 'ulamā' who are the recognised authorities for delivering *fatwas*, is an *ijmā'* decision. A decision by those members of the 'ulamā' who are not accepted as competent authorities is not considered an *ijmā'* decision. Most Sunnī 'ulamā' also endorse this definition (N. IV, 324-29).

Lastly the Shi'is do not allow *qiyās* (analogical deductions) because many shari'a rules which appear similar were issued in different circumstances and in various situations. Any syllogistic reasoning on the basis of appa-

rently similar premises is likely to be misleading. The Shi'is investigate the circumstances and then pass judgment to suit the spirit of the law and not merely its letter. The Hakīm then gives innumerable examples of Islamic penal laws which have caused considerable embarrassment to the Hanafis because of their adherence to *qiyās* (N. IV, 329-70). The Hakīm also refutes the alleged Shi'i absurdities described by the Shāh. He says :

1. The time of the Imām's appearance is not dependant on the rise and fall of ruling dynasties in different parts of the Islamic world and Shi'i domination in certain countries. The delay cannot be ascribed to the Imām's timidity or fear as the Shāh rudely asks his readers to believe. The occasion of the Mahdi's appearance is a divine secret. Human intelligence cannot comprehend it and only Allāh knows its time and circumstances. It is not possible to obtain a real perception of the policies of worldly emperors let alone access to the plans of Almighty God who for centuries tolerates the dominance of infidels and those who claim godhead for themselves. Prophet Muhammad, even after the Islamicization of several thousand people and the submission of the Abyssinian rulers, did not forthwith conquer Īrān and left this to its own appropriate time. None can accuse the Prophet of timidity or cowardice (N. IV, 371-2).
2. The allegations concerning the availability of the slave girls in the way the Shāh describes is not borne out by Shi'i books. The Hakīm accuses the Shāh of distorting the law of *khums*. According to this law the Shi'is have to pay one-fifth (*khums*) from the booty and similar wealth to the Imām as his share. What Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq did was to grant exemption to the Shi'is from paying *khums*. He had ordered that although the Imām was entitled to his share of the slave girls obtained as booty, the Shi'is could have sexual intercourse with them. What the Imām meant was that although theoretically the slave girls were his, the Shi'is could use them. The gift (*hiba*) of slave girls to others was an accepted practice. Even the Prophet gave Sirīn, Māriya Qibtiya's sister, to Hassān bin Thābit⁶⁴ (N. VI, 372-73).
3. Refuting the Shāh's condemnation of the language ascribed to Imām Ja'far Sādiq in connection with the alleged marriage of Umm-Kulthūm, the Hakīm says it is figurative. "Seizing the privities" means a forced marriage, not fornication. The Qur'ān

⁶⁴ Hassān bin Thābit bin al-Mundhir (d. 40/660) was one of the most important poets of early Islam and a favourite of the Prophet. Sirīn was an Egyptian slave girl who was given by the Prophet to Hassān as a gift.

uses the word "*furūj*" (privities) in many places.⁶⁵ Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd and Mālik report that 'Ā'isha referred to the privities and the penis. In fact the Sunnis' works of hadith give a very brazen description of Umm-Kulthūm's marriage to 'Umar. According to the *Isti'āb* by 'Abd al-Barr and the *Sawā'iq al-muhriqa* by ibn Hajar, 'Alī informed 'Umar that Umm-Kulthūm was not yet mature. 'Umar pressed 'Alī to show her to him. 'Alī sent her to 'Umar before their marriage. When 'Umar saw her, he hugged and kissed her and rubbed her legs. Commenting on the Sunni hadith, the Hakīm repeats the language used by the Shāh to condemn the Shi'as (N. IV, 373-76).

4. No Shi'i, the Hakīm says, can violate the Qur'ānic injunction, "Wed not idolatresses till they believe".⁶⁶ This means the Shāh's remarks about the Imāms are not credible. However, it is not surprising that within the bounds of the shari'a, the Imāms pressed by circumstances might have given their females to the *manāfiqs* (hypocrites) in marriage (N. IV, 376-77).
5. The story that Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq threw the Qur'ān on the ground is based, the Hakīm says, on misreading the text. The Imām put his hand on the ground, not the Qur'ān. To think that an Imām would treat the Qur'ān disrespectfully is sacrilegious (N. IV, 377-79).
6. Despite practising *taqiya*, the Imāms were subjected to considerable hardship by the caliphs. To ascribe their dissimulation to cowardice is sheer contention and obduracy (N. IV, 379-80).
7. The Shāh's allegations are vague as no examples are quoted. The Sunni objections to some expressions in Shi'i exegesis are superficial and are based on their own misunderstanding of the context and Arabic grammar (N. IV, 380-85).
8. The allegations that the Shi'i Imāms prohibit *jihād* are false and unjust. The Ithnā' Ashariyyas consider *jihād* obligatory to defend the boundaries of Muslim countries and to repel infidel invasions. They need permission from the *Imām-i Ma'sūm* only for wars in which they are the aggressor. The works of Sunni fiqh also impose certain conditions on *jihād* (N. IV, 385-88).
9. The Shi'is also forbid sexual intercourse after divorce and the allegation is absolutely unfounded.
10. The charge that playing with the penis during prayers is permitted is wrong. The story is that Imām Ja'far received a report that a man continually rubbed his penis during prayers. After hearing

65 Qur'ān, XXIII, 5; XXIV, 30, 31; XXXIII, 35; LXX, 29.

66 Qur'an, II, 221.

the man's explanation that it had been irritating him, the Imām said there was no harm i.e. the prayer was not voided (N. IV, 388-89).

11. The allegation is incorrect. Shī'i works permit garments stained with blood from an ulcer or a wound not larger than the size of a *dirham* (copper coin) to be worn during prayers (N. IV, 389-90).
12. The rules described by Shaykh Tūsi regarding the killing of animals are the same as those generally detailed in Sunni *ahādith*. However, some Sunni hadīth scholars, as described in the *Hayāt al-haywān* by Damiri, tell us that Prophet Muhammad did permit mule to be eaten (N. IV, 390-91).
13. The Hakim accuses the Shāh of perfidiously adding the word "kissing" to make the story look preposterous. The *Tahdhib al-ahkām*⁶⁷ and other Shī'i works relate that someone told Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim that sometimes when he was praying a minor slave girl passed and he embraced her. The Imām said there was no harm in this. The Hakim, defending the Imām's ruling, says, that the action described above was only a rare occurrence. According to the Hanafiyyas also, the Hakim says, prayers are not invalidated by seeing the privities of a divorced woman, seizing animals and bridles, moving a fan, reading books on fiqh and comprehending them, opening and tying trouser strings, lifting something up in the hand and by lifting a child on to the shoulders. An authentic Sunni hadīth says that the Prophet was seen leading prayers while 'Ās's daughter Amāma sat on his shoulders. When he kneeled and prostrated himself he placed Amāma on the floor, when he stood up again, he lifted her on to his shoulders (N. IV, 391-2).
14. The Hakim says that the Shī'i hadīth mentioned by the Shāh relates to very exceptional circumstances. It states that girls should not be taught the ablution rules after the nocturnal pollution before they are old enough for it to be relevant. The Sunni authorities such as Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi and others also prescribe similar restrictions on teaching the above rules (N. IV, 392-94).
15. The Hakim says that Imām Muhammad Bāqir and Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq did not say that *taqiya* should be given up absolutely. That would have involved a contradiction with the practices

67 The *Tahdhib al-ahkām* was written by Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Tūsi (d. 458/1065-66). He is designated by the title of Shaykh al-tā'ifa (the leader of the sect).

of the Imām's ancestors. *Taqiya* is not imperative, it is only permitted in certain exceptional circumstances. The rules are detailed in the Shi'i works (N. IV, 395).

16. The Hakīm says that gold and silver in connection with the payment of *zakāt*, means gold and silver coins as used for commercial purposes. The hoarding of gold and silver is totally forbidden irrespective of the payment of *zakāt*. This payment depends on a large number of conditions and the Shāh's allegations do not take these into account. He misinterprets the Shi'a *ahādith* (N. IV, 396).
17. The Shi'is urge patience in the face of adversity but do not blame those who are unable to control their emotions. Those who refuse to resign themselves to the divine will and cry and lament are slaves of their feelings. However, weeping in deeply tragic circumstances is natural and no ruling by the Imāms exists on this issue (N. IV, 398-99).
18. The exceptions suggested by the Imāms to the law of retaliation relate to the blind and the Sunnis also make these allowances. Other exceptions are exceedingly rare and have little application. Similar distinctions are also available under Hanafī law (N. IV, 399-400).
19. The Shi'i rule of *istirqāq* (reducing to slavery) is not based on hadīth from the Imāms but on logical reasoning. The Shi'i jurists plead that after killing a Muslim, a *dhimmī* (protected subject) breaks his contract and becomes a *harbī* (unprotected rebel) infidel. This makes the enslavement of his children in retaliation for killing a Muslim unobjectionable. It is wrong to assume that this reduces the Islamic shari'a to the status of the laws of Chingiz (N. IV, 400).
20. The Sunnis also believe that Allāh pardons both great and trivial sins committed by Muslims; 9th Rabi' I is not an exception (N. IV, 401-2).
21. The Shi'i authorities differ on the further use of water which has already been used to wash the penis. Some say that after removing the scum, it can be used for other purposes but no jurist allows it to be drunk. The Sunni *ahādith* ascribe even more revolting incidents to the Prophet Muhammad. According to them, nothing, even rags stained with menstrual discharge and human excrement, make water impure. Water that had been in contact with these objects was presented to the Prophet for his use (N. IV, 402-3).
22. According to the Imāms the entire *umma* was not declared accursed; only the *Ahl al-Bayt's* enemies were condemned. Refuting the Shāh's concluding remarks, the Hakīm says that some of the Imāms' relations did disagree amongst themselves but that it is wrong to allege, as the Shāh does, that all the Imāms were at

loggerheads with their family. Zayd Shahīd never disputed the *imāma* of Imām Muhammad Bāqir. The controversy raged over whether the Imām's permission was required for a war designed to establish a worldly empire. Zayd Shahīd never challenged Imām Muhammad Bāqir's right to be an imām. The Hakīm asserts that the *ahādīth* quoted by the Shāh from the *Izhār al-Haqq* by 'Abd-Allāh Māshhadi do not call for any Shi'i comment as he was an obscure author who relied on Sunni sources (N. IV, 410-15).

Refutation of the Fifth Chapter of the Tuhfa: Sawārim-i Ilāhiyāt

A rebuttal of the fifth chapter of the *Tuhfa* was written by Ghufrān Ma'āb Sayyid Dildār 'Alī as well as by Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil Dihlawī. In the following pages we shall draw upon Ghufrān Ma'āb's answers in the *Sawārim-i Ilāhiyāt*. Initially Ghufrān Ma'āb wrote the refutation of the twelfth chapter of the *Tuhfa* entitled *Dhū'lfaqār* and sent it to the Shāh along with a copy of his *magnum opus*, *'Imād al-Islām*. For five or six years the author says no reply was forthcoming either from the Shāh, whom he refers to as *al-Nāsib al-Mu'ānid* (the stubborn Nāsibī) or any other Sunni scholar. He goes on to say that he embarked reluctantly upon writing the *Sawārim* for the benefit of his contemporaries and posterity although he thought that the Shāh's "stupidity and lies did not call for any counter-arguments." He claimed that he had not confined himself to refuting the Shāh but had also included in the *Sawārim* a relevant discussion on *kalām* to serve as an eye-opener to the Shāh and others. Ghufrān Ma'āb also seeks the indulgence of Sunni scholars for his use of harsh retaliatory language against the Shāh and his ancestors and adds that it was the Shāh himself who, despite his claims to humility, provoked this course (S.I., 6-8).

Accusing the Shāh of misrepresenting the Shi'i view about Allāh, Ghufrān Ma'āb says that it is reason which reveals divine ordinances and the prophets' words. Reason is not an obstacle to *ma'rifa* (gnosis) but an aid. According to the Sunni Ashā'ira belief, the prophets sent by God are helpless before men who refuse to accept God and His messenger. The only solution to the impasse is to appeal to reason. The Ithnā-'Ashariyyas believe that reason should not be given precedence over Allāh and his ordinances but that it should be used to understand divine commands or else Islam would be reduced to the faith of fools. The Qur'ān also urges :

"Who hear advice and follow the best thereof. Such are those whom Allāh guideth, and such are men of understanding."⁶⁸

"Lo! in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the difference of night and day, and the ships which run upon the sea with that which is of use to men, and the water which Allāh sendeth down from the sky, thereby reviving the earth after its death, and dispersing all kinds of beasts therein, and (in) the ordinance of the winds, and the clouds obedient between heaven and earth : are signs (of Allāh's sovereignty) for people who have sense."⁶⁹

The above verses, particularly the last one, assert the importance of reason. Again the following verses condemn those who do not listen to reason :

"The likeness of those who disbelieve (in relation to the messenger) is as the likeness of one who calleth unto that which heareth naught except a shout and cry. Deaf, dumb, blind, therefore they have no sense."⁷⁰
 "And of them are some who listen unto thee. But canst thou make the deaf to hear even though they apprehend not?"⁷¹

The Ashā'ira Sunnis, who ignore both the Qur'ān and the prophets' *ahādīth* also lose sight of reason. Ghufrān Ma'āb accuses the Shāh of not properly understanding the Imām's *hadīth*.⁷² The Imām says that the *hadīth* tells us that it is not imperative for men to find out reasons for the existence of God as He himself directs their arguments. The Shi'is, he goes on to say, believe that God is omnipotent and 'ādil (just). He is not dependent on anything. Unlike the Ashā'ira, the Shi'is do not believe that God indulges in frivolous and useless acts (S. I., 187). The Shi'i references to what God makes incumbent upon Himself are the corollaries of His 'adl and mercy towards His creation (S. I., 192).

Ridiculing the Shāh's logic that since the Ghulāts and Ithnā 'Asharis unanimously condemn the Prophet's companions, the Ghulāt beliefs about Allāh must also apply to the Ithnā 'Asharis, Ghufrān Ma'āb violently attacks Sunni beliefs concerning Allāh. He says that the way Sunni *mutakallimūn* (scholastic theologians) and *sūfīs* attack each other's beliefs in Allāh shows that the entire Sunni belief concerning Allāh is sacrilegious. He quotes Sayyid Sharīf's observation about the *mutakallimūn* and *sūfī* discussion on God given in the *Fawātih* by Maybudhī.⁷³ Mutakallim said

69 Qur'ān, II, 164.

70 Qur'ān, II, 171.

71 Qur'ān, X, 43.

72 *Supra*, p. 287.

73 *Fawātih* is a detailed introduction to Husayn b. Mu'īn al-Dīn Maybudhī's Persian commentary on a *diwān* said to have been written by 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. The commentary was completed in 890/1485.

to the *sūfī*, "I detest that God who manifests Himself in dogs and cats". The *sūfī* replied, "I detest that God who does not manifest Himself in dogs and cats". Ghufrān Ma'āb also refers to his *Shihāb-Thāqīb* which he says deals with *Sunnī* heresy in general and the *sūfī* heresy in particular. He also invites his readers to pay attention to 'Alā' al-Dawla's violent refutations of ibn 'Arabi's *Wahdat al-Wujūd* (S. I., 97). Ghufrān Ma'āb says that the *hulūl* (infusion of God into a creature) and *imtizāj* (combination of divine and human) and *ittihād* (identification of divine and human nature) are the cornerstones of *Sunnī* beliefs and are not confined mainly to the *sūfis*. He also quotes the beliefs of different *Sunnī* sects such as the *Jahmiyyas* and *Murjiyyas* and, underlining their contradictory aspects, asserts that the *Sunnīs'* views on God are profane and sinful. According to Ghufrān Ma'āb, the *Sunnī* anthropomorphic beliefs have destroyed their belief in Allāh's transcendence (*tanzīh*) (S. I., 77).

Referring to the Shāh's criticism of the Shi'is views on free will, Ghufrān Ma'āb says that belief in human power or personal action does not violate belief in divine omnipotence. Human actions depend on time and place and are the result of the considered personal choice of the performer. If the verse "Allāh is able to do all things" absolves human beings from their responsibility, they become God's actions. Sharif Murtadā and the Shi'i 'ulamā' assert in their works belief in divine omnipotence but do not absolve human beings of the responsibility for their actions (S. I., 39-40).

Refuting the Shāh's interpretation of Shi'i beliefs on free will (*qadar*), Ghufrān Ma'āb accuses the Shāh of misunderstanding and misinterpreting the correct Shi'i point of view as he does when dealing with other problems because of his bigotry. Ghufrān Ma'āb constantly refers to his *'Imād al-Islām* in Arabic which discusses the problem of free-will in the light of the terminology used by the *kalām* scholars. He invites those who wish to understand the controversy on a scholarly level to study *'Imād al-Islām*. However, in his *Sawārim*, which is meant for general readers who only know Persian, he explains the controversy in a simple style. He refers to the two early *Sunnī* schools of the *Jabriyya*, who believed that man's actions were determined by God's eternal and immutable decrees and completely rejected the idea of free-will, and the *Qadriyya* who believed in the power (*qadar*) of man's free-will and rejected the idea of predestination. Ghufrān Ma'āb also discusses the conflicting views on *jabr* and *qadar* of Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'arī and Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī, the two great architects of *Sunnī* orthodoxy. He concludes that both views are illogical and unrealistic. Only the Shi'i view is correct. He goes on to say that those who try to deny that acts depending on choice (*ikhtiyārī*) emerge from the actor in fact are like those people who deny that fire is hot. Ash'arī, in order to please the caliphs and sultāns, plunged himself into the task of denying obvious realities about God (S. I., 222). Unless

man is free in his choice how can he decide between acts commanded by God and forbidden by Him? The Ash'ari logic relating to man's inability to choose a line of action reduces God to the low status of a devil. It means accepting that God himself creates heresy in infidels' hearts and then punishes them for it without allowing them any choice (S. I., 222-25). All the Qur'ānic verses deny the theory of *jabr* (compulsion), Ghufrān Ma'āb asserts. The conception of *kasb* (acquisition) saying that God creates man's acts, and that man "acquires" them was not known to Ash'ari. His followers, who invented the theory, insult God by indulging in prolixity and rambling speeches (S. I., 227, 236, 237). According to Ash'ari logic, God is an autocrat and tyrant who is pleased by those who call Him just and tell Him that they themselves are oppressors (S. I., 232). However, Abu'l-Mansūr Māturīdī dissociated himself from Ash'aris' illogical and unrealistic theories but fell from the frying pan into the fire. He opined that man, by his own power, makes the decision but the acts are created by God. Man's reward and punishment depend on his decision and not on his actions. His followers were also divided into two different groups. Ghufrān Ma'āb concludes that the Shi'i point of view discussed by him in the *'Imād al-Islām* is the most reasonable. The Shi'is believe that according to divine justice men themselves are responsible for the performance of the acts they choose (S. I., 241).

Ghufrān Ma'āb says that in the hadith quoted by Kulayni, punishment is inflicted because of heresy and sin and not on inclination or intention as the Shāh understood (S. I., 262). He also accuses the Shāh of misinterpreting the Imāms' *ahādīth* on *bayn amrayn*, (lying between *jabr* and *qadar*) arbitrarily⁷⁴ for the *ahādīth* by the Imāms affirming man's choice or free-will in choosing his acts, are innumerable (S. I., 279). Ghufrān Ma'āb also condemns the Shāh for accusing Sharīf Murtadā of inventing the Shi'i theory of free will on the basis of poetry and quotes from Sharīf's works to prove what he calls "the Nāsibī's (Shāh's) perversion" (S. I., 263-66).

Ghufrān Ma'āb says that the Shāh wrongly interprets the Shi'i *ahādīth* concerning the punishment of infidel children in hellfire. According to these *ahādīth*, infidel children will be taken near to hellfire but will not be punished. According to other views they will be placed in limbo or paradise itself (S. I., 259).

Discussing the Sunnī belief concerning sighting God on Judgment Day, Ghufrān Ma'āb asks the Sunnis what they really mean by "sighting". If knowledge and certainty are intended, then there is no dispute. That God can be seen by human eyes and in the manner of physical phenomena is not believed by many Sunnī authorities, unless, following Ahmad bin Hanbal, they believe that God has a physical body with thighs and

⁷⁴ *Supra*, p. 289.

legs (S. I., 282-83). Abu'l-Hasan Ash'ari and Qādi Abū Bakr⁷⁵ say that as they saw body and essence, it was inevitable that they would sight God too. Māturīdī opposed Ash'ari and found the denial of the possibility of seeing God logically and rationally correct. Sayyid Sharīf Jūrjānī, the author of *Sharh al-mawāqif*, also endorsed Māturīdī's opinion. Ghufrān Ma'āb then refutes those Sunnis who argue that were visions impossible Moses would not have urged God to show Himself to him.⁷⁶ Ghufrān Ma'āb discusses at length the various implications of *anzur* (show me) in the verse and, on the basis of *Tafsir Kabir*, seeks to demonstrate that the Sunnī belief in divine vision is untenable. He also quotes Shī'i *ahādith* stating that the Imāms denied the possibility of viewing God and accuses the Shāh of misinterpreting ibn Bābuwayh in order to prove the Imām's acceptance of this belief (S. I., 284-305).

Ghufrān Ma'āb severely rebukes the Shāh (as had the Hakīm when he rebutted the previous chapter of the *Tuhfa*) for raising the controversy regarding interpolations in the Qur'ān. The Shāh knew that the Imāms used the same Qur'ān as others, states Ghufrān Ma'āb, and that Shaykh Sadūq, whom the Shī'is greatly respected, had unequivocally confirmed that there was no Qur'ān but the one that was between two boards in the hands of men. He also discusses the controversies that existed between the Prophet's death and Caliph 'Uthmān's reign and other disagreements over the recitation of a few words in the Qur'ān. He adds that these problems do not undermine the Shī'i faith in the present Qur'ān (S. I., 43-60).

Refutation of the Sixth Chapter of the Tuhfa : Husām al-Islām

Ghufrān Ma'āb also wrote the *Husām al-Islām* in rebuttal of the sixth chapter on Shī'i beliefs concerning the prophethood in the *Tuhfa*.

1. Commenting on the Shāh's criticism of this Shī'i belief, Imām Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī in the *Tafsir Kabir*, in relation to the *Fatra*⁷⁷ verse, tell us that it was imperative for God to appoint prophets because the people needed them. Was he not a Sunnī ?, asks Ghufrān Ma'āb sarcastically. The Shī'is also believe that God is omnipotent and compassionate to His creatures. His obligations are not referred to as derived from any external authority but as a self-imposed obligation in fulfilment of His promises. Abraham's prayers do not violate belief in divine obligations or else all prayers concerning the fulfilment of divine promises such as those relating

75 Abū Bakr bin Ahmad known as ibn Qādi Shuhba (779/1377-851/1448) was a famous teacher in Damascus and the author of the *Tabaqāt al-Shāfiyya*.

76 *Qur'ān*, VII, 143.

77 "O people of the Scripture ! Now hath Our messenger come unto you to make things plain after an interval (of cessation) of the messengers, lest ye should say : There came not unto us a messenger of cheer nor any warner." *Qur'ān*, V, 19.

to God's promise of paradise would be wrong. The period of "interlude" (*fatra*) when there was a cessation of messengers, according to Shi'i beliefs was filled by the prophets' deputies. This is true up to the period after the death of the "seal of the prophets" (Muhammad). Their belief is based on Qur'ānic verses and Imāms' teachings (H., 405).

2. The conflicts in the views of the Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas and the Zaydiyyas about *imāma* do not invalidate the *corpus* of Shi'i beliefs. The Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas unequivocally believe that 'Alī and his descendants are superior to all pre-Muhammad prophets. This belief is based on the analogy that since God considered Prophet Muhammad was superior to all his predecessors, his deputy should inevitably be superior to the pre-Muhammad prophets. For example God says :

"And (remember) when his Lord tried Abraham with (His) commands, and he fulfilled them, He said : Lo! I have appointed thee a leader for mankind. (Abraham) said: And of my offspring (will there be leaders)? He said: My covenant includeth not wrong-doers."⁷⁸

The classical Sunnī exegeses writers say that God in His mercy granted Muhammad the status of *imām* after elevating him to the prophethood. This means that his position as an *imām* was superior to his position as a prophet. Prophet Muhammad's political duties and wars against the infidels were not incumbent on any of his predecessors (H., 11). Among the Sunnis, ibn 'Arabi in the *Fusūs al-hikam* says that the status of the "seal of the *walīs*" (protégés of God) is superior to that of the "seal of the prophets". After describing the importance of knowledge and gnosticism, ibn 'Arabi asserts that the knowledge Allāh gave to the "seal of the prophets" and the "seal of the *walīs*" was not known to earlier prophets. After the death of the "seal of the prophets", the process of formulating the divine laws ended, but *wilāya* (the status of the protégés of God) did not end. Ibn 'Arabi considered that he himself had attained the status of "seal of the *walīs*". 'Alī, Ghufrān Ma'āb says, as the *imām* and deputy of the "seal of the prophets" was superior to some prophets who were not *imāms* and *walīs*. In view of ibn 'Arabi's unqualified assertion of the superiority of *walīs* and their continuation after the death of the "seal of the prophets", all criticisms by the Shāh and his followers relating to Shi'i beliefs concerning 'Alī, collapse, Ghufrān Ma'āb asserts. The Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas' belief that all prophets are superior to their deputies does not provide any ground for the Shāh and his followers to allege that the Shi'is consider 'Alī greater than Muhammad. The Shi'is should also

78 Qur'ān, II, 124.

not be accused of relying on *ahādīth* by solitary narrators for the Sunnis do the same. Ghufrān Ma'āb quotes Sunni *ahādīth* based on solitary sources which have been included in their works by such eminent Sunni authorities as Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī and 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī. All these authorities, Ghufrān Ma'āb says, consider *sūfis* or '*ulamā*' equal or superior to the prophets (S. I., 14). Sunni *ahādīth* and other works also admit that Prophet Muhammad declared that 'Alī was his brother both in worldly and religious matters. As Prophet Muhammad was superior to all prophets, it was logical that his brother was also superior to all prophets (H., 17-28).

1. Defending the alleged first Shi'i presumption of 'Alī's superior knowledge, Ghufrān Ma'āb says that the analogy of Fārābī and ibn Sīnā does not apply to 'Alī, as Fārābī and ibn Sīnā were also regarded as superior to their teachers. All eminent Sunni scholars believe only Prophet Muhammad was more knowledgeable than 'Alī. Consequently it was a foregone conclusion that 'Alī was superior to pre-Muhammad prophets in knowledge (H., 33-35).

2. It is not only Hasan bin Kabish who stated, "Alī is superior to people of former and later generations". Eminent Sunni scholars such as Ahmad bin Hanbal, ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī⁷⁹ and Shaykh 'Alī Muttaqī⁸⁰ have related *ahādīth* from 'Ā'isha and the Prophet's eminent companions which assert that Muhammad said that 'Alī was the leader of the Arabs and was the best among mankind (H., 38-41).

3. The Shi'i beliefs about 'Alī are based on the authority of most reliable *hadīth* narrators as are the rest of their beliefs. The '*ismat* (impeccability) of the Prophet is not undermined by Shi'i traditions. It is destroyed by the Sunni traditions which state that the Prophet was dependent on 'Umar for guidance on questions of *fiqh* and was denied paper and pen on his deathbed because of 'Umar's protests. Ghufrān Ma'āb refutes the Shāh's attack on ibn Bābuwayh by pointing out that sound Sunni *ahādīth* (*Sihāh*) demonstrating the Prophet's love for his wife 'Ā'isha, are even more comical. According to them, the Prophet carried 'Ā'isha on his shoulders in order that she might enjoy the Abyssinian music.

Defending ibn Bābuwayh Ghufrān Ma'āb says that the Shi'is depend only on those *ahādīth* which are endorsed by an impeccable chain of

79 Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (714/1314-786/1385) was an eminent *sūfī* of the Kubrawiyya order. His treatises on *sūfism* are very scholarly and imbued with a deep love for 'Alī and the *Ahl al-Bayt*. His visit to Kashmīr (783/1381-786/1384), was a great success. H. S. I., I, pp. 291-99.

80 Shaykh 'Alī Muttaqī (885/1480-81—975/1567) was an eminent Indian *sūfī* and '*ālim* who settled in Mecca and died there. His *Kanz al-'ummāl* is a most outstanding compilation of Sunni *ahādīth*. M. R. M., 135-42.

authorities. Conversely, the contradictions in the Sunnī *ahādith* make Muslims heretics. He does not see any contradiction between the hadīth on Fātima's marriage to 'Alī and the general Shi'i belief in 'Alī's superiority to the prophets (H., 41-43).

Reply to allegations of Shi'i extremism (ghulū)

1. Shi'i beliefs are not compatible with the Shāh's interpretations, Ghufrān Ma'āb says. They believe that Prophet Muhammad was created before all the prophets and that the Imāms derive their existence from the same clay that was used for him. A similar hadīth is recorded even by Ahmad ibn Hanbal (H., 43-56).

2. The Shāh has no right to question the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya doctrine of the Imāms' creation, for the *imāma* is the basis of the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya faith. If he wishes to question the Shi'i doctrines on the basis of Sunnī beliefs, his arguments are irrelevant to the Shi'is. The Shi'is believe that, like the prophethood, the *imāma* is also bestowed by God on the persons chosen by Him (H., 56-67).

3. The Shi'i belief is based on Prophet Muhammad's hadīth to the effect that he and 'Alī emerged from the same light; half of it came to his father 'Abd-Allāh and the other half went to Abī Tālib. Of 'Abd-Allāh he was born and, of Abū Tālib, 'Alī was born. The Sunnī works such as *Mawāhib-i Laduniyya* also describe these *ahādith*. Ibn 'Arabī is of the opinion that the prophets receive their light from the seal of the *walis* and claims that he himself had achieved that status. Ghufrān Ma'āb adds that the Shāh and the Sunnis are not upset by ibn 'Arabī's claims but dispute ibn Bābuwayh's elevation of 'Alī because of their hostility to the *Ahl al-Bayt* (H., 67-75).

4 & 5. There is nothing strange or illogical in the Shi'i beliefs regarding Resurrection Day. Both they and the Sunnis believe that Prophet Muhammad's *umma* (community) will be the first to be admitted to paradise. It is also believed that each prophet will guide his *umma* across the Sirāt bridge. This means that Prophet Muhammad's *umma* will enter paradise before other communities. There is thus no exaggeration in believing that Prophet Muhammad followed by 'Alī and his devotees will be the first to enter paradise (H., 75-77).

Using very strong language to refute the Shāh's propaganda that the Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas considered their Imāms superior to Prophet Muhammad and even to God, Ghufrān Ma'āb says that the Shi'is certainly do not believe what the Shāh suggests (H., 133). Only the Sunnis believe that Allāh would send *wahī* (divine revelation) through 'Umar. Sneering at this Sunnī hadīth, Ghufrān Ma'āb says one may ask the hadīth narrator why God sent *wahī* through 'Umar's tongue during the Prophet's lifetime and discontinued the honour after the Prophet's death. The Shi'is believe

that Allāh made only those objects illegal for mankind which He did not consider in their best interests. The objects made legal by Allāh benefited man. Actions left to man's discretion should be performed under the guidance of reason. The Shi'is are intolerant of any interference with express divine ordinances. How can they believe that the Imāms supersede divine ordinances? (H., 134).

The Ithnā' 'Asharis believe that Prophet Muhammad performed *mi'rāj* (Muhammad's nocturnal journey to heaven) physically; only some Shi'is imbued with philosophy and sūfism, who exert no influence on other Shi'is, disbelieve in bodily *mi'rāj*. Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī discusses at some length Sunnī controversies concerning *mi'rāj*. The great Sunnī sūfī Bāyazīd Bistāmī claims to have attained *mi'rāj* himself. Shi'i *ahādīth* on 'Alī's association with the Prophet in *mi'rāj* differ. Some say that Allāh conversed with Muhammad in 'Alī's voice because of the Prophet's great love for 'Alī. Ibn Bābuwayh states that 'Alī's intellectual perception and certainty about Allāh was so deep that what Prophet Muhammad saw in heaven with the eyes in his head, 'Alī saw on earth. The hadīth underlines 'Alī's knowledge and certainty and does not make him Prophet Muhammad's rival (H., 158-64).

Ghufrān Ma'āb bitterly criticizes the Shāh for making the Shi'i belief in direct divine inspiration an accusation against them. He goes on to say that it is an undisputed belief that inspiration is received from Allāh without the mediation of angels. The Sunnis believe that people like 'Umar, who had spent a large part of their life worshipping idols, received divine inspiration. According to Sunnī beliefs *dervishes* and *qalandars* also communicate with God. However, the Shāh, Ghufrān Ma'āb says, because of his enmity to the Prophet's family, condemns the Shi'is for believing that Muhammad's family received divine inspiration (H., 166-68).

Referring to the Sunnī objection to *taqīya*, Ghufrān Ma'āb says that the Shi'is do not accuse the Prophet of lying. This is done by the Sunnis. The Shi'is do not accuse Abraham of lying, it is the Sunnī works that assert this. The prophets' lives, and even that of Prophet Muhammad, are full of incidents which can be justified on the basis of *taqīya*. After his appointment as Prophet, Muhammad led a quiet life for three years. He left Mecca for Medina leaving 'Alī on his bed, because he feared the infidels. Why did not Prophet Muhammad openly preach Islam to the infidels who besieged his house and why did he run away? There can be no other answer except that he performed *taqīya* out of fear for his life (H., 84-91).

Confutation of the Seventh Chapter of the Tuhfa : Jawāhir-i 'abqariyya : Risāla-i Ghaybat and Bawāriq al-mūbiqa.

Refutations of the first section of the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfa* dealing with the occultation of the twelfth Imām were written by Ghufrān Ma'āb

and Mawlānā Mufti Mir 'Abbās of Lucknow. The former's book is entitled *Risāla-i ghaybat* and the latter's *Jawāhir-i abqariyya fī radd-i Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, Vol. 1. Although both works are available to us we shall draw first upon *Jawāhir-i 'abqariyya* to acquaint our readers with a different line of argument.

Mawlānā Mufti Mir 'Abbās says that the imām functions as the Prophet's deputy and is the leader and controller of the entire *umma*. This universal government is known as *imāma*. There is however an exception in that an 'ālim, faqih and prayer leader is also known as an imām although he is not the leader of the entire *umma*, nor in charge of all its affairs. The Qur'ān also uses the word imām in the sense of a high road and even as a register or book :

"And lo! they both are on a high road plain to see."

(*imāmim-mubīn*)⁸¹

"And all things we have kept in a clear register."

(*imāmim-mubīn*)⁸²

The Sunnis, according to their own principles, indiscriminately use *imām*, *khalīfa* and *wālī-i amr* for their kings, the rulers of Kūfa and Baghdād. The sultāns, however, do not deserve the title *imām* for they neither have any say in religious matters nor conform to the shari'a in their worldly policies. The Shi'is obey and accept only those as imāms who are appointed and assisted by God. Those who only claim to be the people's leader are not Shi'i imāms. Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, commenting on one of 'Alī's sermons, says that once 'Umar said to his companions that he did not know if he were a *khalīfa* or a king. If he were a king he was in the whirlpool of crisis. Someone said, "O commander of the faithful! A caliph is different from a king. Please God, you are on the right path for the *khalīfa* collects and spends revenue in a lawful manner. Kings are unjust and impulsive. They collect revenue and spend it unlawfully." 'Umar hoped he was like that (a caliph) and kept quiet. An Arab addressed Abū Bakr as the *khalīfa* of God. He replied, "I am not a *khalīfa* but *khālīfa*". *Khālīfa* means one who is not endowed with virtue and power. It is also used in the sense of an ass. The Sunnis consider Abū Bakr and 'Umar are true caliphs and those who deny their caliphate are dubbed heretics. They also think Yazid, Marwān and other devils were caliphs and pay no attention to the twelve Imāms, who narrated a vast number of *ahādīth* which strengthened the faith (J., 11-14).

81 Qur'ān, XV, 79.

82 Qur'ān, XXXVI, 12.

The Shī'is consider *imāma* as the basis of their faith but to the Sunnis it is only a derivative institute (*furū'*) of the *sharī'a*. The Sunnis do not consider discussion and research concerning the *imāma* desirable. 'Umar's statement in the hadith that "Allāh's book (the Qur'ān) is sufficient for them," equals their indifference to the Prophet. The Sunni 'ulamā' are scared that the study of the controversies surrounding the caliphs might expose their faults to the people. It is for this reason that the Sunnis decided to declare as infidels those who refused to accept the Prophet's first three caliphs as imāms. Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī's discussion in connection with the *istikhlāf* verse shows that he considers the discourse on *imāma*, the basic principle of the faith (J., 18-24).

Disputing the Sunni theory that qualified adults should elect their imāms, the Mawlānā reminds the Shāh that his father considered the *imāma* as exalted as the prophethood. The Mawlānā asks the Shāh why the people did not choose their own prophets if they believed that they could select their imāms. A hadith narrated by ibn 'Abbās which ibn Abī'l-Hadīd quotes in his commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha*, states that 'Umar told ibn 'Abbās that the Quraysh did not wish the prophet and caliph to belong to the same house as its members would be puffed up with pride. Therefore they did not elect a member of Prophet Muhammad's family as their caliph. Ibn 'Abbās replied that the Qur'ān had already warned :

"That is because they are averse to that which Allāh hath revealed, therefore maketh He their action fruitless."⁸³

Ibn 'Abbās added that their (Muhammad's family's) relationship with the Prophet was a matter of pride in its own right. However, their humility did not permit them to be proud of even that connection with the Prophet. This shows, the Mawlānā says, that the election of the caliph resulted from 'Umar's conspiracy. Secondly, the caliphs appointed by the people cannot act against their elector's will but an imām appointed by God is obedient only to His will and prevents the people from wallowing in sensuality and licentiousness. Lastly the people are not capable of invariably electing a righteous caliph (J., 25-35). The Mawlānā then goes on to discuss the Shī'i belief that Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān were neither competent to rule nor to deliver judgments on complex problems (J., 35-92).

The Mawlānā pleads that on rational and traditional grounds it is correct to believe that God made the appointment of the imāms His duty as it is the imām who controls the religious, political and economic life of

the people. The Shāh by contesting this theory acts in a disrespectful and reprehensible manner to God. If no divinely appointed imām is available to follow Prophet Muhammad, on Judgment Day the people will blame God for not giving them an authority competent to interpret the disputed shari'a questions (J., 118). He goes on to say that since man is a social animal, conflicts and tensions in society can be resolved only by a supreme authority who is endowed with divine guidance. A divinely appointed prophet or an imām had such authority (J., 95). The Mawlānā then quotes from the *Tafsir Kabir* which says that God, as part of His mercy and generosity, had made it incumbent upon Himself to send prophets. The divine appointment of imāms, the Mawlānā says, is promised in many Qur'ānic verses which he quotes. He also gives extracts from Shi'i *ahādith* concerning them. The political duties listed by the Shāh, the Mawlānā asserts, can be best performed by an imām chosen by God and not an elected one (J., 123). Imāms elected on adult whims are more prone to plunge the world into anarchy and chaos than those who have been divinely appointed. The fears expressed by the Shāh in the event of Allāh's intercession could also be raised against sending prophets to people by the Brahmins who do not believe in prophets (J., 127). The Shi'is' reply to the Shāh's fears would be the same as the Sunnis would make to the Brahmins concerning the divinely appointed prophets. In fact, the emergence of anarchy and dissension in the world should be ascribed to the rejection of divinely appointed imāms (J., 127-28).

All Muslims, the Mawlānā says, unanimously agree that the prophets were sent by God out of his benevolence. Many of them encountered insurmountable difficulties and were not always granted victory and dominance; some were even barbarously martyred. Allāh also tells us that Prophet Muhammad's creation was an act of His goodness to the whole of creation. The Qur'ān says :

"We sent thee not save as a mercy for the peoples."⁸⁴

Nevertheless thousands of people remained heretics and infidels and obtained no benefit from his mission (J., 128-32). In these circumstances the Shi'is do not deserve to be condemned for believing the divinely appointed imāms to be a divine blessing. In fact the Shāh does not understand the meaning of *lutf* (benevolence), the Mawlānā says. In a religious sense it means that, through the prophets, adults are given the capacity to reject sin and devote themselves to divine worship. Imāms also perform the same duty. Consequently their appointment, although

they might not be victorious or dominant, is a divine benevolence. For example, the Qur'ān is an instrument of guidance although the infidels are misguided. The sun gives light although bats do not obtain any benefit from it (J., 136-7).

Refuting the Shāh's criticism relating to the threats to the twelfth Imām, the Mawlānā says that perhaps the Shāh does not know Islamic history. He then relates factual episodes regarding the martyrdom of the imāms from that of Imām Husayn to the eleventh Imām at the hands of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids (J., 138-48). The Shi'is believe that only God controls the hour of death. The Mawlānā then quotes sūfī anecdotes which ask us to believe that they regulate the time of their own death and that of others. The Sunnī sūfis are known to have bartered their death for that of their petitioners (J., 154). Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī and Qādī Iyād⁸⁵ tell us that when the angel of death was sent to deprive Moses of his soul, he slapped the angel's face so hard that he was blinded (J., 156). Sunnī works reduce the prophets to the status of sūfis such as Shaykh Piyārā and Mullā Kālū. Shi'i imāms were obedient to the divine decree and did not drive the angel of death from their presence (J., 158). Indeed Kulaynī states that the Imāms were aware of the hour of their death and died in the way they preferred. Kulaynī does not make any claims on the Imāms' behalf, as the Shāh wishes his followers to believe. Moreover, despite the privileges the Imāms enjoyed, they were obedient to the divine will and never interfered with it in their personal interest (J., 157-68). The Mawlānā then goes on to marshal evidence in favour of the Mahdī as the Shi'i's twelfth Imām. He quotes both Qur'ānic verses and *ahādīth* which prove the correctness of the Shi'i theory of the twelve imāms to him. He says that Sunnī *ahādīth* in their canonical works assert that the Prophet's religion would last and prosper until the Muslims had been led by twelve caliphs. The Sunnis, the Mawlānā argues, did not have more than four caliphs. The Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd were never regarded by them as true caliphs. According to other Sunnī *ahādīth*, the caliphate continued for only thirty years after the Prophet's death. Afterwards there were only usurpers or kings. The twelve caliphs before the Judgment day, says the Mawlānā, could be none but the twelve Imāms; the last one being the Lord of the Age, or the Twelfth Imām (Mahdī). Sunnī scholars such as Shaykh Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad bin Yūsuf Shafi'i, the author of *Kitāb al-bayān*, plead that since Christ, Khidr and Ilyās are among God's protégés and it is believed that Satan and Dajjāl will live until Judgment Day, there should be no problem in believing that the Mahdī, the twelfth Imām would also survive until then. The

85 Iyād b. Mūsā al-Qādī (d. 544/1149) was an eminent Mālikī jurist. Of his works *al-Shifā' bi ta'rīf huqūq al-Mustafā* is best known.

Shāh's rejection of his eventual re-appearance, the Mawlānā says, emanates from his bigotry. According to the *Rawdat al-ahbāb*, the Lord of the Age was born in the middle of Sha'bān 255/1 August 869 and disappeared in the grotto of Surr-Man-Ra'a in 260/874 (J., 196-201). Sunni authorities, including Mullā Jāmī, 'Allāma Dayār Bakrī the author of *Tārikh-i Khamīs* and Muhammad Pārsā, the author of *Fasl al-Khitāb*⁸⁶ have also described the birth of Imām Mahdī. According to the Shi'is his occultation took place by divine command and, like the Ashā'ira, the Shi'is do not consider any action by God frivolous⁸⁷ (J., 214-16).

Refuting the Shāh's comments on Sharif Murtadā's⁸⁸ views, the Mawlānā says that what the Shāh deems reasonable in the case of the Mahdī is farthest from the truth. He goes on to say that the Shāh's objections have been repeatedly rebutted by Shi'i classical scholars. The unbelievers also make similar objections to matters of belief. For example, according to them, prayers are useless for if something was going to happen it would inevitably take place. Prayers would not change the course of divine action. Different Shi'i sectarian theories on the Mahdī's appearance and, for that matter Sunni theories, do not undermine Shi'i faith in his re-appearance. The Mawlānā accuses the Shāh of contradicting himself in his statement on the Sunni theory of the Mahdī's appearance. According to an earlier statement, the Mahdī was destined to appear in 200/815-16 but later the Shāh asserts that the date for his appearance was changed to 1200/1785-86.

The Mahdawiyyas of India believe that the Mahdī would appear around 1000/1591-92. The Sunni *ahādīth* concerning the signs of his appearance are enormous and overwhelmingly self-contradictory. However, the Mawlānā asserts that it was essential for Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz to frown at the simple and straightforward Shi'i theory that the Mahdī would re-appear as and when Allāh wills. Condemning the Shāh for his ignorance, the Mawlānā says that he did not even know that the Mahdī disappeared at Surr-Man-Ra'a—it is not stated that he would appear from there. The Mawlānā says that it was not essential for him to answer the Shāh's questions as to why the Mahdī did not appear during the Shi'i rule in Īrān or during their dominance over different parts of India. However, in order to satisfy the critics he suggests that perhaps Allāh delayed his appearance in order to test irreligious people like the Shāh who had misled and would mislead the people. This too, he says, was known to Allāh (J., 227-260).

86 *Fasl al-Khitāb* by Khwāja Muhammad Pārsā (d. 822/1420) contains extracts from the Arabic and Persian works of eminent sūfīs.

87 Ghufrān Ma'āb, *Risāla-i ghaybat*, Lucknow 1266/1850, p. 33.

88 *Supra*, p. 377.

The Mawlānā compares the Shāh's disparaging remarks about Sayyid Murtadā's account of the Mahdī's disappearance with the infidels' contemptuous remarks about the Qur'ān and says that the birth and occultation of the Mahdī are discussed in precise detail in a large number of Shī'i works. Muslims believe that Christ talked while still in his cradle. It was only Sunni bigotry, says the Mawlānā that prompted the Shāh to doubt the occultation of the Mahdī and to ignore the historical fact of the persecution of the Shī'is by the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids. The Mawlānā advises the Shāh that he would gain nothing by interfering with Shī'i beliefs regarding the Mahdī. The best thing he could do was to concern himself with his counterpart Dajjāl (J., 260-66).

The *Burhān-i Sa'ādāt* by 'Allāma Mufti Muhammad Qūlī comprises the refutation of the entire seventh chapter but the points raised by the Shāh have also been answered by the 'Allāma in the *Tashyid al-matā'in*. In order to avoid repetition we shall draw upon *Bawāriq al-mūbiqa* by Sultān al-'ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad, for the study of further answers to the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfa*. The Sayyid fiercely attacks the Sunni belief that the imāms were appointed for political reasons. According to him, their appointment left the people with no excuse for departing from righteousness. The same divine motive governed the nomination of the prophets, whose deputies were the imāms. The Sunni theory of *imāma*, as defined by Taftāzānī, ignores the important aspect of righteousness. Any leader immersed in sin could, by sheer brute military force, become a Sunni imām (B.S., 5-13). The following Qur'ānic verse applies to the Sunnis:

"And we made them patterns that invite unto the Fire, and on the Day of Resurrection they will not be helped."⁸⁹

The Sayyid marvels at the absurdity of the Sunni faith and their pride in it. He accuses the Shāh of contradicting himself by giving Saul and David as examples of prophets who were believed to have sinned although the Sunnis believe that the prophets did not sin. The Shāh asserts that imāms and *khalīfas* are the Prophet's deputies but he is unable to name the prophet for whom Adam deputised. It seems the Shāh means that his sūfi ancestors quarrelled with God, demoted Him and made Adam God's deputy and therefore His superior although he was only a prophet (B. S., 13). The Shāh's allegation that 'Alī stated he was not *ma'sūm* (impeccable) the Sayyid says, is logically absurd. If consulting others did not disqualify the Prophet from his status as *ma'sūm*, how, the Sayyid asks, could it undermine the *'ismat* (impeccability) of the Imāms? Secondly, 'Alī's conver-

89 Qur'ān, XXVIII, 41.

sation was designed to urge his companions not to consider him as tyrant and to ensure they did not allow fear of the government to prevent them from telling him the truth (B. S., 14).

The Sayyid continues that Abū Makhnaf was not a reliable historian and Hurr 'Āmilī considered him a Zaydiyya. However Imām Husayn's criticism of his brother's peace refers to the compelling circumstances which left him no alternative. His remarks do not prove that his brother, Imām Hasan, was not *ma'sūm* and Imām Husayn considered himself bound by these terms. Concerning the Shāh's criticism of Imām Sajjād's prayers, the Sayyid says that the Shāh would even condemn Prophet Muhammad who also sought divine protection from Satan in similar words. The Sayyid does not see any contradiction between Imām Husayn's statement and Imām Sajjād's prayers. In short the Sayyid says that both the Sunnis and the Shi'is consider the following hadīth correct :

"One who dies without knowing the contemporary Imām dies a death of *jāhaliyya* (ignorance)⁹⁰ (B. S., 14-17).

Only the Imāms from the *Ahl al-Bayt* could, the Sayyid pleads, clarify the symbolic language of the Qur'ān. 'Umar, who had declared that the Qur'ān was sufficient for the Muslims, became lost when interpreting the difficult legal points and had to admit that he would have been distraught without 'Alī's help (B. S., 16). The Sunnis have not been able to confine themselves to the Qur'ān either and have not even found *ahādīth* sufficient for solving all their problems. Were the Sunnis to accept the *imām-i Ma'sūm*, they would not be confused about problems relating to *ibdā'* (absolute creation). In legal matters they would not have to depend on *qiyās* (deduction by analogy) and *istihsān* (method of finding legal justification for matters contradictory to the usual *qiyās*). The Sayyid goes on to say that even the caliphs chosen by the people were unable to get any support from those who opposed the divinely appointed Imāms. 'Umar was assassinated and 'Uthmān was killed by his own subjects. 'Ā'isha would not accept 'Alī as caliph and violated the Qur'ānic injunctions to stay in her house (B. S., 19).

Contradicting the Sunni beliefs about the Prophet's successor, the Sayyid says that they were not based on any rational principle. Not all those who chose Abū Bakr as caliph were eligible to vote. 'Alī and his supporters ignored the Saqifa decision for six months. The Sunnis' principle of *ijmā'* (consensus of the competent people) changed according to the usurpers' convenience. 'Umar's appointment as caliph was made by Abū Bakr and not by *ijmā'*. Since Abū Bakr

90 *Fatāwā-i 'Azīzī*, II, pp. 77-78.

and 'Umar were wrongly appointed, the only true caliph was 'Ali. The Shī'i belief on *imāma* is based on hundreds of Qur'ānic verses, not on the couplet quoted by the Shāh, the Sayyid asserts. Questioning the Shāh's description of "five rightly-guided caliphs", the Sayyid asks whether 'Umar's son 'Abd-Allāh, who refused to make *bay'a* with 'Ali but willingly accepted Mu'āwiya, was a Sunnī or a sinful innovator. The Sayyid then proceeds to give a list of those who like 'Abd-Allāh were rebels. He accuses the Shāh of self-contradiction because at one time he says 'Ali was the last of the righteous caliphs but later includes Imām Hasan in the Sunnī list (B. S., 32-36). In fact, the Sayyid maintains, a large number of Sunnis do not consider Imām Hasan a caliph. The Sayyid suggests that as the Sunnis had no justification for their failure to obtain knowledge from their contemporary Imām, they began to use the Qur'ān as an imām. The Sayyid also accuses the Shāh of misleading his followers by referring to *Kitāb al-Fusūl* as a Shī'i work. It was, he says, in fact written by ibn Sabbāgh Mālikī and not a Shī'i. The Shāh had been misled by his predecessor, Nasr-Allāh Kābuli. Ibn Sabbāgh and the Sunnī, Imām Shāfi'i, were considered Shī'is because they praised the *Ahl al-Bayt* in their works. Consequently, statements by ibn Sabbāgh and Abū Makhnaf regarding Imām Hasan or Imām Husayn have no authority for the Shī'is (B. S., 35-39). The Sayyid ridicules the Shāh for calling Imām Husayn a martyred Sunnī imām (B. S., 40-41). He claims that the Shāh is absolutely wrong in asserting that the Shī'is regard Mu'āwiya as the fourth caliph. The Shī'is regard 'Ali as their first imām and as the fourth Sunnī caliph. The Shāh, the Sayyid says, forgets that the Sunnī Syrians fought for Mu'āwiya as they considered him the fourth caliph. The Shāh cannot deny that Mu'āwiya was an honoured Sunnī caliph. Shaykh 'Abd-al-Qādir Jilānī in his *Ghunyat al-tālibin* and even Shāh Walī-Allāh in the *Izālat al-khafā'* pay tribute to Mu'āwiya. It is not the illiterate Sunnī but the distinguished Sunnī 'ālim, Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, who describes Yazīd as the sixth caliph in the *Tarikh al-Khulafā'*. 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī and ibn Hajar also hold the above belief. The Sayyid sneers at the Shāh's theory about Mu'āwiya and says that it was regrettable that the Shāh did not follow his own father, who in the *Izālat al-khafā'* asserts that Mu'āwiya was one of the greatest companions of the Prophet (B.S., 45-49). The Sayyid claims that the Shāh's syllogism reads, "Yazīd was among the Sunnī believers although he committed abominable sins by ordering the killing of Imām Husayn. Consequently ibn Ziyād, 'Umar ibn Sa'd, Shimr Dhi'ljawshan, Sinān bin Anas, Khulī bin Yazīd were also pious Sunnis and deserve prayers for the forgiveness of their abominable sins. None should curse or dissociate from them." It is not surprising that the Sunnis regard those who curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar as infidels but do not consider those who killed Imām Husayn and

persecuted the *Ahl al-Bayt* as infidels. If the Sunnis think that Mu'āwiya and Yazīd did not love the *Ahl al-Bayt* why do they not curse them ?, asks the Sayyid. Some Sunnis such as ibn Jawzī and Maybudhī have uttered imprecations against Yazīd (B. S., 42-50). 'Alī only prohibited the use of obscenities ; he never forbade cursing (B. S., 53). The Sayyid accuses the Shāh of wrongly glossing the Prophet's declaration of war against those who fought 'Alī. It is wrong he says, to interpret the word "war" metaphorically. 'Alī, the Sayyid continues, never advised the Muslims to follow Mu'āwiya for any reason whatsoever. The Sayyid points out that, according to ibn Hajar, those who cursed Abū Bakr were infidels. How then, can those who fought against 'Alī not be infidels as well ?, he asks. Was not 'Alī a *walī* (protégé of God) as was Abū Bakr, according to the Sunnis? The Sayyid, ridiculing the Shāh, says that it was presumptuous of him to consider himself 'Alī's follower (B. S., 57). The Sayyid takes strong exception to the sneers at his father who was the first in India to study under Āghā Bāqir Bihbihānī and to attain the status of a *mujtahid*. He goes on to state that there was no *mujtahid* in Karbalā called Mullā Nasir and the Shāh was either misinformed or had invented the name himself. However, the Sayyid says, it is a Sunni custom to become a leading 'ālim after reading only a few books at Firangī Mahal, Lucknow (B. S., 58).

Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās uses very harsh language against Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz for hiding his relationship to his father,⁹¹ the author of the *Izālat al-khafā'*. He asks the Shāh to reveal his mother's relationship to the author of the *Izālat al-khafā'* (J., 270-71). Both he and the Sayyid ask the Shāh whether he was performing *taqīya* (B. S., 59).

Replying to the Shāh's assertion regarding the *istikhlāf*⁹² verse, the Sayyid maintains that the first three caliphs were not designated by that verse nor were Mu'āwiya and Yazīd, who, to the Sunnis were equal in status to the first three caliphs. According to the Sunni standard exegetical authors such as Zamakhshari and Baydāwī, *istikhlāf* had been promised to pious and righteous believers. As Abū Bakr was appointed caliph on 'Umar's initiative, he was not appointed by Allāh. Moreover, the Shāh's views violated the basic Sunni principle that caliphs are not appointed by God. The *istikhlāf* of the prophets such as Adam, David, Hūd (Heber in the Bible) emanated from Allāh and not from *ijmā'*, reminds the Sayyid. He goes on to say that Allāh could not assign the appointment of caliphs to the discretion of common men who were immersed in sensuality. Were one to accept the appointment of caliphs on the basis of *ijmā'*, villain Yazīd and all those, who managed to usurp the caliphate by brute military force, would also deserve the status of

91 *Supra*, p. 98.

92 *Supra*, pp. 299-301; S. W. T., p. 253.

caliph (B. S., 63-66). It does not necessarily mean that the leading prophets, their disciples and pious believers should be dominant as the Israelites believed in order to qualify for the divinely promised *istikhlāf*. The Sayyid quotes from Zamakhsharī and Baydāwī to prove his point. According to the Shi'i exegetical works and *ahādith* of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, the verse refers to the *istikhlāf* of the Shi'is which would occur after the Mahdī's appearance. Sunni *ahādith* about the Mahdī also put forward the same theory (B. S., 66-69). None of the standard Sunni exegetical works support the Shāh's theory that the *istikhlāf* in the verse refers to the first three caliphs. Even under 'Alī, infidelity and hypocrisy were not completely uprooted. Islamic dominance and peace are characteristic only of the Mahdī's age. Although impressive conquests were made under 'Umar the Sayyid says, Islam in its perfect form did not prevail. It would be introduced only by the Mahdī. The Sayyid rejects the Shāh's theory that 'Alī admired the piety of the first three caliphs. He goes on to say that 'Alī did not condemn all the Prophet's companions but admired those like Mālik Ashtar, Muhammad bin Abū Bakr and 'Ammār bin Yāsir; the first three caliphs were not mentioned. In his famous orations in the *Nahj al-balāgha* such as the *Shaqshaqiyya* oration he publicly condemned the first three caliphs, their usurpations and their tyrannies (B. S., 106-10). However, in his letters to Mu'āwiya, 'Alī refrained from censuring them because he did not wish to antagonise him further. Secondly many of 'Alī's apparent supporters were secretly Mu'āwiya's friends and would have started a war forthwith (B. S., 111). Innumerable soldiers in 'Alī's army had collected around him to defend Arab class prejudices and not for Islam's sake. Lastly 'Alī referred uncritically to the first three caliphs' rule in order to pacify the Syrians who would not obey him although he had also been elected like his predecessors (B. S., 111-13). The Sayyid refutes the arguments which, in the Shāh's opinion assert the importance of the first three caliphs. He also quotes points denigrating them from the Sunni traditions. He adds that after Abū Bakr's accession some tribes withheld the payment of *zakāt* as they did not consider him the Prophet's rightful successor (B. S., 114-56).

Answering the Shāh's criticism that the Shi'is plagiarised Sunni sources in order to prove the *imāma* of 'Alī and his descendants, the Sayyid says that the main Shi'i sources were Qur'ānic verses. Shi'is draw upon standard Sunni works mainly with a view to cutting the ground from under their (the Sunnis') feet. To call this technique plagiarism is sheer obduracy. The researches made by the leading Sunni 'ulamā' show that 'Alī should have been the Prophet's immediate successor, but the Shāh's frivolity and puerility prevent him from recognising the truth. The Sayyid takes the Shāh to task for not being able to name a single early Shi'i work which fails to prove 'Alī's *imāma*. In fact, the Sayyid asserts, the Sunnis have

not been able to justify their case (B. S., 157). The *ijmā'* on which Abū Bakr's caliphate was based was nullified by 'Umar. "The Prophet is the city of knowledge and 'Alī is its gate", is accepted by the Sunnis also as a true hadith. Their sects such as the Ashā'ira and Mu'tazila have drunk deep at the ocean of 'Alī's knowledge. Imām Abū Hanifa was proud to have Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq as his teacher. The greatest Sunni sūfi, Bāyazid, was the Imām's water-carrier. These facts should convince any Sunni of their debt to the *Ahl al-Bayt* for the *corpus* of their knowledge. That some Shi'i 'ālim was the disciple of a Sunni 'ālim is no justification for Sunni pride as the Sunni 'ulamā' also sat at the feet of the Shi'i 'ulamā' ; for example 'Allāma Qutb al-Dīn Shirazī (d. 710/1311) was Tūsī's disciple (B. S., 158).

The Sayyid keenly questions the Shāh's comprehension of the Shi'i *ahādith*. The gift of a ring as *zakāt* was made by all the imāms who succeeded 'Alī, he says. The verse extolls both 'Alī and his successors. It does not invalidate the succession of the other eleven imāms for 'Alī's *imāma* was their fountainhead. The *imāma* of 'Alī's successors cannot be identified with the caliphate of the first three successors to the Prophet. 'Alī, according to the Prophet's own statement, was his caliph in the same way as Aaron was Moses' caliph. The cancellation of Abū Bakr's commission to read the *Barā'at* chapter to the people of Mecca proved that the Prophet dismissed him (B. S., 167). The Prophet during his lifetime prophesied that 'Alī would succeed him. The verse cannot, the Sayyid goes on to say, apply to all believers, as asserted by Ibrāhīm Kurdi and other Sunnis. It specifically refers to those pious people who obey Allāh's command. The verse indicates, the Sayyid says, that 'Alī's *wilāyat* (authority), like the Prophet's *wilāyat* was divinely ordained. The Sayyid adds that *walī* in the verse does not mean helper. However, the Sayyid agreed for argument's sake, to accept the Shāh's interpretation that 'Alī was the Prophet's helper. He then marshalls evidence from both Sunni and Shi'i *ahādith* showing that the verse refers to the authority or *wilāya* of 'Alī and does not apply to the first three caliphs (B. S., 173-74). The Sayyid also pleads that the context of the verse does not authorise the interpretation of "*walī*" as "friend" or "beloved" (B. S., 181-82).

Contradicting the Shāh's plea that the verse concerning "cleansing"⁹³ applies to the Prophet's wives, the Sayyid asserts that this plea is more absurd than the earlier one. He goes on to say that the meaning which the Shāh attempts to assign to the verse is grammatically wrong. The overwhelming majority of the Sunni exegesis writers say that the verse refers to 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn. It was revealed in response to

93 *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 33, "Allāh's wish is but to remove uncleanness far from you, O Folk of the Household, and cleanse you with a thorough cleansing."

the Prophet's prayer for them. The members of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, included progeny but not wives. According to the *Musnad* by Ahmad bin Hanbal and some other Sunni traditions, the Prophet would not allow Umm-Salma to shelter under his cloak and only 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn were invited to rest under it while he prayed for their cleansing. (B. S., 184-90). 'Ā'isha also was not admitted. Moreover *rijs* (uncleanness) in the verse means sin and the Prophet's wives were not immune from sin (B. S., 199). For example, 'Ā'isha who rebelled against Imām 'Alī, the Prophet's son-in-law, cannot be regarded as sinless. The Sayyid glosses over Mullā 'Abd-Allāh's statements which the Shāh uses to support his arguments and adds that as the *Izhār al-Haqq* was not available to him no comments could be made on it. The Sayyid asserts that by *Ahl al-Bayt*, the Prophet always meant his *zurriyat* (progeny) and 'Alī. Similarly the Prophet's uncle 'Abbās was also not a member of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The Sayyid then takes the Shāh to task for interpreting cleansing as general *rijs* (uncleanness) and says that were this correct everyone after ablutions would become *ma'sūm* (impeccable) (J., 198-200).

Refuting the Shāh's criticisms of the Shī'i interpretation of the *mawaddata fī'l qurba* (loving kindness among kinsfolk) verse⁹⁴ in the *Shūra* (counsel) chapter, the Sayyid says that the Prophet's companions and other believers could not be included among the Prophet's kinsfolk (*qurba*). The Sunni interpretation that the verse calls upon the believers to love themselves is meaningless. It is wrong to say that all the verses in the *Shūra* chapter were revealed in Mecca, for leading Sunni exegesis writers and authors of hadīth refer to the *Ahl al-Bayt* in their exegesis of this verse. However if the Shāh's contention is accepted, the blame is upon Caliph 'Uthmān who included a verse revealed in Medina in a chapter which contains largely Meccan verses. The verse does not, the Sayyid says, underline enmity, it underlines love for the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The Prophet's hadīth urges that love for the *Ahl al-Bayt* amounts to love for him. This demand is not beneath the Prophet's dignity ; Bukhārī's hadīth in which the Prophet is made to request love for himself is more derogatory (B. S., 212-13).

Refuting the Shah's interpretation of the *mubāhla* (cursing) verse,⁹⁵ the Sayyid says that the Shī'is do not interpret *anfusana* to mean the Prophet. According to famous Sunni exegesis authors such as Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī, the word *anfusana* in the verse refers to 'Alī. The Sayyid refers to his father's *'Imād al-Islām* which discusses the subject at great length and goes on to criticise the Shāh for taking the credit for inventing an original line of argument. The Sayyid says that what the Shāh thinks as his own

94 *Qur'ān*, XLII, 23.

95 *Qur'ān*, III, 61.

contribution is the well-known Shi'i line. Sunni works have also borrowed it from Shi'i books. However, the *nāsibī* mentality of the Shāh, the Sayyid alleges is noteworthy in that he hypocritically expresses love for 'Alī while in reality he seeks to condemn him. The Sunnis are identical to the Nawāsibs in hostility to 'Alī and his family. The verse was a challenge to the infidels but it was also designed to assert the superiority of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and to underline the fact that 'Alī was the Prophet's immediate successor (B. S., 226).

Referring to the Shāh's refutation of the Shi'i *ahādīth* relating to 'Alī's superiority and appointment as Imām, the Sayyid ridicules the Shāh for choosing only twelve traditions although the "bigoted and ignorant Sunni scholar ibn Hajar" chose forty *ahādīth* for discussion. Were all the Qur'ānic verses and *ahādīth* relating to the subject collected, they would make a voluminous work, the Sayyid says (J., 238). All these have been fully argued in *'Imād al-Islām*. The hadīth on Ghadīr-Khumm had been discussed in all Sunni *ahādīth*. Sunni works, Arabic poetry and leading Sunni scholars interpret the word "*mawla*" in the sense of "*awla*" (supreme with domination). Meanings such as protector, associate or helper do not suit the context of the Ghadīr hadīth. The Sayyid quotes classical Arabic poetic couplets to confirm his statement that "*mawla*" in the hadīth cannot mean "friend". As the Prophet had already on innumerable occasions indicated that he would be succeeded by 'Alī, 'Umar, after the Prophet had completed his oration, congratulated 'Alī. On the Ghadīr day, Suyūṭī says that the following verse was revealed to the Prophet:

"This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen for you as religion AL-ISLAM"⁹⁶ (B. S., 239-44).

Allāh perfected Islam, which He had commissioned Muhammad to disseminate, only after the Prophet, despite the great heat and his own illness, had delivered his farewell sermon and declared 'Alī his successor. Had the Prophet not conveyed Allāh's command to nominate 'Alī, his successor, the contemporary Arabic poet Hassān bin Thābit would not have described the event so eloquently. Did Hassān not know Arabic idiom correctly?, asks the Sayyid sarcastically (B. S., 246). He accuses the Shāh of misinterpreting the malicious complaints by Khālīd and Burayda. The Prophet asked the other companions for their views and was convinced of the malevolence underlying the complaints. He knew that Khālīd and Burayda would not allow 'Alī to succeed him. Knowing that he (the

Prophet) was going to die soon and that Allāh's commands had all been received, he made an open declaration of 'Alī's caliphate. It was not necessary for him to make such elaborate arrangements simply to urge the people to love 'Alī (B. S., 246-50).

Refuting the Shāh's statement on the Tabūk incident⁹⁷ the Sayyid says it made little difference whether the Nawāsib challenged 'Alī's caliphate totally or the Sunnis disputed its immediacy after Muhammad's death. Both positions were misguided and were away from the truth. The Sayyid goes on to say that the other companions whom the Prophet assigned to independent duties were not given the same status as 'Alī. He was not made *khalīfa* for domestic affairs but, according to a statement by Bukhārī the Prophet told 'Alī that there were only two alternatives ; either he would go and 'Alī would stay in Medina or *vice versa*. The Prophet did not discriminate between himself and 'Alī. Moreover, Prophet Muhammad never used the same words for those to whom he assigned different duties during his absence as he used for 'Alī i.e. 'Alī occupied the same position in relation to him as Aaron in relation to Moses. The analogy used by the Prophet shows that Aaron's position of vicegerent was equivalent to 'Alī's status. The Prophet's question as to whether 'Alī was satisfied with his position shows that it was that of a vicegerent and not an ordinary administrator or governor. The Sayyid continues that 'Alī's vicegerency was not for a specific period ; it was to continue even after the Prophet's death. The Sayyid asserts that Aaron's death during Moses' lifetime does not undermine the aspect proving 'Alī's right of succession (B. S., 256-59). He concludes that the Shāh's strictures against Shi'i sects apply equally to the Sunnis. Sunnis' sects, such as the Ashā'ira. Mu'tazila, Karrāmiyya, Bakriyya, Khawārij, Nawāsib and the sūfis are also bitterly divided amongst themselves but all of them believe in the caliphate of the first three caliphs. Their eulogies and panegyrics on the caliphs are untrue and false. The caliphs were glorified and called the shadow of God merely out of a desire to share the booty *zakāt* and *khums* collected by them (B. S., 262-93).

Refutation of the Eighth Chapter of the Tuhfa : Ihyā al-Sunna

The refutation of the eighth chapter of the *Tuhfa* was written by Ghufrān Ma'āb. The work is entitled *Ihyā al-Sunna*. He says that the Shāh borrowed his account of the different Shi'i sects from *al-Milal wa'n-nihal* by the bigoted Nāsibi, al-Shahrastānī. Unfortunately the author did not quote any authority for his outrageous remarks against the beliefs of the non-Ithnā' Ashariyya sects. These statements are unfounded and we have no sources available concerning these sects to evaluate their beliefs.

97 *Supra*, pp. 303, 318.

Conversely it is well known that the *tanāsukhiyya* *sūfi* sect believed in the transmigration of the soul. Many eminent *sūfi* saints whom the Sunnis adore believed in this. For example Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī says :

"I have seen 770 bodies
Like grass I have been born and reborn."

According to Mullā Jāmi, before his death Rūmī, to console his companions, said that he would manifest himself in the spirit of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār. Leading *sūfi* scholars have gone to the extent of claiming that God sometimes moves into the body of a pig or a dog. One of the leading *sūfis* observed that he would be disgusted by a God who did not manifest Himself in dogs and cats. These people are heretics who ostensibly believe in the *sharī'a* but in reality reject it (I., 3-4). Before embarking on a criticism of the beliefs of many non-existent Shi'i sects it was essential for the Shāh, suggests Ghufrān Ma'āb, to examine the beliefs of Sunni sects regarding the transmigration of soul. Ghufrān Ma'āb fiercely criticizes the Shāh for alleging that Shi'i theories had been adopted from Sunni ideologies. He pleads that Sunni Ash'ari doctrines have departed considerably from true Islamic principles. The Shi'is would not therefore, he asserts, draw upon Sunni ideologies. The Ash'arites ostensibly believe in Judgment Day but in reality they have no faith in it. Bodily resurrection cannot be rationally perceived; the belief in it depends only on traditions (I., 27-31). The Ash'arite belief that God has eternal attributes such as speaking implies that divine speech could be both false or true. Consequently those who held such a belief cannot be true to their faith in the matter of bodily resurrection. The Sunni belief that nothing is incumbent upon God means that the fulfilment of divine promises is not essential. It also means that the Shāh must believe that Allāh's promise to hold the Judgment Day is not valid (I., 32).

Ghufrān Ma'āb goes on to tell the Shāh that he falsely accuses the Ithnā 'Ashariyyas of believing that 'Alī's love would save them from punishment on Judgment Day. No Shi'i scholar had made any such statement as the Shāh alleges (I., 95). The Shi'is believe that Allāh inflicts punishment on sinners as part of His justice. (I., 98). However the belief that the Prophet intercedes for his people is held both by Shi'is and Sunnis. According to the Shi'i interpretation of the Prophet's *ahādith*, the enemies of 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan, Husayn and the Imāms are the Prophet's enemies; the Sunnis believe that their *pīrs* enter directly into paradise and take their followers with them without any intercession (I., 101-8).

Refutation of the Ninth Chapter of the Tuhfa : Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya, Vol. IX

The rebuttal of the ninth chapter of the *Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* relating to problems of fiqh was written by Hakim Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil in the ninth volume of his *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*. He asserts that the principles and rules of the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya fiqh were based on Prophet Muhammad's *ahādīth* as related to reliable authorities by the Imāms. Eminent Sunni hadīth scholars such as Imām Ahmad bin Hanbal, Hakim, Muslim, Tirmidhi, Bayhaqi, Baghwi and Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūti drew upon the Imāms' authority.

The Sunnis make the unjust accusation against the Shi'is that they condemn the Prophet's companions as heretics. The Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas consider a large number of the Prophet's companions very admirable and highly commend them. To the Shi'is, some of the Prophet's companions were extremely holy and saintlike (N. IX, 9a). For example, they are highly praised by Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn in his *Sahīfat al-kāmila* and by Shaykh Sadūq in his *Kitāb al-Khisāl*. The Shi'is condemn only those companions who perpetrated atrocities against the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Those who possess religious feelings will agree that the punishment commensurate with atrocities against the *Ahl al-Bayt* is much more severe than that for crimes against the common people. Consequently to the Shi'is, all those who were cruel to the *Ahl-al-Bayt* deserved to be condemned as heretics and infidels. Therefore, the Shi'is are unable to concur with the Sunnis in their praise of those who were cruel to the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

The Hakim goes on to say that the Shāh wrongly alleges that the Shi'is prefer cursing 'Umar or the Prophet's companions to divine worship. These curses are not obligatory for the Shi'is and *Masā'ib al-nawāsib* rebuts the Sunni allegations more fully (N. IX, 9b-11b).

The Hakim continues that the Shi'is celebrate the Prophet's birthday on 17 Rabi' I and other dates associated with important events in his life, and that of the Imāms, as days of thanksgiving. They perform charitable deeds and distribute food to the poor and needy. 18th Dhu'l-hijja is a day of thanksgiving for the Shi'is as the *imāmat* was publicly conferred on 'Alī by the Prophet on that day. It was however preposterous to allege that those days were more important to them than '*id al-fitr* and '*id al-adhha* (N. IX, 13b). The anniversary of 'Umar's assassination is noteworthy to the Shi'is as it reminds them of the end of the leader of those who perpetrated cruelties against the *Ahl al-Bayt* and they celebrate it with thanksgiving and charitable acts (N. IX, 16a).

The Hakim then refutes strongly the Shāh's allegations that the celebration of *Nawrūz* is an imitation of Zoroastrian festivities. He says that Sunni works also advocate its commemoration. According to them it was invented by Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Malikshāh (465-485/1072-1092). A large

number of Muslim (Sunni) rulers, including the Timūrids celebrated *Nawrūz* (N. IX, 16a-17b).

The Hakim accuses the Shāh of misinterpreting prostration before the Safavid rulers. It was not identical to prostration before God but a ceremony designed to show humility. It was not *sajda* (prostration) but *zaminbūs* (kissing the ground). This type of salutation had been legalised even in *Sharh Ashbah wa'l-nazā'ir*. The Hakim accuses the Shāh of patently lying in his remarks that Mullā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi invented this form of submission before the Safavid sultāns. Neither Majlisi nor any other member of the Shi'i 'ulamā' is known to have suggested prostration before them. This obeisance, the Hakim goes on to say, was a continuation of an ancestral sūfi custom which had originated long before the Safavid ascended the throne. The devotees of the Safavid's ancestors, in keeping with sūfi traditions, prostrated themselves before their spiritual guides. In India the devotees of the Chishtiyya sūfis, whom the Indian Sunni majority consider their highest spiritual authorities, also follow this practice. The ritual is strongly defended in sūfi works such as Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn's discourses in the *Fawā'id al-fuād*.⁹⁸ The Hakim goes on to quote *Muntakhab al-tawārikh* by Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī which says that Qādi Nizām Badakhshī was proud of having initiated the custom of prostration before the Emperor Akbar.⁹⁹ No historical or religious Shi'i work, the Hakim taunts the Shāh, accuses the Shi'i 'ulamā' of instigating this tradition (N. IX, 20a-21b).

The rest of the ninth volume of *Nuzha-i Ithnā 'Ashariyya* is devoted to the refutation of the Shāh's criticisms of the Shi'i rules of fiqh and religious practices. The principal thrust of the Hakim's argument rests on the Shi'i belief that, as their fiqh rules are based on the Imāms' authority, they correctly embody Prophet Muhammad's practices. Conversely, Sunni fiqh, invented by later jurists, was a sinful innovation into Islam. Not only did the jurists of one school contradict those of the others, but the jurists of the same schools were inconsistent.

Refutation of the Tenth Chapter of the Tuhfa : Tashyīd al-matā'in

Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad's two works rebutting the tenth chapter of the *Tuhfa* dealing with *matā'in* (indictments) are *Ta'n al-rimāh* and *Bāriqa-i dayghamiyya*. *Ta'n al-rimāh* discusses Abū Bakr's confiscation of Fadak and 'Umar's obstruction of the presentation of pen and paper to the Prophet on his deathbed. The *Bāriqa-i dayghamiyya* deals with *mut'a*

98 H. S. I., I, pp. 218-19.

99 *Muntakhab al-tawārikh*, III, p. 153. Mullā 'Ālim Kābulī used to regret that the idea had not occurred to him earlier.

(marriage for a limited period). 'Allāma Muftī Sayyid Muhammad Qūli in the *Tashyid al-matā'in* discusses all the charges in detail. His book is divided into two volumes. The first volume consists of 1910 pages and the second volume comprises 442 pages of large size. These two volumes reproduce, like other polemical works against the *Tuhfa*, all the charges made in the *Tuhfa*. In the following discussion we shall be summarising the *Tashyid al-matā'in*.

Answers to the Shāh's Defence of the Shī'i Matā'in against Abū Bakr

1. The reply shows an ignorance of the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya Shī'i beliefs regarding 'ismat (impeccability). According to these none of the Imāms' actions from 'Alī to the Mahdī, from their childhood to their deathbed, violates 'ismat and piety. Childish acts cannot undermine these two qualities. Sunnī *ahādith* also tell us that the children from the *Ahl al-Bayt* were exceedingly intelligent and perspicacious, so much so that the famous Sunnī jurist, Abū Hanīfa, was held spell-bound by the answers of Ja'far Sādiq's younger son, Imām Mūsā Kāzim (128/745-183/799). Similarly Caliph Ma'mūn was also astonished by the knowledge and understanding of Imām Rizā's son, Imām Taqī (195/811-220/835), who was then only nine years old. How could Hasan and Husayn who were brought up by the Prophet, 'Alī and Fātima, act childishly at the age of eight and seven respectively? Hasan and Husayn were fully aware of the fact that Abū Bakr had deprived their father of his rightful position as the Prophet's successor. To compare the children from the *Ahl al-Bayt* with other children is to wallow in ignorance and madness. Even the bigoted ibn Hajar stated that 'Alī told Abū Bakr that he had not taught Hasan any such thing. Abū Bakr believed him (Tash, 8-23).

2. According to the Shī'i *Kitāb al-istighātha*, Abū Bakr was condemned for sending an army against Mālik's tribe because of their objection to pay *zakāt* to him, not because of their refusal to pay it at all. So far as the Shāh's explanations are concerned, the 'Allāma says that he does not quote the sources of his information. However, ibn Khallikān, frequently quoted by the Shāh, says that 'Umar's spontaneous reaction was that Khālīd had killed a Muslim (Mālik) and that he should be executed or at least dismissed. Abū Bakr said that he would not put that sword into its scabbard (i.e. dismiss Khālīd) which had been drawn to protect Allāh's faith. Refuting the Shāh's defence of Khālīd, the 'Allāma says that Abū Qatāda and 'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Umar, whom the Sunnis honour as highly respected companions of the Prophet, deposed that they heard the call to prayers in Mālik's territory. According to the Prophet's command no territory where *adhān* (call to prayers) was heard, could be invaded. Although a number of people had deposed that they did not hear *adhān*

in Mālik's territory, the depositions of Abū Qatāda and ibn 'Umar should have been given credence. Mālik should not have been condemned as apostate. According to a hadith in *Kanz al-'ummāl*, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī and the *muhājirs* and *ansārs* were unanimously of the opinion that war should not be waged against those who did not pay *zakāt*. It is also wrong to believe that it was only 'Umar's first reaction that Khālid had killed a Muslim. In fact 'Umar, as is shown by Sunni sources, until the end of his life believed that he had been correct in restoring the prisoners and wealth from Mālik's tribe to their owners. The 'Allāma goes on to say that were the law of retaliation not applicable to Khālid, 'Umar could not be exonerated from lying and sinning.

Ibn Hajar and the author of *Sharh Mawāqif* say that Khālid married Mālik's wife the same night. If Khālid is exonerated from adultery, 'Umar cannot be saved from the charge of lying, slander and false accusation. The Sunni evidence that Mālik had divorced his wife and imprisoned her is conjectural and designed to save Khālid from charges of adultery.

The 'Allāma goes on to say that it is unrealistic to consider Abū Bakr as the Prophet's caliph when he was in fact 'Umar's caliph. To the Shi'is, the caliph should be impeccable. Abū Bakr did not possess this attribute. He grossly violated the Prophet's traditions.

The 'Allāma disputing the Shāh's defence that the Prophet did not take any steps against Khālid for killing Muslims, quotes the *Sahih al-Bukhari* as stating that the people killed by Khālid in the Prophet's lifetime were infidels and apostates. Abū Bakr's payment of *diyyat*¹⁰⁰ from the *bayt al-māl* did him no credit. It proved either that he accepted Khālid's guilt or else he paid *diyyat* illegally.

Finally the Shāh's comparison of the case of *qisās* against Khālid with *qisās* against 'Uthmān does not undermine Shi'i beliefs either. According to them, 'Uthmān deserved to be killed and consequently *qisās* was not imperative. Secondly Mālik's assassin was a known, single person while 'Uthmān's assassins were several unknown people, as the Shāh himself, defending 'Alī against the accusations by the Nawāsib and Khawārij, has admitted. In chapter seven he says that 'Alī delayed *qisās* as the actual assassins could not be identified. Standard authors such as Tabari and ibn Khallikān assert that Mālik's brother demanded *qisās* but the caliph refused. Muta'ammim's statement during 'Umar's reign does not show that he admitted his brother was an apostate. The fact that 'Umar freed the prisoners from Mālik's tribe and restored their property to them shows that in his reign he did not rescind his previous opinion. Lastly, 'Umar cannot be exonerated from the charges that in his own reign he did not impose *qisās* on Khālid (Tash, 23-47).

100 Payment of compensation for manslaughter.

3. The appointment of Usāma as a commander senior to Abū Bakr, the latter's violation of the Prophet's orders and his dilatoriness, are the facts which tend to establish that Abū Bakr was not competent to act as the Prophet's caliph and an imām. Tūsī in the *Tajrid* says that the Prophet's orders to Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and other *muhājirs* and *ansārs* to serve under Usāma show that he (Usāma) was superior to them. 'Ali was not ordered to serve under anyone else. This establishes his superiority. Hilli and Nur-Allāh Shustari also follow the same line of argument. The author of the *Mawāqif* tend to say that the Prophet's first three caliphs became infidels when they disobeyed his orders. Infidels deserve curses and cannot be appointed a caliph or an imām. Secondly, it is well known that the Prophet did not himself initiate commands but acted only under divine inspiration. Consequently violating the Prophet's orders amounted to repudiating Allāh's orders. Thirdly, disobedience upset the Prophet. Fourthly, the Prophet had placed the first three caliphs under Usāma's command and therefore, before fulfilling their mission, none of them was entitled to aspire to supremacy over Usāma. Abū Bakr became caliph and asked Usāma to make *bay'a* with him but Usāma in his turn urged Abū Bakr to march under his banner. This makes the caliphate of Abū Bakr and his two successors invalid.

The 'Allāma says that Abū Bakr is culpable both for not making preparations and for his dilatoriness. As Abū Bakr and 'Umar made no preparations others also sank into a state of lethargy and let the Prophet's plan slide. By violating the Prophet's command, the Prophet's companions' *ijmā'* becomes ridiculous. All the early Sunnī authorities affirm that the Prophet had persistently pressed those companions he had commissioned to march under Usāma to carry out his orders. Abū Bakr was placed under Usāma's command but 'Ali was not ordered to go. Scholars such as ibn Taymiyya, ibn Rūzbihān and Nasr-Allāh Kābulī whose authority is Shaykh Jazari¹⁰¹ say that Abū Bakr was not ordered to serve under Usāma. However, the 'Allāma says, the Shāh, who plagiarizes Nasr-Allāh Kābulī, does not exclude the possibility that Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān were ordered to serve under Usāma.

4. The 'Allāma does not accept the Shāh's chronology of events after 26 Safar 11/23 May 632, which shows that Abū Bakr was the caliph for prayers for thirteen days from 29 Safar to 12 Rabī' I. According to the *Rawdat al-ahbāb*, the Prophet attended prayers up till three days before his death ; some say he missed seventeen congregations. The appointment of Abū Bakr as prayer leader was attested by 'Ā'isha, who was interested

101 Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad al-Jazari (658/1260-739/1338) the author of *al-Tārikh musamma bi hawādith al-zamān wa-anbā'ih wa wafayāt al-akābir wa'l-a'yān min abnā'ih* popularly known as *Tārikh al-Jazari*.

in her father's succession. The 'Allāma sarcastically says that the Sunnis would not accept the evidence of Hasan and Husayn, Fātima's sons, despite their "cleansing" being declared in the Qur'ān but had no problem in accepting Abū Bakr's daughter's evidence in her father's favour! No Shi'i source, the 'Allāma adds, states that Abū Bakr was appointed prayer leader. However, 'Ā'isha's evidence regarding her father's appointment is not clearly described by Bukhārī. The *Jilā' al-'uyūn* by Mullā Bāqir Majlisī says that when the Prophet fell seriously ill he went to 'Ā'isha's house. Before dawn Bilāl¹⁰² came to invite the Prophet to prayers. 'Ā'isha, without informing the Prophet, told Bilāl to ask Abū Bakr to lead the prayers. 'Umar's daughter Hafsa suggested 'Umar be asked. When the Prophet heard them, despite his serious illness, he left his bed and leaning by turn on 'Alī and Fadl bin 'Abbās proceeded as quickly as possible to the mosque. Abū Bakr had already started prayers in the Prophet's place. The Prophet beckoned him away and led the prayers himself. He then summoned Abū Bakr, 'Umar and other Muslims, and refusing to accept their excuses for the delay, ordered them to march with Usāma's army. He cursed those who opposed Usāma's command.

The *Rawdat al-ahbāb* says that when the Prophet was informed that it was time for afternoon prayers he ordered 'Abd-Allāh bin Jam'a who was near him to ask the people to pray. 'Abd-Allāh asked 'Umar to lead prayers. When the Prophet heard 'Umar leading prayers he said Abū Bakr should have led it. 'Umar said to 'Abd-Allāh, "Did not the Prophet order me to lead prayers?" 'Abd-Allāh replied that the Prophet had not specifically named anyone, and, since Abū Bakr was not there, he had asked him ('Umar) to lead the congregation. The 'Allāma marshalls evidence to show that the Sunni theory regarding Abū Bakr's commission to lead prayers cannot be conclusively proved even by reliable Sunni sources. The 'Allāma does not accept political expediency as a sufficient ground for violating the Prophet's orders to Abū Bakr and 'Umar to proceed under Usāma's command. The responsibilities of the caliphate did not absolve Abū Bakr from carrying out the Prophet's orders and he had no right to detain 'Umar to help him with his administration. The 'Allāma adds that the Shāh was absolutely wrong to claim that the Prophet had not cursed those who procrastinated. He quotes Shahrastānī, ibn Khallikān and other Sunni sources confirming this (Tash, 47-76). Qādi al-Qudāt

102 Bilāl bin Rabāh, one of the earliest converts to Islam, was of Ethiopian stock. He was the Prophet's *mu'adhdhin* (one who calls to prayers) and served him devotedly. After the Prophet's death, he called *adhān* on only one or two occasions. The date of his death is given as between 17-21/638-642.

in the *Kitāb Mughnī*, Khwāja Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī in the *Kitāb Tajrīd*, 'Allāma Hilli in the *Kashf al-Haqq* and Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī in the *Haqq al-yaqīn* have discussed this *ta'n* (indictment) and the eleventh one in considerable detail. The 'Allāma adds that Abū Bakr was appointed commander only for insignificant battles which did not require much ability. The least said about Khaybar the better, as Abū Bakr retreated from that battle. The Prophet's alleged hadith saying that Allāh made him (Abū Bakr) and 'Umar as Muhammad's two viziers are Sunni fabrications.

The analogy with Hasan and Husayn does not apply to Abū Bakr as the former were appointed *khalīfa* by divine injunction and were never assigned subordinate positions. Conversely sometimes the Prophet appointed Abū Bakr to serve under 'Amr bin 'Ās and sometimes under Usāma. The Prophet also superseded him as in the recitation of the *Barā'at* chapter (Tash, 76-96).

5. According to the *Izālat al-khafā'* by Shāh Wali-Allāh, the Prophet appointed 'Umar as a general tax collector in charge of a territory. 'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib would not give the tax he had collected to 'Umar. 'Umar complained about him to the Prophet. The latter remonstrated with 'Umar for quarrelling with his (the Prophet's) uncle. 'Umar was not given office again. If that was not dismissal, then what was it?, asks the 'Allāma. Mullā 'Alī Qāri in *Sharh Mishkāt* says that 'Umar treated Khālid scornfully and vilified 'Abbās. The 'Allāma also quotes other important Sunni *ahādith* and exegetical works showing that 'Umar was not deemed competent to discharge administrative functions. The 'Allāma says that the analogy of Aaron does not apply to 'Umar for Aaron was never dismissed and remained Moses' caliph until his death. The 'Allāma rejects the hadith praising 'Umar quoted by the Shāh as a Sunni fabrication and unacceptable in Sunni-Shi'i polemics. It is unrealistic that a *ma'sūm* Prophet could think of nominating a person like 'Umar, who had worshipped idols, sinned and been the Prophet's enemy, to discharge independently any administrative function. The Shāh's belief that Abū Bakr did not violate the Prophet's guidelines in making appointments is also wrong for the Prophet definitely dismissed 'Umar for incompetence and Abū Bakr made him the final authority for all matters. The 'Allāma goes on to say that Sunni efforts to answer the indictments against the Prophet's first three successors leave them with no alternative but the fabrication of false stories (Tash, 96-102).

6. The Shi'is believe that 'Amr bin 'Ās was superior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar ibn Khattāb. They also believe that an imām should be superior to his subjects, should be *ma'sūm* and should be appointed by a divine injunction in his favour. The question raised by the Shāh as to whether the Shi'is considered 'Amr bin 'Ās and Usāma qualified for

imāmat is absurd.¹⁰³ The Shi'is believe that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were not superior in military and political experience to 'Amr bin 'Ās and Usāma. Suyūṭi in the *Jama' al-jawāmi'* says that the Prophet said that whenever someone was appointed an *amīr* (commander) over ten people it should be presumed he was superior to them. The *Fath al-Bārī* and the *Rawdat al-ahbāb* tend to indicate that 'Amr bin 'Ās was superior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar in warfare; 'Amr bin 'Ās was inferior only to 'Alī as a soldier. The 'Allāma, ridiculing the Shāh, questions how 'Amr bin 'Ās could be called a swindler when the Sunnis regarded him as one of the Prophet's leading companions. The fact that the Prophet did not appoint 'Alī anyone's subordinate shows that it was not proper to order a superior person to serve an inferior. It is only the Shāh's faulty logic that suggests that as the Prophet did not wish 'Alī to become a caliph he did not give him a subordinate position. Should the collection of booty be considered a criteria of superiority, Chingīz and other infidels would also be deemed righteous (Tash, 120-6).

7. The Shāh, says the 'Allāma, was unable to understand Shi'i criticism relating to contradictions in Sunni beliefs. According to the Sunnis, the Prophet appointed no *khalīfa* to succeed him. Consequently Abū Bakr by appointing 'Umar his successor cut the ground from under their feet. 'Abd al-Razzāq in *Gawhar-i murād* is bewildered at Abū Bakr nominating 'Umar his successor when, according to Sunni beliefs, the Prophet made no such nomination. The 'Allāma states that the Shāh's theory, that the appointment of Abū Bakr as leader of prayers or for *hajj* amounted to indicating the Prophet's intention to appoint him caliph, is not reconcilable with major Sunni scholarly opinion. To act as the Prophet's representative at prayers or *hajj* in no way amounts to being appointed to succeed him. On previous occasions also the Prophet had ordered others to lead prayers. All of them could not be regarded as caliphs. In refutation of the Shāh's statement that the Prophet knew Abū Bakr would be accepted as caliph, the 'Allāma tauntingly suggests that the Prophet also knew that Abū Bakr would usurp the caliphate by force and the *ijmā'* of some of his companions would support him. The Prophet's pious companions did not agree with the *ijmā'* on Abū Bakr's caliphate. 'Alī and the entire Banī Hāshim (the Prophet's clan) did not recognise Abū Bakr as caliph for six months. Abū Dharr, 'Ammār, Salmān and Miqdād opposed Abū Bakr. Sa'd bin 'Ibāda accepted neither Abū Bakr nor 'Umar as caliph. The *ansārs* also were opposed to Abū Bakr's accession. The 'Allāma reminds the Shāh that in his chapter on *imāma* he himself stated that the Sunnis believe that neither were the first three caliphs *ma'sūm* nor appointed by divine injunction. Consequently the Sunni *ahādith* concerning the Prophet's

103 *Supra*, pp. 416-17.

knowledge of Abū Bakr's caliphate contradict the Shāh's own statements. These *ahādith* are Sunni fabrications and are no reply to the Shī'i objections. The glorification of Islam or martial conquests do not prove 'Umar's competence to be the Prophet's caliph; although he could qualify as some great emperor's vicegerent. The 'Allāma, challenging the Shāh's statement in Abū Bakr's defence that the Prophet had not prohibited the appointment of a caliph, says that earlier the Shāh had stated that the nomination of one person or several persons as caliphs by God led to great disturbance and confusion. One cannot help concluding that should chaos follow the appointment of a divinely-ordained caliph, it would also be expected in the reign of one nominated by Abū Bakr. According to the Shī'is, 'Ali appointed Hasan as caliph on the same basis as the Prophet nominated him ('Ali) the caliph. The Sunni objection is consequently puerile (Tash, 106-10).

8. Hasan Basri, ibn Taymiyya, bigoted Sunni 'ulamā', and reliable Sunni authorities, some of whom the 'Allāma quotes, do not dispute Abū Bakr's statement that he was not *ma'sūm*. According to the Shī'is this disqualifies him from being a caliph. The tradition in Kulayni's work does not prove the Sunni point, for trying to mislead people is not the same as succeeding in doing so. Regarding 'Ali's statement in the *Nahj al-balāgha*, the 'Allāma says the Shāh deliberately distorts the facts. The *Nahj al-balāgha* states that after 'Ali's oration at Siffin someone praised him profusely. 'Ali according to his custom disapproved of this and exhibited his own humility. Finally 'Ali asked people to tell him the truth. He showed humility in the same form as Joseph and his words do not undermine his *'ismat*. The 'Allāma discusses the latter point at great length (Tash, 110-24).

9. The charge of usurpation of the caliphate against Abū Bakr, was discussed by Hilli in the *Kashf al-Haqq*. Fadl bin Rūzbihān defended 'Umar but Bukhārī's statement shows that 'Ali, Zubayr and their followers opposed Abū Bakr and 'Umar and that there was no divine injunction or reason for Abū Bakr's appointment as caliph, or Abū Bakr would not have invited someone else ('Umar) to become caliph. 'Umar's words show that unless all the Muslims were consulted no *bay'a* was valid and those who repeated such an arbitrary act deserved to be killed. The 'Allāma quotes both from Fadl bin Rūzbihān's *Ibtāl al-bātil* and Nūr-Allāh Shustari's *Ihqāq al-Haqq* on the controversy and concludes that the appointment of *khalīfa* is an important shari'a duty and that before his death the Prophet had appointed his *khalīfa*. The 'Allāma considers the Shāh's plea that the Prophet's dealings with Abū Bakr indicated that the latter had been chosen by the Prophet is incorrect because 'Ali challenged Abū Bakr's caliphate, considering himself the lawful caliph. A large number of Sunni authorities consider 'Ali to be *ma'sūm*. Moreover, 'Ali's opposition to

Abū Bakr's caliphate for six long months shows that he did not know of any desire by the Prophet for Abū Bakr's nomination. Consequently, it is clear that Abū Bakr and his followers were heretics.

The 'Allāma thinks that the Shāh is not correct in his interpretation of the *ansārs*' opposition to Abū Bakr's caliphate. According to Sa'd bin 'Ibāda's speech, which the *ansārs* applauded, only they were entitled to become the caliph. 'Umar's highhandedness did not leave 'Ali any alternative but to perform *bay'a* with Abū Bakr. Lastly the Shi'is do not accept everything that 'Umar said or did under the devil's instigation, although they do not reject the one or two statements which God poured into 'Umar's mind (Tash, 128-47).

10. The Shāh's defence of the burning of Fātima's house is absolutely wrong, the 'Allāma asserts. Even Fadl bin Rūzbihān admitted that the tradition informing us of Abū Bakr's intention is available in the Sunnī *Sihāh ahādith*, Ghazālī in *Sirr al-'ālamayn* and ibn al-Jawzī in *Tadhkira Khawāss al-Umma* have also reproduced it. Abū Bakr unequivocally admitted 'Ali's superiority and repented becoming caliph. The 'Allāma goes on to say that there is no relation between Abū Bakr's statement and that of Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn. The latter's words are part of an invocation to God in which he exhibits his abasement and humility before the Creator. Although the prophets and imāms are *ma'sūm*, they never cease manifesting repentance, abasement and humility before God. Abū Bakr's statement was made in public before his subjects and is a categorical admission of 'Ali's superiority. The 'Allāma goes on to say that the statement "you take away your bay'a from me", is not a Shi'i addition but, as stated by Fadl bin Rūzbihān, is available in the *Sihāh*. Further the analogy of Moses discussed by the Shāh in the chapter on prophethood does not apply to the present case. The most scandalous aspect, the 'Allāma says is that both Abū Bakr and 'Umar admitted their incompetence but did not resign. 'Umar forced a large number of the Prophet's companions and even 'Ali to make *bay'a* with Abū Bakr. Were we to believe the Sunnīs' own statement that Abū Bakr wished to resign, he is still culpable for intending to leave a position which, according to the Sunnīs, was given to him by God and the Prophet. 'Uthmān did not abandon the caliphate but preferred to die saying that he would not reject a favour from God. As regards 'Ali's reluctance to accept the caliphate, the reply has already been given by ibn Abi'l-Hadīd Mu'tazalī. According to him 'Ali was not hesitant because he was incompetent but because he did not like insurrection. The context of Abū Bakr's statement was absolutely different (Tash, 147-55).

11. Abū Bakr's dismissal has been discussed in a large number of Sunnī *ahādith* and scholarly works and the 'Allāma gives a list of their authors. Shāh Wali-Allāh also considers these authors reliable. Eminent compa-

nions of the Prophet such as 'Alī, ibn 'Abbās, Abū Sa'id, Abū Bakr himself, ibn 'Umar, Abū Hurayra, ibn Abī Waqqās, Abū Rāfi' and Anas state that Abū Bakr was appointed to convey the *Barā'at* chapter and was then dismissed. The statements by the above authorities do not prove that Abū Bakr was not appointed to convey the *Barā'at* chapter and was commissioned to lead *hajj* only. They also do not state that the *Barā'at* chapter was revealed after Abū Bakr's departure. The 'Allāma quotes some important *ahādith* in full from standard Sunnī works. He goes on to say that the authors quoted by the Shāh are in the minority and cannot override the majority opinion. Even the minority opinion the 'Allāma adds does not positively support the Shāh's theories. According to Shāh Walī-Allāh, Abū Bakr was appointed to convey the *Barā'at* chapter and was later dismissed. Rūzbihān and Nasr-Allāh Kābulī also do not contradict this story. The two possibilities emerging from the conflicting statements discussed by the Shāh, are not acceptable to the 'Allāma who accuses him of deliberate distortion and perfidy.

The 'Allāma goes on to say that the Shāh's contention that Abū Bakr remained the leader for *hajj* is also wrong. As described by the *Rawdat al-safā* 'Alī met Abū Bakr on his way to *hajj* and said that the Prophet had ordered him to take the *Barā'at* chapter from him (Abū Bakr) and recite it to the polytheists. Abū Bakr returned to the Prophet to confirm if he were incompetent to perform the duty. The Prophet replied that his action was based on a divine command communicated by Gabriel. This shows that Abū Bakr was dismissed from his position as the leader of *hajj*. The view that 'Alī performed *hajj* duties under Abū Bakr is also not accepted by the majority of Sunnī scholars. The 'Allāma accuses the Shāh of contradicting himself in stating that the communication of the *Barā'at* chapter was a minor assignment. According to the Shāh himself, the message had to be communicated to 600,000 people at Minā' and 'Alī was chosen for his competence to do so. This establishes 'Alī's superiority over Abū Bakr. The 'Allāma reprimands the Shāh for comparing the *jāhiliyya* or *zamindār* customs with the Prophet's decision. He goes on to say that this analogy is disrespectful to the Prophet and an act of blasphemy. However, the Prophet could have chosen one of his other relations such as his uncle 'Abbās to perform this task but 'Alī was commissioned as the Prophet's deputy.

Refuting the Shāh's *sūfi* view that Abū Bakr was the manifestation of divine compassion, the 'Allāma says that it is a senseless glossing. The Qur'ān says, "Muhammad is the Messenger of Allāh, and those with him are hard against the disbelievers."¹⁰⁴ As Abū Bakr was not firm against disbelievers, his incompetency and exclusion from the companions referred

104 Qur'ān, XLIX, 29.

to in the above verse does not call for any further discussion (Tash, 156-84).

12. The 'Allāma first reproduces extracts from *Gawhar-i murād* by Lāhijī and the *Shāfi* by Sayyid Murtadā concerning the division of the Prophet's property. He then pleads that were the hadīth which Abū Bakr heard true, it would also have been known to 'Alī, Fātima and 'Abbās who were his heirs. The verse relating to property shares was read by the Prophet to everyone but he is not known to have discussed the exceptions. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq in his translation of the *Mishkāṭ* says that it is unbelievable that Fātima should be unaware of the tradition relating to prophetic inheritance. Were we to believe that she did not hear it from the Prophet, the difficulty is to understand why she refused to accept the statement by Abū Bakr and the other companions and became very angry. The 'Allāma says that the Shāh and other Sunnis had produced reasons but they were not correct. As the *Ahl al-Bayt* had been cleansed of all categories of sins, according to the Qur'ān, they could not make a false claim. The 'Allāma goes on to say that according to ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, when Abū Bakr quoted this hadīth, none corroborated him. The fact that he did not give any share of Muhammad's property to his daughter 'Ā'isha and the Prophet's other wives does not prove that he felt no malice towards Fātima. Both Abū Bakr and 'Umar gave many gifts to the Prophet's wives; Abū Bakr showed special favour to his daughter 'Ā'isha and 'Umar favoured his daughter Hafsa (both married to the Prophet). Abū Bakr was also alienated from 'Abbās who had refused to make *bay'a* with him. In fact, 'Abbās demanded a share only to embarrass Abū Bakr because, according to the Shi'is, in the presence of a real daughter, the uncle is not entitled to any share in the property. 'Alī always considered that Abū Bakr, in rejecting Fātima's plaint, sinned treacherously and deceitfully. According to Bukhārī, the Arabs never accepted the legality of a judge pronouncing sentence on his personal knowledge. Only Abū Hanīfa and some 'Irāqīs allowed judges to make these personal decisions. Further the 'Allāma says that the Sunni exegetical works such as *Baydāwī* tell us that Solomon obtained a share from David's property. The 'Allāma then quotes from Sunni authors, particularly ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī, to show that the houses of the Prophet's wives were not their property but had been given to them as their share from their husband's estate. Finally, 'Alī urged Abū Bakr to give Fātima her patrimony and himself retained the Prophet's sword, coat of mail and horse, with Fātima's permission and not as a gift. These were included in her share of her father's property (Tash, 184-224).

13. The 'Allāma says that it is wrong to say that the *hiba* (gift) of Fadak is not mentioned in Sunni works. He gives a list of twenty five Sunni standard works which discuss it. Even Nasr-Allāh Kābulī, whom

the 'Allāma calls the Shāh's guide and *pīr*, did not deny this. He then quotes some Sunnī works which contain the story. According to the Shī'ī sources, from the time the Prophet made Fadak *hiba* (gift) to Fātima it remained in her possession until Abū Bakr confiscated it. The 'Allāma gives excerpts from Sunnī sources such as the *Maqṣad-i aqṣā*, *Sharh maqāsid*, *Sharh tajrīd* and *Miftāh al-futūh* showing Fātima's possession of Fadak. The 'Allāma goes on to quote Sunnī sources to show that by rejecting Fātima's plaint, Abū Bakr was everlastingly damned and made Allāh furious with him. The rejection of the evidence of 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn also makes him damned to perdition and heretic. Abū Bakr, by rejecting Fātima's claim, when according to the Qur'ān she had been cleansed from all sins, committed a gross profanity. By no stretch of the imagination could Fātima make a false claim. The Sunnis themselves assert that Abū Bakr was convinced that Fātima was in the right. No evidence was needed. However, according to the Sunnī faith, a sworn statement was sufficient to establish the truth. 'Alī's evidence alone should have been more than sufficient. Umm-Ayman's confirmation made Fātima's case even stronger. The 'Allāma asserts that the Sunnī belief that Abū Bakr did not bear malice against Fātima does not convince the Shī'īs. The latter believe that Abū Bakr and 'Umar seized Fadak and did not give Fātima her patrimony in order to reduce the *Ahl al-Bayt*'s prestige with the people. It is wrong to attribute Fātima's bitterness and resentment to human weakness, for, had it been so, it would not have lasted until her death. Both the *Sahīh Bukhārī* and the *Sahīh Muslim* show that Fātima never spoke to Abū Bakr again. The story, that 'Alī's intervention reconciled Fātima and Abū Bakr, has no weight—for, not only do these two works, which are the leading Sunnī *ahādīth*, assert that Fātima remained alienated from Abū Bakr, but also other works which the 'Allāma quotes confirm this.

14. Answering the Shāh's question as to why 'Alī did not restore Fadak to Hasan and Husayn during his reign as caliph, the 'Allāma says that 'Alī had neither the strength nor time to eradicate all the first three caliph's sinful innovations. Secondly, following in the Prophet's footsteps, who took no revenge for attacks on him, 'Alī did not interfere with the unlawful sequestration of Fadak. Lastly, there is nothing objectionable in delaying the enforcement of one's own rights. The 'Allāma goes on to quote the *Sharh maqāsid* which shows that Fadak never came into the possession of Imām Bāqir or Imām Ridā. The *Majālis al-mu'minin* by Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī, says that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz gave Fadak back to Imām Muhammad Bāqir but no mention is made of Imām Ridā. If 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz accepted that Fātima did inherit Fadak, the illegality of its confiscation by Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān are established beyond doubt. However, if 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz appointed the Imām as a trustee of Fadak, the case has no relevance to the dispute

over Fātima's proprietary right. Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq states that the *Ahl al-Bayt* made no effort to regain their confiscated property. This does not mean that they would not have accepted the property had it been restored to them. The analogy of proprietary rights, the 'Allāma says, cannot be applied to the caliphate which concerns the administration of religious and worldly affairs and the implementation of religious commands and the shari'a. 'Alī during his reign did not deprive Hasan, Husayn and their sisters of their inheritance rights in their mother's lawful property. The fact is that they did not make any claims. The later Imāms who took possession of Fadak were motivated by the desire to expose the tyranny of the previous caliphs. The 'Allāma considered the Khārijī and Nāsibī accusation or, for that matter, the Shāh's misgivings, that 'Alī's evidence might have been motivated by material gain, had no basis. The 'Allāma also accuses the Shāh of confusing the circumstances for performing *taqiya* and adds that the wars waged by 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn were fought to implant divine truth in a real sense. The 'Allāma also accuses the Shāh of misquoting 'Allāma Hillī's statement. According to the latter, after Fātima's speech, Abū Bakr wrote a letter restoring Fadak to her but 'Umar took it from Fātima's hand and tore it to pieces. Consequently not only did Abū Bakr not give Fadak back to Fātima but he also took no action against 'Umar who had insulted her. Fadak's confiscation and the unhappiness Abū Bakr caused to Fātima make him an unbeliever and disqualify him from holding the office of caliph.

Refuting the Shāh's arguments concerning the future of the Prophet's property after his death, the 'Allāma considers that Abū Bakr was scared that were he to return Fadak to Fātima, her demand for the caliphate for 'Alī would also have to be conceded. The alleged demand of share for the Prophet's wives and 'Abbās in the property of the Prophet Muhammad was no embarrassment to Abū Bakr. Consequently it was not the mere strict observance of veiling that prompted Fātima to will that Abū Bakr and 'Umar should not come near her coffin ; it was her deep anger against them that led to their exclusion (Tash, 279).

15. A. The Shāh distorts the Shi'i accusation regarding Abū Bakr's ignorance of shari'a laws, the 'Allāma says. According to the Shi'is, there are not only three but innumerable instances illustrating this. The Sunni works themselves confirm Abū Bakr's ignorance. The hadith quoted by the Shāh from the *Mishkāt* in Abū Bakr's defence, according to the 'Allāma, shows the Prophet pronouncing an unfair judgment which is impossible. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq interpreted a Prophet's hadith that, should a thief steal for the third time he should be scourged and imprisoned until he died or repented. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq's authority is a hadith by 'Alī (Tash, 304-11).

B. The Shāh's denial that Abū Bakr burnt a sodomite alive is an act

of great temerity for he himself later says that Abū Bakr acted on 'Alī's advice. Sayyid Murtadā drew upon Suwayd's evidence in order to refute the Sunnī arguments ; he did not say that Suwayd was correct. Sunnī works admit that it is improper to burn anyone alive. When Khālid burnt some people accused of apostasy (*ridda*), 'Umar condemned him and, in Abū Bakr's case, reproached him for duplicating the pain inflicted by God in hell. The 'Allāma goes on to say that the insinuation that Abū Bakr burnt the sodomite alive on 'Alī's instigation, makes him 'Alī's follower and unable to take an independent decision. If Abū Bakr was not competent to make *ijtihād* and issued shari'a ordinances as suggested by others, he was not qualified to be a *khalīfa*. The reasons for Abū Bakr's acceptance of 'Alī's alleged advice remain unknown for he attached no importance to 'Alī's advice on the caliphate.

The allegations that 'Alī ordered some apostates to be burnt alive are mentioned in the Sunnī *Sahīh ahādīth*, particularly in those by Tirmidhī. This is sheer fantasy for 'Alī could not violate the shari'a laws. It was Abū Bakr's decision and it shows him to be ignorant of the correct punishment for sodomy. Had he an adequate knowledge of these laws, he would not have accepted anyone else's advice (Tash, 311-17).

Shī'i sources not only mentioned the story of Abū Bakr burning Fija, alive, as the Shāh and some of his predecessors have asserted, but eminent Sunnī scholars such as ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī and several others have referred to this episode (Tash, 318-22).

C. According to Qādī Baydāwī a caliph should be superior in knowledge to his subjects. As Abū Bakr did not know the rulings which others knew he was inferior to them. Although, according to the Sunnīs, it may not be imperative for the *khalīfa* to be aware of all the shari'a rulings, Shāh Walī-Allāh and other scholars assert the caliph should be more knowledgeable than others. Since in all the disputed rulings, 'Alī was definitely superior to Abū Bakr, he was better qualified for the caliphate.

The stories about 'Alī's ignorance of shari'a laws have been fabricated by some bigoted Sunnī scholars and Sa'dān bin Nasr was one of them. The latter was not a Shī'i but a Sunnī. The tradition is quoted in *Kanz al-'ummāl* and Nasr-Allāh also relied on it. The Shī'is cannot be expected to refute audacious Sunnī fantasies. Likewise the allegations against Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq of ignorance of shari'a law is also false. The charge that the Imām did not know the rules on eating and drinking with the *ahl-i kitāb* (Jews and Christians) and urged people to avoid dining with them is preposterous. The Imām ordered them to refrain from this not because he considered it unlawful but because the food might contain pork and the drink be adulterated with wine.

The 'Allāma then discusses a considerable number of facts which accord-

ing to him exhibit Abū Bakr's ignorance of shari'a law (Tash, 323-33). As they are not mentioned by the Shāh we will omit them (Tash, 333-53).

Answers to the Shāh's Defence of the Shi'i Matā'in against 'Umar

1. It is wrong to confine the charges against 'Umar to only eleven. Shi'i scholars have not given their number as there are so many. According to the *Haqq al-yaqīn* by Mullā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi, the charges against 'Umar would fill a huge volume. He was equally guilty of a large number of the accusations levelled against Abū Bakr because Abū Bakr acted on his advice. The 'Allāma accuses the Shāh of distorting the following facts in regard to the refusal to provide the Prophet with writing materials.

1. The *qirtās* (paper) hadīth does not specify the period covered by the event as is done by the Shāh.
2. The *ahādīth* state that the differences were voiced after 'Umar's objections and not before as the Shāh asserts.
3. The *ahādīth* do not state, "someone said that the Prophet was delirious."

The 'Allāma goes on to say that Bukhārī describes the event with different chains of evidence in seven places. The 'Allāma quotes all of them and reproduces extracts from the *Sahīh Muslim* and the *Mishkāt*. He comments that the *Mishkāt* summarises the *Sahīh* of both Bukhārī and Muslim. According to the *Mishkāt*, when the Prophet realised that he was about to die he told some men, including 'Umar, who were at that time present in his house, that he would write a document to prevent them from being misled in the future. 'Umar said that the Prophet was in severe pain and the Qur'ān was sufficient for them. 'Umar's speech sparked off a controversy among those who were present. Some favoured and others opposed the presentation of writing materials. When they grew very noisy the Prophet ordered them to leave him. 'Ubayd-Allāh, who related the story on the authority of ibn 'Abbās, states that it was most unfortunate that their noise and clatter prevented the Prophet from penning the document. Sulaymān Ahwal, a reliable Sunnī transmitter of authorities says that ibn 'Abbās wept when he recalled that Thursday and remarked it was a most unfortunate day. He then described the event:

The 'Allāma then quotes the Shi'is accounts of the event by Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi and the Mu'tazilī, ibn Abi'l-Hadīd and states that 'Umar is accused of heresy and hypocrisy for the following reasons:

A. It was unanimously believed by all Muslims that the Prophet's speech was free from blemish irrespective of his health. His words were divinely inspired.

B. To attribute the Prophet's speech to delirium was preposterous and showed 'Umar's heresy and hypocrisy. 'Umar knew that the Prophet's

house was visited by angels but, to further his personal and political interests, he violated all fundamental religious considerations.

C. 'Umar broke Allāh's commands "Obey Allāh and obey the messenger."¹⁰⁵ Of the different verses on this matter the following are noteworthy :

"And whatsoever the messenger giveth you, take it. And whatsoever he forbideth you, abstain (from it). And keep your duty to Allāh. Lo ! Allāh is stern in reprisal."¹⁰⁶

"And it becometh not a believing man or a believing woman, when Allāh and His messenger have decided an affair (for them), that they should (after that) claim any say in their affair ; and whoso is rebellious to Allāh and His messenger, he verily goeth astray in error manifest."¹⁰⁷

Nowhere does the Qur'ān allow the Prophet's commands to be violated during sickness.

D. According to ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, 'Umar himself admitted that the Prophet wished to make a will in 'Alī's favour but he had prevented it.

E. 'Umar was instrumental in making the Prophet angry and the Prophet who was the "mercy to the world" had to expel him and his associates from the house. Allāh talks about those who trouble the Prophet as follows :

"Lo! those who malign Allāh and His messenger, Allāh hath cursed them in the world and the Hereafter, and hath prepared for them the doom of the disdained"¹⁰⁸ (Tash, 373-74).

F. 'Umar's statement that Allāh's Book was sufficient for them implies that he believed the Prophet was ignorant of the Qur'ān's importance and his decision to write his will was frivolous. 'Umar did not recognise the fact that only about five hundred verses of the Qur'ān comprise divine ordinances. A considerable number of religious laws cannot be derived from the Qur'ān. Whatever is deduced from it is very brief, ambiguous and perplexing. Opinions differ as to their true significance. Some people claim that the verses relating to *wudū* (ablutions) are very clear but there are at least a hundred controversies over it. The disagreements concerning ambiguous phrases and other related problems are enormous. Had Allāh's Book been sufficient, 'Umar would not have been forced to admit that in 'Alī's absence he would have been destroyed or that everyone else's

105 *Qur'ān*, IV, 59.

106 *Qur'ān*, LIX, 22.

107 *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 36.

108 *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 57.

knowledge was superior to his. Further the Prophet would not have related the *Thaqalayn* hadith which states that he was leaving behind Allāh's Book and his own 'itrat (the members of his household to help the Muslims). They would be inseparable until they met again at the Kawthar tank in Paradise. The great Shāfi'i 'ālim (scholar) and eminent sūfi, Qutb Muhyi Shirāzi writes in his *Makātib* :

"It is impossible to walk on the road without a guide. Those who say that Allāh's Book and the Prophet's *sunna* make the need for a spiritual guide redundant are wrong. They are like patients who argue that they are not in need of physicians, for medical books written by physicians are with them."

'Umar's own future actions contravene his statement on the Book of Allāh. After the Prophet's death he did not wait for his body to be washed and buried, but hurriedly collected his associates in Saqifa to usurp the caliphate. Had the fear of insurrection prompted his actions, his best course would have been to obey the Prophet's commands regarding a will. Refuting the theory that 'Umar was not alone in frustrating the Prophet's wishes, the 'Allāma says that the *Sahih Bukhārī*, the *Sahih Muslim* and other Sunni authentic *ahādīth* works unequivocally assert that 'Umar initiated the issue. No traditions by Bukhārī and Muslim tell us that 'Alī and 'Abbās were present. 'Alī could not refuse the Prophet's commands; only 'Umar and his supporters could noisily oppose him. Had 'Umar been concerned at the Prophet's pain, he would have provided him with writing materials in order to avoid upsetting him. Writing or dictating a few words would not have been very arduous (Tash, 375-90). The 'Allāma goes on to say that the examples of 'Alī's alleged refusals to obey the Prophet's order presented by the Shāh, only prove his own dedication to Nāsibī beliefs and do not demonstrate 'Alī's disobedience. The *Sahih Bukhārī* does not mention 'Alī's refusal to perform the *tahajjud* prayers in the words the Shāh quotes. Bukhārī's criticism of 'Alī emanates from his Khārijī and Nāsibī temperament. Ibn al-Hajar, in the commentary on the *Sahih Bukhārī*, says that the story does not imply that 'Alī refused to obey the Prophet but stated that he was very sleepy. Moreover the *tahajjud* prayers are not obligatory. In the other example, 'Alī's refusal to replace the title "*Rasūl-Allāh*" with the Prophet's name in the Hudaibiya¹⁰⁹ agreement was not, as the eminent Sunni authorities assert, an

109 In Dhu'lqa'da 6/March 628, the Prophet marched with 1,400 followers from Medina to Mecca to perform 'Umra and reached Hudaibiya, a village near the sacred territory of Mecca. The Meccans, finding the defence of their town exceedingly difficult, made peace with the Prophet. The Prophet ordered 'Alī to write the

act of disobedience but demonstrated 'Alī's devotion to the Prophet (Tash, 391-2). Likewise 'Alī's objections to staying back at Medina during the Tabūk expeditions were not motivated by disobedience. The 'Allāma goes on to say that the verse relating to the perfection of religion¹¹⁰ is not necessarily the last verse and there is no evidence that more verses were not revealed. On the basis of the "perfection of religion" verse, 'Umar had no right to stop the Prophet from writing down further divine revelations. According to the Shi'is, the Prophet intended to write the same divine command, the nomination of 'Alī as his successor, which he had revealed both secretly and publicly and had repeated in his farewell Ghadīr address. The 'Allāma denies the Shāh's contention that possibly he did not wish to write on religious matters but only on political affairs relating to the expulsion of the polytheists from Mecca. He says that the Prophet's war, the negotiations for peace and other state concerns were also essentially religious matters and were undertaken as the result of the Divine command communicated by Gabriel. The 'Allāma continues that the Sunni attempt to defend 'Umar on the basis of the immaturity and consequent unreliability of ibn 'Abbās also shatters the major portion of the *corpus* of Sunni *ahādīth* which is based on ibn 'Abbās' evidence. In short, the 'Allāma says that the Prophet wished to write a document directing Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Talha, Zubayr, Mu'āwiya, 'Ā'isha and their supporters to refrain from contesting 'Alī's succession but, once they had left the house, the need for the document disappeared also. The 'Allāma adds that the *Sahīh Muslim* hadīth that the Prophet had earlier intended to write a will in favour of Abū Bakr is a Sunni fabrication and cannot be made the basis for discussion with the Shi'is (Tash, 424-31).

2. Leading Sunni authorities assert that 'Umar threatened Fātima and collected wood to burn her house down. The Shāh's lame excuses in 'Umar's defence were themselves evidence that he could not defend 'Umar's atrocious behaviour on the basis of literary evidence. The 'Allāma then gives a list of outstanding Sunni scholars and reproduces extracts from their works to prove 'Umar's outrageous intention. He also quotes the relevant extract from the *Izālat al-khafā'* by Shāh Walī-Allāh. An examination of the available Sunni evidence, the 'Allāma says shows that those who refused to accept Abū Bakr as caliph, such as Zubayr and 'Abbās,

(F. N. 109 Contd.)

agreement. 'Alī added the title "*Rasūl-Allāh*" (Allāh's messenger) after the Prophet's name. When the pagans objected to this title, Muhammad asserted that he was Allāh's Prophet but, in the interest of peace, he asked 'Alī to erase "*Rasūl-Allāh*". 'Alī refused. Thereupon the Prophet took the agreement deed from his hand and himself erased the words.

110 *Supra*, p. 318; *Qur'ān*, V, 3.

were under duress. 'Umar went to Fātima's house at Abū Bakr's orders and told her on oath that he would burn her, her house and the people opposed to Abū Bakr's *bay'a* who had assembled there. 'Umar even said that he would burn her and her children unless the dissidents left her house and offered their *bay'a* (Tash, 444-59). Some Sunni scholars have made outrageous attempts to gloss over the facts and assert that 'Umar only threatened them and did not intend to actually implement this. This glossing, the 'Allāma says, does not absolve 'Umar from brutality to Fātima (Tash, 460-62). The 'Allāma asserts that the Shāh's statement, that Fātima herself was upset that people assembled at her house, is slanderous. How could she resent the presence of 'Alī and his associates? 'Alī's followers, who did not perform their prayers behind Abū Bakr, were justified in meeting in 'Alī's house because they considered him the divinely appointed Imām and performed their prayers behind him. The action taken by 'Alī against those who rebelled under 'Ā'isha is not parallel to the threat to burn Fātima's house. The Sunnis might consider that both Abū Bakr's and 'Alī's caliphate were equally legal but there was no evidence that those who humiliated 'Ā'isha were destined for hell as was the case with those who threatened Fātima (Tash, 482-89).

3. 'Umar had no love for the Prophet or else he could not have recovered immediately from the shock of his death, and, ignoring the arrangements for the Prophet's burial, organised the elevation of Abū Bakr to the caliphate. The verse which Abū Bakr recited was known to 'Umar already; his crocodile tears were designed to deceive the people. The 'Allāma also criticizes at great length the Sunni glosses on 'Umar's reaction to the news of the Prophet's death (Tash, 492-503).

4-7. Had 'Umar known the law that pregnant women should not be flogged, it would have been his duty to ascertain her condition before punishing her. All the evidence, both circumstantial and literary, suggests that 'Umar admitted 'Alī's superiority to himself not in circumstantial knowledge but in jurisprudence. The 'Allāma goes on to say that the Moses' analogy does not apply to 'Umar for the former was a *ma'sūm* prophet. The Shāh's criticism of Moses suggests that he had no faith in the *'ismat* (impeccability) of the prophets. That Moses was ignorant of the law, as the Shāh alleges, is not proved. The hadīth which the Shāh quotes about the Prophet's ignorance, the 'Allāma asserts, is mentioned only in Sunni works and the Sunnis, who complain about all the prophets, including Prophet Muhammad himself, cannot be expected to spare 'Alī (Tash, 504-16). The 'Allāma goes on to say that the laws are revealed gradually to the prophets hence they might not be aware of them all until their death but it is imperative for the imāms to know the entire *corpus* of the divine laws revealed to their Prophet (Tash, 518-20). The 'Allāma refutes the Shāh's allegations 4, 5, 6 and 7 and quotes from standard Sunni

ahādīth showing how 'Ali came to 'Umar's rescue by offering answers to difficult shari'a problems. The 'Allāma also quotes a large number of excerpts from standard Sunni *ahādīth* showing 'Umar's gross ignorance of the shari'a and his incorrect decisions (Tash, 564-814).

8. The 'Allāma quotes the Sunni *ahādīth* showing that the Prophet's relations' share of booty known as *khums* (one-fifth) should be set apart for them. The Sunnis following the first three caliph's traditions violated these ordinances by the Prophet with impunity. Innumerable Sunni *ahādīth* indicate that 'Umar and other caliphs did not give the Prophet's family their share in flagrant violation of his traditions and Qur'ānic ordinances. Imām Abū Hanīfa, following his caliphs' traditions, also rejected the distribution of *khums* to the Prophets' descendants. The 'Allāma disputes the Shāh's interpretation of the shari'a. The shari'a does not authorise denying the Prophet's relations their share. The Shāh's plea that it was given by 'Umar to 'Ali or 'Abbās, breaks the Sunni rules on the distribution of *khums*. Sunni sources do not support the Shāh in this contention (Tash, 816-910).

9. The *bid'ats* (innovations) initiated by 'Umar are innumerable but the Shāh, following Kābulī, says the 'Allāma, chooses only the *tarāwih* prayers for discussion. No Shi'i works state that the Prophet performed *tarāwih* prayers and there are no *tawātur*¹¹¹ in Sunni *ahādīth*. The traditions in the *Sahīh* by Bukhārī and the *Sahīh* by Muslim indicate that during the Prophet's lifetime, in Abū Bakr's reign and the early years of 'Umar's reign, the *tarāwih* prayers were not recited. The 'Allāma then quotes Sunni *ahādīth* supporting his statement. Suyūti considers unreliable the traditions which the Sunnis mention to validate their contention that the Prophet performed *tarāwih* prayers (Tash, 913-22). All innovations which conflict with the Prophet's injunctions are unequivocally wrong : there can be no merit in them.

The 'Allāma goes on to say that with reference to the Shāh's condemnation of the *Ghadir-'id* and the *Nawrūz-'id*, neither of these are examples of *bid'at*. These celebrations violate neither Allāh's orders nor those of the Prophet. They were authorised by the *ahādīth* of the Shi'i imāms and amount to the Prophet's own command (Tash, 945-56).

10. 'Umar was ignorant of the shari'a laws regarding the distribution of a grandfather's estate but issued hundreds of personal verdicts. The 'Allāma quotes seventeen leading Sunni authorities who have discussed this problem. According to 'Umar himself the Prophet had told him that he would be able to understand the problems before his ('Umar's)

111 Traditions considered as authentic from a very early time and transmitted by reliable narrators.

death (Tash, 957-65). It would seem that the Prophet did not consider 'Umar capable of understanding them. Naturally 'Umar's inability to make correct deductions from shari'a laws disqualifies him from holding the high office of caliph and his personal judgments cannot be considered as based on the shari'a.

11. First of all the *Sahih Muslim* is not the most authentic Sunni hadith work; the highest authority as earlier mentioned is the *Sahih Bukhārī* (Tash, 1008). However the statement in the *Sahih Muslim* is different. It states that in the year of the battle of Awtās¹¹² *mut'a* (marriage for a fixed period) was permitted for three days and was then prohibited. No further orders making it illegal are mentioned in the hadith; there is no reference to its permanent prohibition, as the Shāh asks us to believe (Tash, 109). The Shāh obviously depends on Kābuli for this interpretation, the 'Allāma says. However Kābuli does not ascribe its eternal prohibition to the *Sahih Muslim's* narrator (Tash, 1011). The *Sahih Bukhārī* does not mention this hadith. Other Sunni *ahādith* works tend to show that during the Prophet's farewell pilgrimage *mut'a* was legal (Tash, 1017). All the eminent Sunni authorities, including ibn Taymiyya's disciple ibn Qayyam al-Jawziyya, credit its prohibition to 'Umar. The 'Allāma continues that the Shāh's statement that 'Ali narrated the tradition of the illegality of *mut'a* is a patent lie and calumny. Only the traditionist Zuhri¹¹³ mentions it and it is not corroborated by others. Kābuli also does not make this allegation. Only two out of the enormous progeny of Muhammad al-Hanafiyya, according to Zuhri, consider *mut'a* illegal; of Hasan's descendants none quotes 'Ali as the authority (Tash, 1033). However, Mālik, Bukhārī and Muslim quote 'Ali's prohibition on *mut'a* in connection with the battle of Khaybar. Their original source was Zuhri. Shāh Wali-Allāh had disputed it, however (Tash, 1034-36). The 'Allāma then goes on to discuss the contradictions, discord and diversity among those Sunni scholars who mention the *mut'a* hadith in connection with the Khaybar and Awtās battles respectively. The prohibition on *mut'a* was not instituted only once or twice, according to Sunni authorities, but is mentioned on six different occasions (Tash, 1051-73). The authorities who mention the prohibition do not say that the order was not widely publicised. The Allāma asserts that the Shāh's statement to the effect that the prohibition on *mut'a* was not commonly known contradicts Sunni sources. It tends to show that the Prophet did not take sufficient care in publicising the *mut'a* prohibitions whereas 'Umar's threats and discip-

112 The battle took place in 8/630.

113 Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Zuhri (d. 124/741-42) was an authority for a number of important biographical and historical works.

linary actions made the interdiction universally known. This is preposterous and pure cynicism on the Shāh's part, the 'Allāma asserts. He discusses at length the belief that the Qur'ānic verses do not prove the *mut'a* prohibition (Tash, 1074-75). He also quotes eminent Sunnī authorities such as ibn Jarīh (d. 150/767-68), Sa'id bin Jābir (killed by Hajjāj in 95/714), Tā'ūs bin Kaysān (d. 106-724) and 'Atā' bin Abi Ribāh (d. 115/733) who judged *mut'a* legal. The 'Allāma says that the verse permitting it is firm and unambiguous (Tash, 1880-85).

The 'Allāma quotes the Sunnī *ahādith* telling how 'Umar prohibited *'umrā* in the *hajj* months. In the *Izālat al-khafā'* Shāh Walī-Allāh also confirms the Shī'ī complaints. Not only does the Shāh refute the Shī'īs, he dishonours and disgraces his own religious leaders (Tash, 1262-98).

The 'Allāma also discussed the charges against 'Umar not mentioned by the Shāh (pp. 1506-1916). We will also omit these discussions and proceed to his second volume of the *Tashyīd al-matā'in*.

Answer to the Shāh's Defence of the Shī'ī Matā'in (Indictments) Against 'Uthmān

1. The 'Allāma, accusing the Shāh of distorting Shī'ī allegations, goes on to say that the Shī'īs assert that 'Uthmān appointed governors who were not competent to hold the position because of their wickedness and profligacy. 'Umār desisted from giving them high offices but 'Uthmān would not listen to the Prophet's companions warnings. The 'Allāma then goes on to describe the known wickedness and profligacy of 'Uthmān's governors from Sunnī sources. Of these, 'Abd-Allāh bin Sarah, 'Uthmān's foster-brother, who formerly transcribed the divine revelations, became apostate after the conquest of Mecca claiming that the Prophet was a puppet in his ('Abd-Allāh's) hands. The Prophet had cursed Marwān's wickedness but 'Uthmān, violating the Prophet's command, recalled him from Tā'if and made his son governor. In short, the following reasons make 'Uthmān's appointment of his Umayyad kinsmen unlawful (Tash, II, 18):

a. They were known rascals, scoundrels and malefactors. The appointment of such wretches in supersession to the Prophet's leading companions amounted to transforming Prophetic sovereignty into a worldly government (Tash, II, 18).

b. The Sunnis claim that Allāh spoke through 'Umar's tongue but the same 'Umar forbade the appointment of the Umayyads as governors. For that reason 'Uthmān was not qualified to hold the office of caliph. It is said that 'Umar had foretold that if 'Uthmān appointed the Umayyad governors they would act against divine command and would be instrumental in 'Uthmān's murder. It is not known how the Sunnis could consider the violation of 'Umar's prophecy legal.

c. A large number of *ahādīth* tell us that the Prophet believed that 'Uthmān would appoint malefactors and scoundrels as governors (Tash, II, 19-2).

d. The *Tafsīr Nizhāpūri* says that ibn 'Abbās considered the Umayyad "the accursed tree" of the Qur'ān. According to the Sunnis it is only lawful to curse infidels. Therefore, the appointment of such people who were wicked infidels as governors was unlawful.

e. Were we to accept for argument's sake 'Uthmān's governors as competent, it cannot be denied that they were definitely inferior to the just companions of the Prophet. Consequently 'Uthmān ought not to have appointed them (Tash, II, 20).

f. According to the *Sahih Muslim*, the Prophet's companions condemned and complained about 'Uthmān's Umayyad governors.

In short, the 'Allāma says that competence should not be the only criterion for the appointment of governors unless the Sunnis were prepared to consider diabolical and cruel people, just and trustworthy (Tash, II, 23). 'Uthmān could not be absolved from blame for he knowingly appointed scoundrels, sinners and infidels as governors. Although 'Uthmān had not thought it necessary to attend to the commands of Allāh and the Prophet, he should have at least paid attention to 'Umar's warnings. Conversely 'Ali appointed no proven sinners as governors. For example, Walid bin 'Aqaba remained the Prophet's governor only until his lies and wickedness were discovered. Before their appointments none of 'Ali's governors had been accused of any offence. Although the Prophets and imāms knew the divine mysteries, they complied with the popularly known laws of the shari'a (Tash, II, 27-31). The 'Allāma accuses the Shāh of quoting only such portions of Ziyād's career as were compatible with his beliefs and arguments. According to ibn Khallikān, Ziyād was the son of 'Ubayd and Samiya, who were given by Kisra to Hārith bin Kalda Thaqafī, the physician of Tā'if for his services. Hārith lawfully wed 'Ubayd to Samiya. Until Ziyād was 'Ali's governor, he was not known to have violated any laws. To 'Ali, Ziyād's bastardy had not been fully proved. Ziyād's brother Abū Bakr, one of the Prophet's companions, denied Abū Sufyān's claims that he was Ziyād's father (Tash, II, 31-37).

2. According to Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi, not only did 'Uthmān ignore Hakam bin Abi'l-'Ās' betrayal of the Prophet, he also broke his agreement with the selection board to which he promised to adhere to Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's traditions. The latter, despite 'Uthmān's entreaties, would not allow Hakam to enter Medina. Besides 'Ali, 'Uthmān was reproached by Zubayr, Talha, Sa'd, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Ammār Yasir and 'Ā'isha for this sacrilege. The Prophet's alleged permission for Hakam's return to Medina is a Sunni fabrication.

The 'Allāma goes on to say that Hakam's old age was no guarantee of his harmlessness; an old and experienced person could organise rebellion better than a young and an immature leader (Tash, II, 39-50).

3. According to the *Kitāb al-siyāsa* by 'Abd-Allāh bin Muslim bin Qutayba, 'Uthmān was unable to answer the charges of wastefully squandering the funds belonging to the *bayt al-māl* on his relatives and protégés, ignoring the rights of those who took part in *jihād* (Tash, II, 58). According to the authentic Sunni works, the first six years of 'Uthmān's rule were more popular with the Quraysh than those of 'Umar because of his leniency towards them. In the last six years 'Uthmān's nepotism and extravagance alienated people from him. The Shaqshaqiyya sermon by 'Alī in the *Nahj al-balāgha* says that 'Uthmān and his relations "ate Allāh's funds as the camels grazed the spring grass". One of Prophet Muhammad's prophecies, related by Abū Dharr, says that the Prophet had warned the people that after him the imāms would embezzle public funds (Tash, II, 59-60). The 'Allāma sneeringly goes on to say that the Sunni conscience is upset at condemning the Prophet's three successors but it does not worry them when denigrating the Prophet, hence they must not forget that the Prophet's companions also criticised 'Uthmān's nepotism. Even Shāh Walī-Allāh in the *Izālat al-khafā'* quotes 'Amr bin 'Ās' statement saying that Abū Bakr and 'Umar did not misappropriate public property but after them it was seized with impunity (Tash, II, 61-62).

The 'Allāma does not believe that 'Uthmān's wealth was unlimited. According to Kābuli, however, 'Uthmān was an alchemist and was able to manufacture gold. The Shāh does not endorse this singular assertion but traces 'Uthmān's wealth to his enormous share of booty during 'Umar's reign. However, according to Sunni *ahādith*, 'Uthmān pleaded that his wealth emanated from his wages for supervising the *bayt al-māl*. Even if we accepted the Shāh's plea that 'Uthmān paid himself for the enormous gifts he bestowed on his sons-in-law, he still violated the Prophet's tradition by spending money on luxury items. The Sunnis defence of his award of the *khums* from Ifriqiyya to Marwān has already been rejected by 'Abd al-Jabbār Mu'tazili,¹¹⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr Muhaddith¹¹⁵ and other Sunni scholars, says the 'Allāma. The Prophet had already cursed Marwān and it did not behove 'Uthmān to appoint an object of divine wrath as a

114 The Mu'tazilite scholar 'Abd al-Jabbār bin Ahmad al-Hamadānī al-Asadābādī (d. 415/1025) is famous as the *qādī al-quḍāt* (chief *qādī*). Besides *al-Mughnī*, he was the author of an important work on prophecy entitled *Dalā'il Nubuwwah Sayyidina Muhammad*. *Supra*, p. 418.

115 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namārī (d. 463/1070) was a Cordovan scholar. His *Kitāb al-isti'āb fī ma'rifat al-ashāb* is an important biographical dictionary of the Prophet's companions. He also wrote many important works on Mālikī fiqh.

commander and governor. The money paid by Marwān for the booty he purchased was a trifle (Tash, II, 70-78).

The 'Allāma goes on to say that it is not necessarily correct that everything which is lawful for the subject is lawful for the ruler. It is lawful for the subject to obtain his share from the *fay*¹¹⁶ and *ghanima* but it is not lawful for the imām to appropriate the entire *bayt al-māl* himself (Tash, II, 78).

4. The replacement of superior with inferior, the 'Allāma says, is reprehensible. Were we to accept conquest and empire building as the criteria for righteousness, Yazīd, Hajjāj and other tyrants who were successful in warfare would have to be treated as righteous. It was, however, Shāh Ismā'il Safavi's wars that converted Mashhad, Shirāz, Nishāpūr and Hirāt to Shi'i states, and not the wars of 'Uthmān's governors, asserts the 'Allāma. The Umayyads undoubtedly conquered Sind but they did not disseminate true spiritual values there. The Umayyad domination proves the hadīth, "Verily Allāh strengthens his religion through malefactors" (Tash, II, 85-86).

So far as the Shi'i historians were concerned, the 'Allāma says that there were two ibn Qutaybas. No work by the Shi'i ibn Qutayba is extant. Ibn Qutayba, the author of *Kitāb al-siyāsa*, was a Sunnī and so was Ahmad bin A'tham Kūfī although he was devoted to the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Samsāti has only abridged *Tārīkh Tabarī*. He has not inserted any additional material. Had Abū Mūsā deserved to be killed, 'Alī would have killed him. 'Amr bin 'Ās merited death only after he joined Mu'āwiya and rebelled against 'Alī. The Sunnī satirists whom the Shāh quotes should have learned the shari'a first, the 'Allāma says. They seemed not to know that the shari'a did not permit punishment unless a crime was committed. He goes on to say that the Shi'is drew upon only those Khawārij charges which were based on Sunnī principles and did not use them mainly to increase the number of indictments. He reminds the Shāh that he himself had admitted that when 'Uthmān dismissed 'Amr bin 'Ās the latter had not exhibited any treachery. This proved that 'Uthmān wrongfully dismissed him. The 'Allāma contends that 'Alī did not remove any officials or governors unfairly (Tash, II, 87-88).

5. It was true that the Shi'is did not respect most of the personalities whom 'Uthmān persecuted but their stories were related only because they considered them victims of 'Uthmān's tyranny. The Shi'is argued on behalf of the Sunnis that the caliph who persecuted such important Sunnī personalities, definitely acted against the Prophet and thus disqualified

116 Property and land acquired by the Muslims in conquered territories without fighting.

himself from holding office. The Shi'is believe that Abū Dharr and 'Ammār neither gave up *taqiya* when it was necessary nor abandoned their duty to enforce the lawful and prohibit the unlawful. The Shi'is consider that Abū Dharr and 'Ammār strongly protested against Abū Bakr's *bay'a* and argued in favour of 'Alī's *imāma*, Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī has quoted a detailed tradition in the *Haqq al-yaqīn*. There was no occasion for the Shāh to be pleased that 'Uthmān persecuted Abū Dharr and 'Ammār for the alleged non-observance of *taqiya*. For example, the 'Allāma says, were a Muslim to abandon an imperative *taqiya*, urge the infidels to accept Islam and be killed, none would praise the infidel for killing the Muslim for not practising *taqiya*. Further the Shi'i posture which the Shāh tends to assume, does not allow any comparisons between 'Uthmān and 'Alī. To them 'Alī was the legal caliph and his opponents deserved harsh punishment. Secondly, 'Alī tried first to reform his opponents by counsel and advice and fought them only in self-defence when they would not listen. 'Uthmān's enemies did not fight him but only urged him to reform, Abū Dharr and 'Ammār deserved respect from 'Uthmān but 'Ā'isha, Talha and Zubayr merited no consideration from 'Alī for he had been told to fight them by the Prophet. The Sunnis did not quote any such advice to 'Uthmān from the Prophet. According to the Bayhaqī (quoted in *Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*), Muhammad had prophesied that Zubayr's war against 'Alī would be an act of tyranny. Consequently Zubayr's supporters Talha and 'Ā'isha were also in the same category. As they had murdered 'Alī's Shi'as, 'Alī killed them in retaliation. *Kanz al-'ummāl* gives a detailed account of the incident which favours 'Alī (Tash, II, 101-3).

The hadith saying that the Prophet had foretold that 'Uthmān would become a caliph was a Sunni fabrication. As the Sunni authorities believe that the Prophet made no prophecies concerning his successors, how could he make one in favour of 'Uthmān (Tash, II, 105-6). The 'Allāma goes on to quote extracts from Sunni authorities which indicate that 'Uthmān showed no patience with those who wished to reform him. 'Alī considered Abū Dharr's banishment by 'Uthmān outrageous (Tash, II, 127). Sunni apologies that Abū Dharr himself chose to settle at Rabadha are self-contradictory. Even Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith and Shāh Wali-Allāh state that Abū Dharr was banished. The Shāh's story of Abū Dharr's relations with 'Uthmān have no historical basis, asserts the 'Allāma. Sunni *ahādith* also state that the Prophet had urged that prayers be performed at the correct time although the Muslims were governed by rulers who did not care about religion (Tash, II, 130). The 'Allāma's discussion of 'Uthmān's brutality against the Prophet's other companions is also quite detailed and is designed to show that the Shāh, in defending 'Uthmān, was unable to stick to the Sunni belief that he respected all the Prophet's companions (Tash, II, 130-56).

6. It is wrong to assume that a large number of 'ulamā' say that the law of retaliation does not apply to Muslims for killing free Christian and Jewish citizens. Abū Hanifa also confirms this fact. According to the 'Allāma, the available evidence did not show that Hurmuzān was involved in 'Umar's assassination (Tash, II, 156-61). Secondly, the assassinated person's descendants were not empowered to apply the law of retaliation without the shari'a judge's permission. Unless Hurmuzān had been illegally assassinated, 'Alī would not have demanded the imposition of the law of retaliation. The 'Allāma goes on to say that there was no comparison between Hurmuzān's murderers and 'Uthmān's killers. Hurmuzān's assassin was a single known person; conversely, 'Uthmān's killers belonged to a large group and the person who actually murdered him could not be identified. The 'Allāma does not agree with the Shāh's plea that Hurmuzān's successors were not present in Medina. He goes on to say that Hurmuzān was 'Abbās' *mawla* (protégé) and had been converted by him to Islam. 'Abbās and his successors were the right people to demand *qisās* and they were present in Medina. As pointed out by Sharif Murtadā, 'Uthmān should have informed Hurmuzān's heirs in Ahwaz that, were they to demand *qisās*, their lives would be safe. They would then have come to Medina to seek justice. Unable to resist the Muslim agitation for the demand for *qisās* against 'Ubayd-Allāh, 'Uthmān sent him to Kūfa and gave him a house and land there.

The 'Allāma goes on to say that no Shi'i work discussed all the indictments against the first three caliphs and mentioned only a few by way of example. Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī says that 'Uthmān delayed punishing Walīd bin 'Aqaba for drinking wine. He is endorsed by eminent Sunnī authorities (Tash, II, 161-65).

The Shāh's defence of 'Uthmān's cowardice at Uhud is severely criticized by the 'Allāma. He goes on to say that it was not correct that thirty men were left with the Prophet there; according to some traditions only 'Alī was with him. However, the retreat of the entire force was no justification for 'Uthmān's withdrawal. The 'Allāma tauntingly says that since all the three caliphs were used to fleeing from battle, perhaps running away was no crime in Sunnī eyes (Tash, II, 166-67).

7. Sunnī scholars themselves do not agree with the Shāh's defence of 'Uthmān in relation to the recitation of four *rak'a* of prayers at Minā. This event has placed them on the horns of a dilemma. For example, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawī writes that 'Uthmān recited four *rak'a* because a huge crowd of Muslims from all parts of the Islamic world had gathered there. Had he recited only two *rak'a* (as prescribed when on a journey) his followers would have grown confused and would believe that two was the normal number required. The 'Allāma expresses his surprise that a learned scholar like the Shaykh should produce such a

flimsy argument. It was a gross violation of the shari'a and the traditions of the Prophet, Abū Bakr and 'Umar (Tash, II, 171-80).

8. The tradition prohibiting the public use of the pasture is wrongly ascribed to the Prophet, says the 'Allāma. This order was issued by 'Umar. The relevant traditions in the *Izālat al-Khafā'* also ascribe the *hama* (pastures prohibited to the public) order to 'Umar. On other occasions 'Uthmān gave various reasons but he was constantly accused of violating the shari'a and the Prophet's traditions relating to public rights. The Shi'i works, the 'Allāma says, do not refer to 'Uthmān's decision to impose a monopoly on the bazaar and the prohibition on his boats from transporting others' goods (Tash, II, 181-84).

9. Shāh Walī-Allāh comments in the *Izālat al-Khafā'* that 'Umar never allowed the award of *mawāt* lands (uncultivated or land lying fallow) to anyone without the permission of the entire Muslim community. However, the 'Allāma says that according to Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, in contradistinction to the traditions of Abū Bakr and 'Umar who awarded land in consultation with community members, 'Uthmān introduced the custom of giving it to his associates at his own discretion. Had 'Uthmān acted lawfully, 'Alī would not have resumed these lands to the caliphate and would not have declared 'Uthmān "atrocious". The *Nahj al-balāgha* also refers to 'Uthmān's other innovations. The 'Allāma goes on to say that giving Fadak in *iqṭā'*¹¹⁷ to Marwān shows that 'Uthmān gave even cultivated lands to his associates in this way. 'Uthmān ignored Abū Bakr's arguments that Fadak belonged to the entire Muslim community and had been denied to the Prophet's beloved daughter on these grounds (Tash, II, 185-87).

10. The assistance of the Prophet's companions and their consent to 'Uthmān's assassination is proven from reliable Sunni works and its denial by the Shāh displays his ignorance of the works of his own sect, says the 'Allāma. According to the *Istī'āb*, the *ansārs* assisted 'Uthmān's assassins while Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī says that the Prophet's companions did not help 'Uthmān. A hadīth in the *Kanz al-'ummāl* says that the Prophet's companions publicized 'Uthmān's faults, ignored his merits and inspired others to kill him. A different hadīth in the same work says that 'Uthmān cursed the Prophet's companions who were insincere in their promises to help him. Suyūṭī in his *Tārikh al-khulafā'* quotes a dialogue between Zuhri and Sa'id Musayyab which shows that the Prophet's companions forcefully condemned 'Uthmān's rule, abandoned him and did not repel the rebels' siege. Other Sunni works such as the *Mawāhib Laduniyya*, *Hayāt al-haywān* and *Kitāb al-fusūl* by Nūr al-Dīn also corro-

117 In the early centuries of Islam, *iqṭā'* comprised portions of territory granted in semi-ownership to military commanders subject to the payment of '*ushr*' for military and administrative services.

borate the works already mentioned, asserts the 'Allāma. He goes on to say that the Shāh's contention that the Prophet's companions never failed to help 'Uthmān had no basis (Tash, II, 189-205). However, they sent water to him and to the women and children who were besieged with him. 'Alī also ordered his son, Ja'far's sons and his slave Qambar to make sure that the innocent children and women in the house were supplied with adequate food and water and were not molested. 'Alī considered that 'Uthmān's innovations in government had made him unworthy to hold office and did not discourage the rebels' demand for 'Uthmān's abdication. Some Sunnī sources, says the 'Allāma, wrongly ask us to believe that 'Alī, his sons and relations defended 'Uthmān (Tash, II, 206-7). However, conversely, although Mu'āwiya later blamed Hasan and Husayn they did not have any hand in 'Uthmān's assassination either. Likewise Talha and Zubayr, contends the 'Allāma, did not help 'Uthmān and were in collusion with his assassins. All important Sunnī traditions quote 'Alī's posture in the movement to the effect that neither he killed 'Uthmān nor did he consider his assassination improper. In his celebrated *Shaqshaqiyya* sermon, 'Alī strongly condemned him. Lastly, even Nasr-Allāh Kābulī, whom the Shāh plagiarizes, asserts the 'Allāma, does not deny the fact that 'Uthmān was not buried for three days because of the terror generated by the assassins. The date of his assassination given by the Shāh was not acceptable to many scholars ; according to some it took place on 12 Dhu'l-hijja and according to others on 24 Dhu'l-hijja (Tash, II, 207-20).

Answer to the Shāh's Defence of the Shi'ī Matā'in against 'Ā'isha

1. 'Allāma Hillī in the *Kashf al-Haqq* does not mention the indictments against 'Ā'isha separately. They were discussed in connection with the charges against those Prophet's companions who opposed 'Alī. Nasr-Allāh Kābulī, drawing upon the *Kashf al-Haqq* and other works by 'Allāma Hillī, made a separate section for them, inventing the tenth charge himself. Concentrating on the Shāh's answers, the 'Allāma says that to the Shi'īs, neither was 'Ā'isha sincere nor beloved by the Prophet. She was also not cleansed from sin. Ibn Hajar's *Fath al-Bārī* states that, according to Tabarī, 'Ā'isha, after the end of the Jamal war, admitted to 'Ammār Yāsir that her expedition violated the Qur'ānic injunction to the Prophet's wives "And stay in your houses"¹¹⁸ (Tash, II, 224). According to the *Rawdat al-ahbāb*, after his "farewell pilgrimage", the Prophet told his wives that pilgrimage was no longer necessary for them. After the Prophet's death, Sūda, Zaynab bint Jahsh and Umm-Salama never left their houses considering it would imply disrespect for the Qur'ān. The 'Allāma goes on to say that the Shāh's apologetic reasoning that the verse in the Qur'ān

118 Qur'ān, XXXIII, 33.

did not prohibit the Prophet's wives from leaving their houses but called upon them only to refrain from loafing like bazaar women with a scarf over their head, was baseless. Sunnī interpretations in *Fath al-Bārī* and in other Sunnī works do not differ from the Shī'ī interpretations. The 'Allāma rejects the Shāh's excuse for 'Ā'isha's expedition against 'Alī as designed to serve Muslim interests, on the following grounds :

1. A war in which a number of important companions of the Prophet and thousands of Muslims were killed did not serve Muslim interests.
2. *Qisās* is implemented by a just caliph and is not a female concern.
3. As the Prophet's leading companions and his wives did not approve of 'Ā'isha's expedition, it is wrong to call it equivalent to *hajj* and *'umra*. 'Ammār Yāsir's objections as given in the *Fath al-Bārī* have already been mentioned. According to the *Rawdat al-ahbāb* 'Alī sent Zayd bin Sawhān and others to 'Ā'isha to persuade her to remain within her house as the Qur'ān commanded, and she admitted that she had been unable to counter their arguments. The *Sahīh Bukhārī* says that on the day of the battle of Jamal 'Ā'isha recalled the Prophet's comments on the elevation of Kisra's daughter to the throne. He had remarked that those who entrusted their rule to a woman would never prosper (Tash, II, 226-27). Ibn Hajar quotes a statement by Abū Hanīfa showing that 'Ā'isha's war against 'Alī was misguided. According to the *Khwāss al-umma* by Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, the Prophet's wife Umm-Salama told 'Ā'isha that her expedition contravened the Prophet's teachings and was illegal (Tash, II, 233).

The 'Allāma then reproduces excerpts from standard leading Sunnī scholars to show that 'Ā'isha violated the Qur'ānic injunction and disobeyed the Prophet's orders. The 'Allāma goes on to say that there was no similarity between Fātima's visit to the *ansārs*' houses and the 'Ā'isha's war. The verse refers to the Prophet's wives, not to his daughter. Moreover Fātima visited the *ansārs*' houses to complain about Abū Bakr's atrocities and to seek help in redressing the Caliph's wrongs. She was taken by her own husband and was accompanied by her sons. According to Sunnī beliefs the principal aim in appointing a *khalīfa* was the implementation of penal laws. Had *qisās* against 'Uthmān's assassin been proposed, the majority of the Prophet's companions would have raised their voices in protest.

The 'Allāma fiercely criticises the Shāh for trusting ibn Qutayba's history more than the Qur'ān. He continues that the Shī'is quote ibn Qutayba mainly because the Sunnis rely heavily on him (Tash, II, 232-36).

2. According to Sunnī principles, the sultān is the custodian (*wālī*) of those who have no guardians. The Sunnis themselves believe that after 'Uthmān's death, 'Alī was the sultān. 'Ā'isha was neither the guardian of 'Uthmān's successors nor a *khalīfa*. In his letter quoted in Kamāl al-Dīn Muhammad bin Talha Shāfi'is' *Matālib al-sā'ul*, 'Alī wrote to 'Ā'isha

saying that by leaving her house she had sinned both against Allāh and the Prophet. Her war was not going to serve the people's interest. Military leadership by women was not desirable. She was not entitled to demand *qisās* for 'Uthmān's blood as he was an Umayyad and she belonged to the Taym clan. She should return home and fear God and the Prophet (Tash, II, 238).

The 'Allāma continues that the Shāh's claim that 'Ā'isha bore no malice against 'Alī was absolutely wrong. According to the section "Kitāb al-Salāt" in the *Sahih Bukhārī*, when during his last illness the Prophet was walking to the mosque, 'Ā'isha's hatred of 'Alī was so deep that she would not even utter his name. 'Abd al-Razzāq and ibn Ishāq also give similar accounts (Tash, II, 239). When 'Ā'isha was informed of 'Alī's death she was overjoyed. According to ibn Taymiyya too 'Ā'isha cursed 'Alī (Tash, II, 240-41).

The 'Allāma goes on to say that besides ibn Qutayba, Ahmad bin A'tham and Samsātī, whom the Shāh incorrectly thought to be Shi'is, the leading Sunni authorities, such as 'Alī bin Burhān al-Dīn al-Halabī al-Shāfi'i, the author of *Insān al-'Uyūn*; ¹¹⁹ ibn al-Jawzī, the author of the *Tadhkirat al-khawāss* and Jamāl al-Dīn Muhaddith, the author of the *Rawdat al-ahbāb*, have said that 'Ā'isha used to censure 'Uthmān during his lifetime for violating the Prophet's traditions and incite people to kill him, calling him "the *na'thal*" (a man with a long beard). According to leading Sunni authorities the 'Allāma says, 'Alī also accused 'Ā'isha of condemning 'Uthmān as a heretic while he was still alive and urging people to kill him (Tash, II, 241-46).

3. The 'Allāma quotes extracts relating to 'Ā'isha's halt at the Hawab spring from important Sunni scholars and adds that the Shāh's conclusions were wrong. The Prophet's advice to his wives was to leave Hawab and return home as 'Ā'isha understood. Had she done this, war would have been averted and the Muslims would not have been massacred. Those who considered that her war against 'Alī served the cause of peace and Muslim interests were perverse and bigoted (Tash, II, 241-54).

4. Leading Sunni authorities assert that the *bayt al-māl* was seized and 'Uthmān bin Hanīf disgraced on 'Ā'isha's orders. Talha and Zubayr killed forty of 'Alī's Shi'is who were defending the *bayt al-māl*. According to a Sunni hadith in *Mishkāt*, appropriation of the *bayt al-māl* without the Imām's consent brought everlasting damnation. Consequently, Talha and

119 al-Halabī (d. 1044/1635), the author of *Insān al-'Uyūn*, commonly known as *al-Sīra al-Halabiyya*, was a very popular author. His *Insān*, the Prophet's biography, is largely based on *'Uyūn al-āthār* by ibn Sayyid an-Nās (d. 659/1261) and al-Sālibī's *al-Sīra al-Sha'miyya* but it also contains important additional material.

Zubayr earned a place in hell. The 'Allāma states that no work mentions that, 'Ā'isha apologised to them ; even Nasr-Allāh Kābuli does not refer to it. Talha and Zubayr's brutality, the 'Allāma says, cannot be compared with the steps taken by Mālik Ashtar for he acted in obedience to the Caliph's orders and 'Ā'isha, whom they obeyed, was not a caliph. When 'Alī became caliph he did not dismiss Abū Mūsā Ash'ari. As mentioned by ibn Hajar, action was taken against him only after he refused to obey 'Alī's orders and did nothing to prevent the people of Kūfa from rebelling. According to the *Rawdat al-ahbāb*, when the people of Kūfa heard Mālik's army arrive they besieged the governor's palace and destroyed Abū Mūsā's property. Afterwards he was allowed to transfer his possessions to a different place. His house was not burnt but his property was looted (Tash, II, 255-260).

5. With reference to Hafsa's revelation to 'Ā'isha that the Prophet had spent the night with Māriya but had subsequently promised to make her unlawful to him, the 'Allāma comments that Muslims are not permitted to divulge each other's secrets. Hafsa and 'Ā'isha were both culpable of revealing the secrets of the Prophet's private life and breaking the pledge given to him. The "frowning of the Qur'ān"¹²⁰ on the incident could not be disputed. They even divulged the secret to their respective fathers, making the Prophet's private life a scandal (Tash, II, 262-64).

6. The Shāh's answer that jealousy was intrinsic to women was borrowed from *Ibtāl al-bātil*, the 'Allāma says. He adds that in reply Qādi Nūr-Allāh had written that jealousy was also unlawful and a sin. As admitted by the Shāh himself, 'Ā'isha was jealous of Khadija. This makes 'Ā'isha a sinner. The 'Allāma accuses the Shāh of wilfully omitting the name of the lady who was guilty of jealousy in the story related by him. The Shāh had written that according to a hadith, the Prophet was once staying with one of his wives when another wife sent over some delicious food to him. The wife in whose house the Prophet was staying took the tray from the hands of the girl who had brought it and dashed it to the ground. The Prophet began to pick the food up himself. He commented, "your

120 The following verses of the *Qur'ān* refer to the incident :

"O Prophet ! Why bankest thou that which Allāh hath made lawful for thee, seeking to please thy wives ? And Allāh is Forgiving, Merciful." (*Qur'ān*, LXVI, 1). It was followed by the verses :

"When the Prophet confided a fact unto one of his wives and when she afterward divulged it and Allāh apprised him thereof, he made known (to her) part thereof and passed over part. And when he told it her she said : Who hath told thee ? He said : The Knower, the Aware hath told me." (*Qur'ān*, LXVI, 3).

"It may happen that his Lord, if he divorce you, will give him in your stead wives better than you, submissive (to Allāh), believing, pious, penitent, inclined to fasting, widows and maids." *Qur'ān*, LXVI, 5.

mother was full of jealousy." The Shāh had concluded that, since the Prophet did not take exception, it was not proper for the community to complain. The 'Allāma asserts that according to 'Ali bin Yahyā bin 'Isa bin Hazla al-Hakim Baghdādī, the author of the *Tārīkh Baghdād*, the jealous lady was 'Ā'isha and the other was Safiya. According to this source, the Prophet was very angry.

7. 'Ali Hamadāni (*Muwaddat al-qurba*) says that the Prophet had told 'Ā'isha that anyone who fought 'Ali was infidel and would be consigned to hell. She was sorry that she had forgotten that hadīth and believed that her repentance would not be accepted. The 'Allāma quotes further *ahādīth* on the subject. 'Ā'isha cried over her participation in the war. 'Ali also grieved but not because he had fought 'Ā'isha. He regretted the deaths of the Prophet's companions and his followers such as 'Ammār Yāsir and Uways Qarani (Tash, II, 268-70).

8. The *ahādīth* relating the Prophet's prophecy that Abū Bakr and 'Umar would be buried near him were Sunni fabrications and could not be used against the Shi'is. Imām Hasan did not seek permission to be buried in the Prophet's tomb. As the son of Fātima who had inherited the major share of the Prophet's property, Hasan did not need permission. The Sunnis did not believe that deceased prophets left any estate. Muhammad had left one daughter and nine wives, so in any case 'Ā'isha's portion would not amount to more than a cubit in the Prophet's tomb. The Shāh's plea that 'Ā'isha's possession of her house was established by the ruling of *faqīhs* (jurists) was unacceptable, says the 'Allāma. He continues that rights should be established on the basis of the Qur'ān and the *ahādīth*, for the judgments of *faqīh* always differed. According to the Qur'ānic verse, the houses in which wives lived were their husband's property. The verse says :

"O Prophet ! When ye (men) put away women, put them away for their (legal) period and reckon the period, and keep your duty to Allāh, your Lord. Expel them not from their houses, nor let them go forth unless they commit open immorality. Such are the limits (imposed by) Allāh ; and whoso transgresseth Allāh's limits he verily wrongeth his soul ! Thou knowest not : it may be that Allāh will afterward bring some new thing to pass."¹²¹

This verse firmly establishes the Prophet's right over the houses in which his wives lived.

The leading Sunni scholars such as Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, Qāḍi al-Qudāt, Muhibb al-Dīn Abū'l-Walid (*Rawd al-manāzīr*) pointedly mention in

121 Qur'ān, LXV, 1.

their works that 'Ā'isha prohibited the burial of Imām Hasan in the Prophet's tomb. According to some Sunnī evidence she herself arrived on the spot riding a camel, with her supporters and war was only avoided because of Hasan's will saying that, should there be any violence, his body should be buried in Baqī' (Tash, II, 272-76).

9. It was wrong to generalise the Prophet's specific remarks when he pointed towards 'Ā'isha's house. According to 'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Umar, during his sermon the Prophet specifically indicated 'Ā'isha's house. Mālik Ashtar and his associates marched against 'Uthmān to crush the insurrection (*fitna*) which the policy of the Caliph and his associates had unleashed. The Sunnī leaders and not the Shī'is were the pioneers of *fitna*. The Prophet's visits to 'Ā'isha's house could not, as the Shāh pleads, uproot her heresy, for the wives of Noah and Lot were also heretics although the latter lived in the same house with them. Joseph was imprisoned in the same cell but the two infidels who shared it were not converted.

10. The indictment relating to 'Ā'isha's slave-girl was invented by Nasr-Allāh Kābuli and was discussed by him at some length. No Sunnī or Shī'i work contains that story, so any discussion would be futile.

Answer to the Shāh's Defence of the Shī'ī Indictment of the Prophet's Companions

1. It was wrong to limit the indictments against the Prophet's companions to ten. The Shāh has, the 'Allāma says, distorted 'Allāma Hillī's discussion on the subject. It should be noted that the indictments do not refer to all the Prophet's companions for the Shī'is admire many of them. Qādi Nūr-Allāh Shustarī had given accounts praising some one hundred of them. The *munāfiqs* (hypocrites) who fled from the Prophet's battles, however, were also included in the "companions" category. The principal cause of the Uhud defeat, as detailed in the Sunnī works, was the indiscipline and subsequent violation of the Prophet's instructions by the so-called "companions". 'Alī remained steadfast during the battle; the Prophet's uncle Hamza was killed. The Qur'ān frowns on those who took to their heels, while ultimately pardoning them thus :

"Allāh verily made good His promise unto you when ye routed them by His leave, until (the moment) when your courage failed you, and ye disagreed about the order and ye disobeyed, after He had shown you that for which ye long. Some of you desired the world, and some of you desired the Hereafter. Therefore He made you flee from them, that He might try you. Yet now He hath forgiven you. Allāh is a Lord of Kindness to believers."¹²²

Of 'Alī and the martyrs, the Qur'ān says,

"Of the believers are men who are true to that which they covenanted with Allāh."¹²³

The 'Allāma goes on to say that the *Sahih Bukhāri* also speaks of the Prophet's companions' flight at Uhud and Hunayn. The Hunayn defeat in fact took place because of the pride exhibited by Abū Bakr over the enormous number of soldiers who had flocked around the Prophet. The Sunni works such as Mullā Qūshjī's *Sharh Tajrid*, *Mawāhib Laduniyya*, *Fath al-Bāri* and the *Isti'ab* show that the Prophet's first three caliphs also fled, let alone the other so-called "eminent companions" (Tash, II, 284-86).

'Alī considered that flight from the battle at Uhud amounted to infidelity and the Shi'i 'ulamā', following in their Imām's footsteps, condemn those who ran away and did not remain steadfast under the Prophet's banners (Tash, II, 290). The 'Allāma goes on to say that the Shāh's apology for them that they were not *ma'sūm* and could sin, left no doubt they had concealed the Prophet's injunctions at Ghadīr-Khum. In the same way they had ignored the Prophet's commands regarding 'Alī's succession and chosen Abū Bakr as caliph hoping that, after repentance, they would be forgiven by Allāh (Tash, II, 291-92).

2. The Shāh has distorted the original Shi'i indictment. His statement does not separate the drum beating which was part of the childish entertainments and the cry of grain camels and seems to create the impression that the drums were beaten to proclaim the camels' arrival. However, the Prophet's companions preferred both to his sermons. The 'Allāma says that ignorance of the shari'a laws at that late stage of the Prophet's career was no apology. According to the *Fath al-Bāri* on those occasions not more than twelve people remained with the Prophet. These must have been 'Alī and his followers and not Abū Bakr and 'Umar (Tash, II, 294-98).

3. The Prophet would not refer to known apostates as his companions but to those whose apostasy was not publicly known. The Shi'i indictment of innovation was directed only against the above companions and not against those who were sincere believers (Tash, II, 299-314).

4. The Shāh's answer has already been refuted in connection with the indictment of 'Umar for not providing the Prophet with pen and paper as requested. The Shāh was not able to prove that the members of the *Ahl al-Bayt* were present. The Prophet had already dictated important counsel to 'Alī and this last document was intended to guide 'Umar

and his associates. When they were driven away, there appeared no need to write anything.

5. The exegesis *Durr Manthūr* says that on the night of the battle of Ahzāb the Prophet asked if someone would volunteer to collect information for him. None responded. The Prophet then detailed Abū Bakr but he excused himself saying, "*astaghfir-Allāh*" (God forgive me). Then he ordered Hudhayfa who obeyed immediately. Other Sunni *ahādīth* also indicate that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were too scared to readily accede to the Prophet's order as had Hudhayfa. To the Shāh's objections that 'Alī also failed to respond, the 'Allāma says that as it was a Sunni hadīth which mentioned the event, it was for them to give the reply. Secondly, 'Alī's presence was not mentioned. Thirdly, as pointed out by the author of *Sawāqī*, other duties, such as digging ditches were also under way. It was nothing but the Nāsibi mentality of the Shāh which made him jump to blame 'Alī (Tash, II, 322-25).

6. A hadith in the *Kanz al-'ummāl* shows that the Prophet told his companions that some members of his *umma* would be taken to hell ; he would intercede for them but God would reply that he did not know the sinful innovations they had initiated. The members of the *umma* in the hadith represented some-particular companions who had seriously deviated from the path shown by the Prophet. 'Alī was not included among them for he was part of the Prophet's self (Tash, II, 326-28).

7. The portions attributing reprehensible behaviour to the *tāba'in* which the Shāh claimed the Shi'is had ignored were not included in all *ahādīth*. The Shi'is could not be condemned for omitting them. However, these omissions were not opposed to the Shi'i interest but helpful to them. The hadith did not deal with the incitement of the *muhājirīn* (migrants from Mecca to Medina) to oppression, but discussed the Prophet's companions' brutality to the poor and the *muhājirīn* and the appointment of their favourites as governors. Nawawī¹²⁴ in his commentary on the *Sahih Muslim* and the celebrated Shāfi'i scholar Qartabī, confirm the above interpretation ; the latter quotes from ibn 'Abbās. Other *ahādīth* mention the jealousies and rancour among the Prophet's companions. The treasures of Persia and Byzantine were seized by them and not by Muhammad bin Abū Bakr and Mālik Ashtar. None of the latter was Prophet's companion and could in no case be condemned by him, says the 'Allāma (Tash, II, 231-36).

8. 'Umar's intention to burn Fātima's house is mentioned in all standard Sunni works including the *Izālat al-Khafā'* by Shāh Walī-Allāh. 'Umar warned those who had assembled there that if they met again in

124 *al-Minhāj fī Sharh Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj* by Abū Zakariya Yahyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277).

Fātima's house, despite his respect for her, he would burn it down. 'Alī's *bay'a* was made under similar circumstances. Several Sunnī works say that 'Umar took wood and fire with him. They show that 'Alī, who considered himself the Prophet's rightful successor, made *bay'a* under duress. Other relevant facts occur in the discussion on the indictments against 'Umar. Those who intended to kill 'Alī could not spare Fātima. In the *Shaqshaqiyya* sermon (*Nahj al-balāgha*) 'Alī describes the Prophet's companions' brutality and Sunnī authorities such as Taftazānī, Qūshjī, Gāzīrūnī and Lāhawri also discussed this in their works. Their cruelty is also mentioned in the *Kitāb al-imāma* by ibn Qutayba (Tash, II, 342-48). The *Izālat al-Khafā'* mentions in different places that the people were not divinely ordained to fight under 'Alī's banner although they were in the case of the first three caliphs. The Prophet, according to the *Izālat al-Khafā'*, knew that although 'Alī would be chosen as a caliph he would not be helped by his associates. As discussed earlier, the 'Allāma quotes other works to prove that the Prophet's first three caliphs as well as 'Ā'isha, Talha and Zubayr, hated 'Alī (Tash, II, 349-68).

9. 'Allāma Hilli quotes two traditions from *Jama' bayn al-Sahihayn* the first (No. 21) contains the word "*umma*" (community) and the other "Prophet's companions". Hence according to him, the Prophet's companions were meant in the first one also and his reproaches consequently refer to them. The 'Allāma goes on to say that the Sunnis were past masters at inventing lies and calumnies. The words "A curse be on liars" were always on Shi'i lips, hence they could not lie themselves. The 'Allāma continues that the Shāh incorrectly accuses the Shi'is of believing that God created good and Satan created evil ; conversely the Shi'is consider that human beings themselves create their deeds including matters relating to good and evil. The Imāms' hadīth enjoined them to respect *Nawrūz* and to avoid certain actions when the moon was in Scorpio or in the dark period between the old and new moon. The legality of *mut'a* (marriage for a fixed period) has already been discussed. The 'Allāma states that the Shi'is did not tear their garments in order to imitate the fire-worshippers of Fārs. According to the Imāms' traditions the mourning for Imām Husayn's martyrdom imitated the traditions of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The 'Allāma goes on to say that eminent sūfis in their *samā'* (audition) tore their garments and ascribed their action to the Prophet's traditions. Why should not they be condemned ?, asks the 'Allāma (Tash, II, 370-72).

10. The "*qawm*" (clan) in the hadīth referred to that of 'Ā'isha's people such as Abū Bakr, Talha, Zubayr and ibn Zubayr and not the entire tribe as the Shāh or Fadl ibn Rūzbihān consider. Muhibb al-Dīn Sulaymān Baghdādī Tawfi, an eminent Sunnī authority, in the *Sharh Arba'in Shaykh Muhyi al-Dīn Nawawī*, stated that the rebuilding of Ka'ba based on Abraham's traditions was imperative but the Prophet

refrained from doing so in deference to his followers' sentiments. These followers, the 'Allāma comments, were 'Ā'isha's kith and kin (Tash, II, 374-78).

The 'Allāma concludes his works with a discussion on some other Sunni indictments not mentioned by the Shāh. We shall also ignore them.

Confutation of Chapter 11 : Musāri' al-afhām 'alā qala' al-awhām

The confutation of chapter eleven was written by 'Allāma Muftī Muhammad Qūlī. It seeks to counter the Shāh's account of Shi'i characteristics. The 'Allāma says that twenty-five *awhām* (misconceptions) attributed by the Shāh to the Shi'i 'ulamā' exhibit the Sunni rejection of the 'ismat (impeccability) and *tahārat* (purity) of the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

1. The Sunni attempt to make the status of the Prophet's companions equivalent to that of the *Ahl al-Bayt* was compatible neither with their principles nor those of the Shi'is. The following verses of the Qur'ān make obedience to the *Ahl al-Bayt* imperative !

"O ye who believe ! Obey Allāh, and obey the messenger and those of you who are in authority ;"¹²⁵

The following verse makes obedience to the truthful obligatory while strongly condemning obedience to liars and frauds.

"O ye who believe ! Be careful of your duty to Allāh, and be with the truthful."¹²⁶

The *tathir* verse (XXXIII, 33) shows that 'ismat (impeccability) and *tahārat* (purity) are confined only to the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Consequently, the 'Allāma says the opponents of the Prophet's kinfolk were sinners and disobedient to Allāh and the Prophet (M. A., 8a-b). The analogy that Imām Abū Hanifa's disciples, Qādi Abū Yūsuf and Muhammad bin Hasan Shaybānī, differed from their teachers on a large number of legal principles does not apply to opposition to the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Since Abū Hanifa Kūfī was not *ma'sūm*, his opposition by them was lawful but 'Alī, according to the *tathir* verse and some famous *ahādith*, was *ma'sūm*, hence opposition to him entailed their damnation. 'Alī's open condemnation of Caliph 'Uthmān, the 'Allāma continues, was not motivated by personal prejudice but by 'Uthmān's radical departures from the truth and his sins against God and the Prophet. By no stretch of the imagination was 'Uthmān an imām (M. A., 8b-9a).

125 *Qur'ān*, IV, 59.

126 *Qur'ān*, IX, 119.

2. As mentioned in the chapter on *imāma*, the imām, according to Shi'i rules, is appointed by God and the Prophet. Consequently after the Prophet's death, the rightful imām was 'Alī. He was superior to his subjects in all respects including moral qualities and achievements such as learning, patience, asceticism, generosity, bravery and purity (M. A., 9b-11a).

3. According to the Shi'is, the Prophet's hadīth calling 'Alī "the gateway of the city of knowledge" is designed to call upon the *umma* to seek 'Alī's guidance in all questions of knowledge. 'Alī's superiority is a proof of his overall supremacy and that is the most important condition for an imām. The Shi'i arguments do not in any way deviate from the point (M. A., 11b).

4. The 'Allāma, accusing the Shāh of misinterpreting the Shi'i line of arguments, says that they draw upon both *ahādīth* and reasoning to prove that 'Alī was *ma'sūm*. They consequently then conclude that 'Alī was the imām, with supreme authority and power, immediately after the Prophet's death. They are not interested in the Sunnī apology that he became caliph in his turn (M. A., 12b).

5. According to the 'Allāma, the Shāh's efforts to discover different meanings in the application of the term "imām" to the Prophet and his successors, amounts to begging the question. 'Ismat is imperative for both the Prophet and his successors. The Qur'ānic verse making 'Alī *nafs* (the self) of the Prophet means 'Alī possessed Muhammad's all attributes except prophethood. The analogy of a lion and bravery does not apply to this case (M. A., 13a-b).

6. To the Shi'is the 'ismat of the Imāms is not illogical ; it is a valid deduction (M. A., 14a).

7. The Shi'is believe that prophetic sovereignty is dependant on 'ismat. Miracles confirm the sovereignty but 'ismat does not emanate from miracles. Abū Bakr's dismissal from his commission to convey the *Barā'at* chapter was not based on Arab custom. No ancient Arab literature confirms the Sunnī explanation. The Prophet who, according to divine command, dismissed Abū Bakr, was not unaware of pre-Islamic Arab customs (M. A., 14b).

8. The Shi'i arguments concerning the earlier infidelity of Abū Bakr and 'Umar are based on the Qur'ānic verse which says,

"And (remember) when his Lord tried Abraham with (His) commands, and he fulfilled them, He said : Lo! I have appointed thee a leader for mankind. (Abraham) said : And of my offspring (will there be leaders) ? He said : My covenant includeth not wrongdoers."¹²⁷

The 'Allāma pleads that all infidels and polytheists, as the Qur'ān says, are wrongdoers. The sins of the past are not exempted ; consequently Qur'ānic injunctions disqualify Abū Bakr and 'Umar from the caliphate. There is no contradiction in the Shi'i arguments (M. A., 15a-b).

9. Both the objection and answer by Qādī Nūr-Allāh Shustarī, says the 'Allāma, have been misinterpreted by the Shāh. According to Shi'is beliefs, 'Alī was both actually and potentially an Imām, hence his supersession amounted to a violation of the Prophet's analogy of Moses and Aaron and was a great sin (M. A., 15b-17a).

10. Accusing the Shāh of misunderstanding the Shi'i arguments, the 'Allāma says that the Shi'i belief in 'ismat is based on the *Tathir* verse (XXXIII, 33) and not on the syllogism presented by the Shāh (M. A., 17a).

11. The superiority of Prophet Muhammad's deputy over the rest of the prophets is a logical consequence of the Prophet's ascendancy. Whatever is not true of the source is also not true of the product (M. A., 17b).

12. The Shi'is do not believe that 'Umar was the Prophet's adviser ; to them he was only an obstructionist (M. A., 17b).

13 and 14. The Shi'is consider the first three caliphs were sinners for deeper reasons and not simply because they were not *ma'sūm* as observed by the Shāh (M. A., 17b-18a).

15. The commemoration of tragedies and joyful events is designed to refresh the memories of those occasions and their connection with the original events is undisputed. The 'Allāma contradicts the Shāh's observations that the birthdays of the prophets were not declared festive days. He reminds the Shāh that Prophet Muhammad's birthday was brilliantly celebrated by all Sunnis and that robes of honour were distributed by the sultāns. The Shi'is also hold festivities on the birthdays of prophets and imāms. They observe mourning on the death anniversary of the Prophet. In fact the Shi'i days of festivity and mourning are not confined to those mentioned by the Shāh. They are numerous. Imām Ridā had urged his followers to join him and other imāms in their commemorations in order that they might be rewarded in paradise (M. A., 18b-19a).

16. The 'Allāma quotes the following story¹²⁸ in justification of

128 The story was referred to the Shāh by a correspondent in justification of *ta'ziyas*. According to the correspondent, the Prophet was asked what should be done by someone who had gone to a distant place and wished to visit his father's or mother's grave or by someone who wished to visit his father's or mother's graves, but their whereabouts were unknown. The Prophet replied that he should draw a line and consider that his father's or mother's grave. The correspondent quoted *Fawā'id Muḥit* as his source. The Shāh answered that the story was told in *Kifāya Shu'ba* but was not authentic. There, neither travelling is mentioned nor is the question concerning the site of the graves being unknown raised. The analogy, the Shāh

ta'ziyas. Once a visitor asked the Prophet to tell him what he should do in order to fulfil his oath that he would kiss the threshold of paradise and the forehead of a paradise *houri*. The Prophet advised him to kiss his father's foot and his mother's forehead. If they had died he should kiss their graves and, should their graves be unknown, he should draw two lines and deem them their graves. The 'Allāma fiercely condemns the Shāh for disseminating the belief that the Shi'is considered *ta'ziyas* real graves. That was a patent lie, the 'Allāma asserts (M. A., 19b).

17. The dramatic performances were arranged by the common illiterate people. The faith could not be held responsible.

18. Imāms Abū Hanīfā and Shāfi'i in violation of express Qur'ānic injunctions have made many illegal actions lawful and *vice versa*. What right had the Sunnis to question the contradictory judgments by the Shi'i *mujtahids* on minor aspects of the law? asks the 'Allāma (M. A., 20a).

19. As discussed earlier the Shi'i beliefs regarding 'Alī's superiority exhibit no immaturity (M. A., 20b).

20. The 'Allāma, accusing the Shāh of misinterpreting the Shi'i laws of inheritance, says that, according to ibn 'Abbās, the Shi'is are those who believe that the Prophet's uncle 'Abbās could not have inherited the Prophet's sovereignty, although his son-in-law is considered an Imām (M. A., 20b).

21. The Shi'i *kalām* literature discusses their beliefs on Allāh and the resurrection at great length. These works demonstrate their dedication to rational and traditional arguments (M. A., 21a).

22. 'Ā'isha was one of the Prophet's wives but not a dearly-loved one. Should all wives be deemed as their husband's beloved, the wives of Noah and Lot would be in this category and this is incorrect (M. A., 21b).

23. The Shāh's contention that the hidden Imām served no purpose was absolutely wrong. The Shi'i *ahādith* state innumerable benefits accruing from him (M. A., 21a-b).

24. The Shi'is cannot be blamed for adhering to their own interpretations of *ahādith* as do the Sunnis (M. A., 21b).

25. The Sunnis, not the Shi'is, are proud of their worldly power and conquests, the 'Allāma asserts. The Shi'is are proud of their mastery in the realm of science, mathematics, literature, art and theological works (M. A., 22a).

The 'Allāma does not agree with the Shāh's definition of *ta'assub* (bigotry).

(F. N. 128 *Contd.*)

wrote, could not be applied to the *ta'ziyas* for the graves of the Imāms were known. Consequently there was no need to construct a replica of them. Secondly, the sighting of the line did not actually serve the purpose or else people would draw a line and deem that they had visited the Prophet's tomb or could perform a pilgrimage by constructing a replica of 'Arafāt or Ka'ba (*Fatāwā*, I, pp. 154-55).

He says that according to Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn that *'asabiyat* (bigotry) which was sinful involved deeming the wicked of one's own community superior to the righteous of another community. Devotion to one's people was not *'asabiyat*. The Sunnis were immersed in *ta'assub* for they perpetuated their own wrongful beliefs and practices. The Sunnis considered the first three caliphs, who were the worst of mankind, and their associates, superior to those Prophet's companions who were righteous and devoted to 'Alī. The Sunnis glossed over the cruelties and innovations of their heroes. Consequently the worst form of *ta'assub* was exemplified by the Sunni 'ulamā'; conversely the Shi'i 'ulamā', who were dedicated to the pious members of the *Ahl al-Bayt* could not be accused of *ta'assub*.

The following are the 'Allāma's answers to the Shāh's comments on Shi'i *ta'assub* :

1. No Qur'ānic verse proves the correctness of the Sunni beliefs. Uncorroborated Sunni *ahādith*, which are their own fabrication, are their only evidence. They are not included in Prophet Muhammad's *sunna* (tradition). Conversely, the Shi'is do not accept *ahādith* narrated by unreliable, obscure and ignorant sources. They do not generally trust Sunni *ahādith* but those which the Shi'is consider legitimate, are used as a defence by them in their arguments. The Shi'i *ahādith* are based on the rules of Arabic grammar and usage and consequently do not deviate from the right path (M. A., 22b-23a).

2. The Shi'is do not consider 'Alī superior to the Prophet, but they do praise him and this is misinterpreted by the Sunnis (M. A., 23a).

3. Rejecting the Shāh's allegations that those Jews, Christians and Hindus who were friendly to 'Alī would enter paradise, the 'Allāma states that the Shi'is believe that the infidels cannot be saved from hell and cannot enter paradise. However, as stated by Nawawī in the *Sharh Sahih Muslim* the Shi'is believe that any righteous deed the infidel performed reduced their pain in the hell (M. A., 25b-26a).

4. Not only do the Shi'is believe that the sins of those who love 'Alī do them no harm, but Sunni authors such as Firdaws Daylamī also make similar suggestions.

5. The Shi'i do not regard the Prophet's entire *ummat* (community) as accursed ; those who are devoted to the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the *Imām-a ma'sūm* are the members of the "best community" (M. A., 27a).

6. The Shi'i do not vilify and ignore the Qur'ān. Only one source mentions that some words and phrases had been deleted from it. The Sunni *Sihāh* (pl. of *Sahih*) also tend to confirm this belief (M. A., 27a).

7. The Shi'i consider the recitation of the Qur'ānic verse, "The curse of Allāh is upon wrong-doers"¹²⁹ meritorious. They also believe

that 'Umar and his associates were felons. However, no Shi'i work says that castigating 'Umar is preferable to Allāh's *dhikr* and Qur'ānic recitation. The Shi'is nevertheless curse 'Umar in obedience to the commands of Allāh and the Prophet ; consequently this is part of *dhikr* for them. This does not mean that they prefer it to obligatory and supererogatory prayers (M. A., 27a-28a).

8. The Shi'is do not approve of cursing those whom they consider eminent among the Prophet's companions. They castigate only those who are not to them included in this category. They do not consider all the Prophet's wives pious and to them the *Tathir* verse (XXXIII, 33) refers only to Muhammad, 'Alī, Hasan, Husayn and Fātima. After obligatory and supererogatory prayers they curse wrongdoers. They believe that the cursing of the Pharaoh, Nimrod and Abū Jihl is concomitant with the belief in Allāh's unity and Muhammad's prophethood. Likewise the vilification of those who usurped the caliphate is the correlate to their belief in the *imāma* (M. A., 28a-b).

9. The Shi'i story of Ruqayya and Umm-Kulthūm does not exhibit bigotry but is based on the true perception of Prophet Muhammad's character. Zaynab was married to Abi'l 'Ās and Ruqayya to 'Atba bin Abi Lahb, both of whom were infidels. The Shi'is believe that even during the pre-Islamic days of *jāhiliyya*, the Prophet would not have married his daughters to heretics. According to Shi'i traditions, based on the authority of the Imāms, Ruqayya and Umm-Kulthūm were the daughters of one of Khadija's relatives. Whilst still children they were orphaned. According to pre-Islamic custom, children brought up by foster-parents were regarded as their own children (M. A., 28b).

10. The *ahādīth* compiled by eminent Sunni authorities such as Bukhārī and Muslim show that both Abū Bakr and 'Umar were hypocrites. The Sunnis defend them by claiming their errors arose from *ijtihād* (personal judgment). The Shi'is do not believe that the Prophet ever appointed Abū Bakr as an imām (M. A., 29).

11. No Shi'i 'ālim has accused Abū Bakr and 'Umar of secretly worshipping idols after embracing Islam (M. A., 29b).

12. The Shi'is believe that some verses of the Qur'ān praise the *muhājirs* and *ansārs*. They claim that these refer only to those *muhājirs* who migrated selflessly from Mecca. Similarly those *ansārs* who helped the Prophet in a spirit of self-sacrifice are commended. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Talha and Zubayr did not belong to that class. The verse¹³⁰

130 "Lo! they who spread the slander are a gang among you. Deem it not a bad thing for you ; nay, it is good for you. Unto every man of them (will be paid) that which he hath earned of the sin ; and as for among them who had the greater share therein, his will be an awful doom." Qur'ān, XXIV, 11.

implying 'Ā'isha's innocence is not very flattering to her, even should it be conclusively proved to refer to her (M. A., 29b-30a).

13. The 'Allāma asserts that the Sunnis are not sincere in their devotion to the *Ahl al-Bayt*. For example, 'Abd-Allāh bin Zubayr, a Sunni religious leader, refrained for forty days from seeking divine blessings on Muhammad's progeny. Thirteen clans of the Quraysh tribe supported Mu'āwiya at Siffin. Outwardly Abū Hanīfa and Shāfi'i exhibited no enmity towards the *Ahl al-Bayt*. However, Bukhārī never argued on the basis of *ahādīth* from Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq. Before the 'Abbāsīd came to power, Imām Mālik did not narrate traditions from Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq; to Imām Mālik and other eminent Sunni 'alims, he was not a strong authority on *ahādīth*. Ahmad bin Hanbal, one of whose ancestors was killed in the battle of Nahrwān, considered 'Alī his enemy. Some Sunni authorities do not believe that Abū Hanīfa was a disciple of Imām Muhammad Bāqir and Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq. A large number of the Sunni 'ulamā' consider 'Alī's *fatwas* incompatible with divine injunctions. The reception accorded by some sūfis to Imām Ridā on his arrival at Nishāpūr did not necessarily emanate from love of him. They might have gone in order to test him.¹³¹ Nasr-Allāh Kābulī and the author of the *Jawāhir al-'aqdayn* confirm these inferences. Shaykh al-Islām 'Abd-Allāh Ansārī also was sceptical of this story (M. A., 31a-33b).

14. Many Sunni works such as *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl* exhibit their respect for ibn Muljam and Shimr who killed Imām 'Alī and Imām Husayn respectively. The Shāh's defence, the 'Allāma says, is not compatible with general Sunni beliefs (M. A., 34b-35b).

15. The 'Allāma fiercely condemns the Shāh for accusing the Shi'i 'ulamā' of cursing the Prophet's *sunna*. In fact, he goes on to say the Shāh does not understand the meaning of ibn 'Abbās's verses. These castigate the *sunna* of Mu'āwiya who had instituted the cursing of 'Alī during his rule.

16. As discussed earlier the Prophet, according to basic Shi'i works, never performed *sajda* (prostration) in order to compensate for some minor error in *namāz*. This means that the Prophet never made any mistakes. (M. A., 36b-37a).

17. The Shi'is do not accuse the Sunnis of making unauthorised additions to prayers from bigotry but because it is a fact borne out by their *ahādīth* (M. A., 37a).

18. The eminent Sunni scholar ibn Hajar says that the Shi'is were worse than the Jews and Christians. The Shi'is do not make similar allegations against the Sunnis as the Shāh intimates. However, they

131 *Supra*, p. 344.

positively assert that the enemies of the *Ahl al-Bayt* are the worst creatures in the world (M. A., 37a).

19. The Ithnā' 'Asharīs consider that those who do not believe in the *imāma* of any of the twelve Imāms, disobey divine ordinances and, although they perform the obligatory rules of devotion, they are infidels and destined to hell. Consequently Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiya, Yazīd, the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd caliphs, the Ismā'īlī and the later Zaydiyya caliphs, who claimed to be *imāms*, are detested by the Ithnā' 'Asharīs (M. A., 37b).

20. As discussed earlier, the Sunnī rules of ceremonial ablutions and bathing are detailed in the *ahādīth* of their Imāms. The Sunnī sects who ignore these *ahādīth* wallow in ignorance, so much so that Shāfi'ī considers seminal fluid clean. This rule emerges from the *Sahīh Muslim* (M. A., 37b).

21. The 'Allāma fiercely condemns the Shāh for accusing the Shī'īs of considering human excrement clean. The reverse, he says, is true according to Sunnī fiqh (M. A., 38b).

22. No Shī'ī work states the beliefs concerning 'Ā'isha mentioned by the Shāh. Indeed Kulaynī asserts that God despises *Humayra* ('Ā'isha's title). As pointed out by the Sunnī *Mishkāt* and other Sunnī *Sihāh* certain names deserve praise and others merit blame (M. A., 39).

23. The Shī'īs, as stated earlier, do not consider that the divulgence of the Prophet's secrets was trivial. They do not curse Hafsa for being 'Umar's daughter but for not keeping the Prophet's confidence to herself. Had Muhammad bin Abū Bakr committed a similar offence, the Shī'īs would not have spared him. This belief is firmly rooted in the Qur'ānic verse:

"Each soul earneth only on its own account, nor doth any laden bear another's load."¹³²

Conversely the Sunnī holy personalities such as 'Ā'isha, Talha, Zubayr and Mu'āwiya killed thousands of the Prophet's companions, although they were innocent, in the name of retaliation for 'Uthmān's blood (M. A., 39a-b).

24. Musāfir ibn 'Umar ibn 'Umayya and not 'Umar bin Khattāb (the second caliph) is accused of committing adultery with Mu'āwiya's mother (M. A., 39-b).

25. The Shī'īs have not invented the story authorising 'Alī to divorce 'Ā'isha on behalf of the Prophet for 'Ā'isha herself had related the relevant *hadīth*. Ibn Abī'l-Hadīd quotes it in his *Sharh Nahj al-balāgha*. The

verse quoted by the Shāh does not allow the Prophet "to change them for other wives" but it does not forbid him to divorce his wives. Shāh 'Abd al-Haqq's account of Hafsa in *Sharh Mishkāt* shows that the Prophet contemplated divorcing her. Divorce after the Prophet's death was very significant for his wives. They remained "mothers of the faithful" even after his demise. The Prophet had told 'Alī that his wives enjoyed this honour as long as they were obedient to God. Should any of them sin or mount an army against him ('Alī), he could arrange for her to be divorced and thereby deprive her of that honour (M. A., 40a-b).

The 'Allāma severely condemns the Shāh for his misrepresentation and distortion of the Shi'i beliefs on *taqiya*. He opens his discussion with the following verse which is also quoted by the Shāh in its justification :

"Let not the believers take disbelievers for their friends in preference to believers. Whoso doeth that hath no connections with Allāh unless (it be) that ye but guard yourselves against them, taking (as it were) security."¹³³

The 'Allāma goes on to say that Bukhārī derives *tuqātan* (security) from *taqiya*. Abū 'Ubayda¹³⁴ says that according to this verse the believers should not make friends with disbelievers either overtly or secretly but only by way of *taqiya*. The 'Allāma quotes *ahādīth* and incidents from the lives of those Prophet's companions who are eulogised by the Sunnis, but in their lifetime they frequently performed *taqiya* (M. A., 48b). The 'Allāma goes on to quote false statements by the prophets such as Abraham and Joseph and points out that their lies can be justified only on the grounds of *taqiya* (M. A., 84a). The 'Allāma reminds the Shāh that he himself accepts the Qur'ānic verses justifying its observance (M. A., 53b).

Taqiya, the 'Allāma continues, is not designed only to save one's own life but also to save Islam and the life, honour, and property of the believers. *Taqiya* can be implemented on any occasion and its use depends on the discretion of the person observing it. Pleading the Shi'i theory as to why 'Alī resorted to it under the first three caliphs and not when he fought Mu'āwiya, the 'Allāma says that, as an imām, 'Alī was duty-bound to enforce Mu'āwiya's submission to him. The Shi'is differ from the Sunnis in their definition of *wilāyat* (supreme authority). According to the Shi'is, only God and the Prophet can appoint a *walī* (supreme authority). This does not entail his ability to exercise control over the country.

133 *Qur'ān*, III, 28.

134 Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar (d. 209/824-5) was an eminent philologist and wrote several philological works on the Qur'ān and hadīth. His *Gharīb al-hadīth* (a short work on hadīth with no *isnāds*) and *Majāz al-Qur'ān* (interpretation of the Qur'ān) are pioneering works on hadīth and the Qur'ānic exegesis.

Quoting the analogy with the prophethood, the 'Allāma says that it requires the dissemination of the divine message, irrespective of the community's response to it. Likewise it is not essential that the imāms should actually rule over a territory. The differences between the caliphate of Abū Bakr and 'Alī are vital. Abū Bakr's mission was imperialistic, conversely 'Alī's objective was to continue the duties assigned by God to the Prophet (M. A., 55b-56a).

During the reign of the first three caliphs, 'Alī did not perform *hijra* in obedience to the divine command. However, he did not make *bay'a* with Abū Bakr for six months. Later he refused to co-operate with Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's political policies and administrative decisions. 'Alī rejected 'Umar's decision prohibiting *mut'a* and discussed with 'Umar his rulings on questions of law. He also reprimanded him for his wrong decisions (M. A., 59a). 'Alī's silence during the first three caliphs' reign, asserts the 'Allāma, does not mean submission. He was imitating the Prophet who, during his stay in Mecca, sustained hardships yet refrained from destroying the polytheists by his miraculous power. Towards the end of his life he signed the Hudaybiyya treaty with them. Likewise 'Alī's passive attitude after the Prophet's death did not mean that he surrendered. Consequently his silence during the reign of the first three caliphs cannot justify Sunni conclusions (M. A., 57).

Answering the Shāh's sneers on the *taqiya* of the Delhi Shi'is the 'Allāma says that the Lucknow Sunnis living under the Shi'i government demonstrate the most shameful hypocrisy for worldly gains. Sometimes they call themselves the Tafdiliyyas; sometimes the Shi'i tabarra'iyyas (*tabarra* speaking Shi'is). Most despicable was the case of Mawlawī Mubīn who, at the court of Nawwāb Sarfarāz al-Dawla Mīrzā Hasan Ridā Khān, called himself a staunch Shi'i and, in the house of 'Abd al-Rahmān Qandahārī, showed himself to be a fanatical Sunni (M. A., 59a). The Imāms never observed *taqiya* when declaring themselves imāms (M. A., 59b-60a).

The 'Allāma gives the Shi'i interpretation of the twenty-five verses which the Shāh quotes in defence of the superiority of Sunni beliefs (M. A., 90b-92a). He also discusses the remaining twenty-two *hafawas* (blunders) ascribed by the Shāh to the Shi'is. The 'Allāma goes on to assert that the Shi'i theory of *jihād* is most reasonable and like all other subjects, has been grossly misinterpreted by the Shāh. The Shi'is' *jihād* falls into two categories. *Jihād* against infidels for refusing to accept Islam depends on the Imām's sanction. Only the Imām commissions chosen members of the community for that duty. The Sunni authorities such as Zama-khsharī, author of the *Tafsīr al-kashshāf* and ibn Hajar, author of the *Fath al-Bārī* hold similar views. Other types of war are included in the second category for which his sanction is not necessary (M. A., 85a).

Answering the Shāh's charges regarding the similarities between Shi'ism and other religions such as Judaism, Christianity, Sabism and Zoroastrianism the 'Allāma says that in compliance with the divine injunction, "Obey Allāh, and obey the messenger and those of you who are in authority", the Shi'is obey the commands of God, the Prophet and the Imāms. However, even though some Shi'i customs are followed by non-believers, that is no reason for the Shi'is to abandon them. Their belief relating to 'ismat is based on Qur'ānic verses and the Prophet's *ahādith*, and they consider exaggeration of these illegal. Misinterpretation of the Qur'ān is the speciality of the Sunni faith. According to experts on Qur'ānic exegesis, the Qur'ān is divided into four and not two parts. One quarter praises the Prophet's *Ahl al-Bayt*, another quarter deals with divine unity; the third quarter contains stories about past prophets and the last quarter discusses divine commands and prohibitions. The claim that half of the Qur'ān is devoted to praising the companions and the *muhājirs* is patently false (M. A., 109b).

Further, the Shi'i rules on *jihād* have no connection with Jewish regulations. They are based on obedience to the Imām's commands, the 'Allāma asserts. Any delay in the evening prayer is strictly prohibited by the Imāms (M. A., 109b). Their divorce law is based on Qur'ānic injunctions; its similarity with Jewish customs is a matter of coincidence. The Shi'i beliefs relating to auspicious and inauspicious days and the celebration of Nawrūz are based on Imāmic teachings (M. A., 111b-112a). The 'Allāma admits that during the first ten days of Muharram the illiterate Shi'is in their exaggerated devotion to the Imāms, indulge in some unauthorised practices but these do not form the basis of the Shi'i faith (M. A., 112b).

Along with his defence of the Shi'is, the 'Allāma berates the Shāh for not stating the true facts about Sunni borrowings from the non-Islamic religions. The Prophet is said to have remarked that the Qadriyyas were the Māgis of the Islamic community. In the *Dabistān-i madhāhib* a Shi'i at Akbar's court told the Sunnis that their Imām Abū Hanīfa had his origin in Kābul and his ancestors were Māgis. Following Māgi traditions, Abū Hanīfa introduced the custom of eating three times a day and ignoring the laws regarding food. Abū Hanīfa did not consider the infidels *najis* (impure) and pleaded that impurity was confined to the interior of a person. The 'Allāma blames him for introducing innumerable Māgi customs into Sunnism. The most important one is standing during *namāz* with hands clasped below the navel or on the breast. The Māgis stood in that posture before their emperors; Abū Hanīfa made it a rule that his followers adopt this position during prayers. Imām Muhammad Bāqir had strictly forbidden it. Imām Mālik, the most learned among the founders of the four schools of jurisprudence never clasped his hands

during prayers. The Sunnis, following the Māgī custom, allow the recitation of Qur'ānic chapters in Persian, the Māgī language. The Hanafis do not impose the legal punishment for incest with one's mother or sister if the sinners claim that they are married. Shāfi'i also permits matrimonial relations with one's daughters. The Shāh, the 'Allāma says, unjustly accuses the Shi'is of incest. In some special circumstances the Sunnis do not allow daughters their legal shares from their father's property. Like the Hindus, the Shāfi'is do not regard seminal fluid as impure (M. A., 112b).

Answer to Chapter 12, The Dhū'lfaqār

A refutation of the twelfth chapter was written by Ghufrān Ma'āb Mawlānā Sayyid Dildār 'Alī in the *Dhū'lfaqār*. In the preface he says that a gentleman belonging to a Sunni sūfi family (Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz), knowing that in past centuries the Shi'i 'ulamā', on the basis of Sunni literature, had reduced Sunni arguments to shreds, had ventured to refute the Shi'is on the basis of the latter's works. He did not understand that, had it been possible, his predecessors, who were more qualified and competent, would not have failed to quench their thirst for vengeance. In short, because of his own shortsightedness he (the Shāh) felt no sense of shame before more perspicacious people and compiled (blackened) a document (the *Tuhfa*), which resembled his own black (sinful) book of deeds (his life and character). The work contained nothing but aberrations after the tradition of his predecessors in the field. It must have distressed Prophet Muhammad's holy spirit. Although the Shāh's idle tales did not call for any answer and the *kalām* literature of the Shi'i 'ulamā' had already discussed the disputed Sunni principles, a fact of which the Sunnis were aware, he (Ghufrān Ma'āb) decided to write a book rebutting the *Tuhfa* to enable ignorant Shi'is to counter Sunni boastings. The present work was devoted to the confutation of the twelfth chapter of the *Tuhfa* concerning *tawalla* and *tabarra*. Ghufrān Ma'āb then goes on to quote the Shāh's insulting and derisive remarks against the most revered Shi'i 'ulamā' such as ibn Mutahhar Hillī and ibn Shahr Āshūb Māzandarāni and seeks the readers' forgiveness for his own insulting comments on the Shāh in retaliation. He adds, "Those who throw unburnt brick are hit back by stones" (Dh., 3-4).

Ghufrān Ma'āb goes on to define the terms "Sunni" and "sūfi". The Sunnis regard Abū Bakr as the rightful caliph following Prophet Muhammad's death. They do not believe that Abū Bakr became caliph by usurpation. They also believe that Abū Bakr was right to appropriate Fadak and that Fātima was wrong. Although they always hold the Karbalā rosary in their hand, cry in the name of 'Alī and boast of their devotion to the *Ahl al-Bayt*, their beliefs do not always accord with their actions.

The *sūfis* are divided into many sects. Some of them pretend to be *Shi'is* and deceive the common *Shi'is*. Others in their own self interest, claim to be *Sunnis* and war against the *Shi'is*. The *sūfis* follow the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* (The Unity of Being). According to this belief the entire universe is consubstantiated (*'ayn*) with *Allāh* and all differences are verbal. Sometimes *Allāh* manifests himself in *Muhammad's* form and sometimes in that of dogs, pigs or human beings. Sometimes *sūfis* liken God and the universe to a river and its waves respectively, sometimes God is compared to clay and creation to a cup; sometimes God is described as ink and creation as letters. Since a river is consubstantiated with its waves, clay with the cup and ink with letters, God is consubstantiated with creation, the *sūfis* believe. They have written poems on this theme. They recite them and dance, calling it ecstasy (*hāl* and *wajd*). To them this is the essence of worship. *Ghufrān Ma'āb* quotes some verses from *'Attār* and other *sūfis* and the conversation between the scholar and the *sūfi* mentioned earlier¹³⁵ regarding the manifestations of *Allāh*. He goes on to say that *Muhyi al-Din ibn al-'Arabi*, who is their leader, claimed in the *Fusūs al-hikām* that he was the last of the prophets and *walīs* (God's protégés). To him Pharaoh was also a holy personality and *Abū Bakr* and *Mutawakkil 'Abbāsī* (232-247/847-861) who destroyed *Imām Husayn's* grave by transforming the area into an agricultural field, were manifest and hidden *qutb* (the supreme head of the *sūfi* hierarchy). *Ghazālī*, a leading *sūfi*, had declared that he who cursed *Yazīd*, was himself damned. *Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī*, whom the *Sunni* regard as *pir i-dastgīr* (the protector and *sūfi* head), wrote in the *Ghunya al-tālibin* that *'Āshūra* (10th *Muharram*, the day of *Husayn's* martyrdom) should be celebrated as *'id* (a feast of rejoicing). He suggested that as the *'id* of Monday had not been cancelled because of the death of *Abū Bakr*, who was superior to *Imām Husayn*, *Imām Husayn's* death should not lead to the cancellation of *'āshūra 'id*. *Ghufrān Ma'āb* also quotes *ahādīth* from the Prophet condemning the *sūfis*. A *hadīth* from *Imām 'Alī Naqī* (d. 254/868) says that *sūfis*, whether they claimed to be *Sunnis* or *Shi'is*, were hostile to the *Ahl al-Bayt* for they considered God a "dog or a pig". All that God had made lawful was unlawful to them and *vice versa*. They were like the Christians who believe Christ to be God's son or the Zoroastrians who worshipped *Yazdān* and *Ihraman*. *Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq's* *hadīth* states that the *sūfis* were the *Ahl al-Bayt's* enemies. Those who associated with them would be treated by God on Judgment Day as a member of their class. The *Imām* prophesied that a group of people, claiming to be friends of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, was likely to rise who would associate with the *sūfis* or belong to

135 *Supra*; pp. 389-90.

their category. They would gloss over those sūfī sayings which amounted to heresy and infidelity (Dh., 5-9).

Ghufrān Ma'āb accuses the Shāh of not adhering to his claim that he would discuss *tawalla* and *tabarra* in accordance with Shi'i principles. He says that the Shāh's main motive is to prove that Shi'ism does not allow the cursing of the first three caliphs. Ghufrān Ma'āb opens his case by stating that the Ithnā 'Ashariyya Shi'is adhere to the following basic principles of their faith: *Tawhid* (divine unity), *'adl* (Allāh's justice), *Nubuwwa* (Prophethood), *imāma*, *ma'ad* (Resurrection day). Those who deny any of the above principles are perdition-damned irrespective of their devotion to 'Alī. Those who do not believe in *imāma* are also destined for hell, as are the *munāfiqs* (hypocrites). No consideration will be given to their devotion to the other basic principles. The Shi'is are duty-bound to castigate anyone whom the Imāms have cursed. The Imāms' enemies are accursed and damned. Those who do not regard the Imāms as *ma'sūm* (impeccable) will be consigned to hell. As the Prophet's first three caliphs and 'Ā'isha, Hafsa, Talha, Zubayr, Mu'āwiya and their supporters did not believe the *imāma* of 'Alī and, since the Imāms had cursed them themselves and had ordered their followers to do the same, *tabarra* is imperative for the Shi'is. It is well known that 'Alī and Fātima were enemies of the first three caliphs and the latter too, for their part, did not consider 'Alī and Fātima were *ma'sūm* (impeccable). According to Shi'i principles, groups hostile to 'Alī, Fātima and their successors should be cursed; the Sunni principles are irrelevant to them (Dh., 10-11).

Ghufrān Ma'āb continues that the Shāh seemingly quotes Shi'i evidence but in fact he presents the substance pertaining to Sunni beliefs. Although his pleas do not call for refutation, he would give brief answers. He states that the Shāh's purpose could be served only by showing that according to the shari'a, worldly enmity could co-exist within one faith. In fact, Sunni attempts to reconcile love and hatred had corrupted their faith. For example, the Sunnis assert that the Prophet had a deep love for that merciful mother ('Ā'isha) but she was instrumental in killing several thousands of her sons (at Jamal). When she was married to the Prophet she was very young and virgin. The Prophet's other wives had allowed him to spend the nights reserved for them with 'Ā'isha. This according to the Sunnis illustrates the combination of love and jealousy. To the Shi'is it is ridiculous (Dh., 14-15).

Pointing out how the Shāh had broken his promise to draw on Shi'i principles, Ghufrān Ma'āb states that the Shi'is consider the first three caliphs could not be included with the common people or the *umma*, let alone among their elite. According to the *Sahih Bukhārī*, when some of the Prophet's companions will be taken to hell, the Prophet will intercede for them but the angels will reply that they had become apostate. Ghuf-

rān Ma'āb asks the Shāh how they could be called the Prophet's favourites. He goes on to demand how the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha, who neither obeyed the Qur'ānic injunctions nor submitted to the Imām ('Alī) could be deemed worthy of admiration. Insistently he questions how Abū Bakr, who usurped the right of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Alī and 'Umar, who threatened to burn down the house of the Prophet's beloved daughter Fātima, could be objects of religious love. Such people, Ghufrān Ma'āb says, on Judgment Day will not be treated as the Prophet's companions (Dh., 16-18).

Ghufrān Ma'āb goes on to say that the Shī'is do not, like the Sunnis, believe that although the first three caliphs and their associates were hostile to 'Alī and the *Ahl al-Bayt*, they did not lose their faith and the Ithnā' Ashariyyas should not curse them. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr on the authority of a group of the Prophet's companions reports in the *Isti'āb*, "The Prophet addressing 'Alī said that none but believers were his ('Alī's) friends and none but *munāfiqs* (hypocrites) were his enemies." The Prophet also stated that 'Alī's friends were his friends and 'Alī's enemies were his enemies. Ghufrān Ma'āb quotes further *ahādith* from Sunni works to prove that the Sunni Imāms were *munāfiqs* (hypocrites) who did not deserve the love of the *umma* (Dh., 19-20).

The characteristics that the Shāh claimed distinguished infidels (*kāfirs*) from sinners (*fāsiqs*) were not acceptable to Ghufrān Ma'āb. He concludes his impassioned diatribe by saying that an infidel is evil in the world and is destined for hell. A sinner, by pronouncing the Islamic *kalima* is treated as a Muslim in the world but will be consigned to hell for ignoring the belief in *imāma* (Dh., 40-52). Ghufrān Ma'āb accuses the Shāh of grossly misunderstanding Tūsi who, he suggests, meant that so long as 'Alī's opponents denied none of the fundamental principles of Islam, they were Muslim sinners in this world but would be damned on Judgment Day (Dh., 50). The Shāh's attempts, says Ghufrān Ma'āb to exclude the first three caliphs from hell by condemning only those who actually fought against 'Alī with sword in hand are of no avail. Their opposition to 'Alī damns them and the Shī'i faith makes cursing them imperative. Qādi Nūr-Allāh Shustari's observations about cursing do not contradict this fundamental Shī'i stance. However, Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Mashhadi is not an eminent Shī'i 'ālim and his *Izhār al-Haqq* is an obscure work. His arguments also, Ghufrān Ma'āb says, have been distorted by the Shāh (Dh., 59-62).

Ghufrān Ma'āb goes on to say that the Shāh does not understand the basic difference between Shī'i and Sunni theories on Islam and *imān* (belief). To the Sunnis Islam and *imān* (belief) are identical but to the Shī'is all Muslims are not firm in their *imān*. Unless they remain firm in this, until they die, they cannot hope to go to paradise. The first three

caliphs, who deprived 'Alī of his right to become an imām and perpetrated atrocities against Fātima, did not die with their *imān* intact. Ghufrān Ma'āb adds that there is no difference of opinion on basic issues between classical and latter Shi'i scholars. The matrimonial alliances between the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the Prophet's companions do not necessarily guarantee *imān*, for Islamic weddings depend on the repetition of *kalima*, irrespective of sincerity.

There is a real distinction between those who do not believe in the prophethood of Muhammad and those who do not believe in imāms, Ghufrān Ma'āb remarks. The former are not Muslims and the latter are not *mu'min* (believers). Those who do not accept the twelve Imāms belong to the latter category even though they may be 'Alawīs ('Alī's descendants). Ghufrān Ma'āb asserts that to fight 'Alī was to fight the Prophet. No Muslim could deny that to wage war against the Prophet was an act of infidelity, whether it was waged to contest divine revelations and prophethood or was fought for money and worldly interests. The Qur'ān says:

"Lo! those who malign (*yu'dhūn*) Allāh and his messenger, Allāh hath cursed them in the world and the Hereafter, and hath prepared for them the doom of the disdained."¹³⁶

Merely maligning or annoying the Prophet, the verse says, leads to severe chastisement, let alone fighting against 'Alī. Likewise the war waged by 'Ā'isha and her supporters against 'Alī makes them infidels (Dh., 75-76). To the Shi'is, Ghufrān Ma'āb asserts, there was no difference between 'Ā'isha, Mu'āwiya and the Khawārij. 'Ā'isha fought against 'Alī in Basra (Jamal), Mu'āwiya in Siff'īn and the Khawārij in Nahrwān. Khawārij's devotion to prayers and the Qur'ān could not make them *mu'min*. If the *muhājirs* and *ansārs*, who fought 'Alī in Basra were allowed to obtain the benefit of *ijtihād*, the Khawārij would be entitled to the same dispensation. Two different yardsticks cannot be used when assessing the guilt of those who fought 'Alī on separate occasions (Dh., 81). Many Sunnis think that the position of Imām Husayn and the Khawārij were identical, for both Abū-Bakr and Yazīd were appointed *khalīfas* by *ijmā'* and Yazīd was Imām Husayn's enemy.¹³⁷ Shaykh ibn Hajar Makki in the *Sharh Qasida Hamziyya* says that, according to Abū Bakr bin al-'Arabī,¹³⁸ an eminent Māliki scholar, Imām Husayn was killed by his own grandfather's sword. It was Prophet Muhammad, wrote Abū Bakr bin al-'Arabī, who prohi-

136 Qur'ān, XXXIII, 57.

137 Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's views; *Supra*, pp. 197-99.

138 Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148) belonged to Seville and is famous for his encyclopaedic knowledge. He wrote books on all aspects of Islamic learning but many of these are no longer available.

bited war against the Imām selected by Muslim *ijmā'*. Were we to accept the Shāh's senseless glossings relating to Imām Husayn, says Ghufrān Ma'āb no accusations could be levelled against the Khawārij either (Dh, 82).

In reply to the Shāh's concluding comments in this chapter, Ghufrān Ma'āb says that the Shi'is condemn all those whose violation of basic principles of faith is proven. They make no exceptions. In the absence of any proof, the Shi'is make no comments (Dh., 108).

Sunnī Counter-attacks and Shi'ī Responses

The literature that the Sunni 'ulamā' produced as a counter-attack to the Shi'is is also enormous. The Shi'ī scholars also wrote innumerable books countering the Sunni attacks. The leading Sunni polemic writers were Mawlānā Muhammad Rashīd al-Dīn Khān Dihlawī, and Mawlāwī Hāfiz Haydar 'Alī Faydābādī. In 1237/1822 Muhammad Rashīd al-Dīn Dihlawī wrote *Sawlat-i Ghadanfariyya wa Shawkat-i 'Umarīyya*. The work seeks to refute *Bāriqa-i Dayghamiyya* by Sultān al-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad, son of Ghufrān Ma'āb, which deals with *mut'a* (marriage for a specified time) which 'Umar made illegal. Rashīd al-Dīn states that he would not reply to the impassioned phrases, sneering sarcasm and personal attacks which the *Bāriqa's* author had made on the *Tuhfa's* author for the following reasons :

1. The author belongs to a Sayyid family and it is incumbent upon all Muslims to show respect to the Sayyids.
2. A reply in obscene terms, as used by the author of the *Bāriqa*, does not behove an 'ālim and is customary among an enraged mob.
3. If harsh language is exchanged, once or twice; the illiterate masses will think that abuse is a sufficient reply.¹³⁹

In this refutation of the *Bāriqa*, the author does not use any unnecessary abusive language. Taking exception to the word "*Nāsibī*", which all Shi'ī scholars used for the Shāh, Rashīd al-Dīn says that the undertaking given by him earlier not to use insulting language prevented him from explaining the correct difference between a real Shi'ī and a *Nāsibī* as used in the Shi'ī classics. However, he had previously written on this in *Ghurra al-rāshidīn wa dhallat al-dāllīn*. A copy had been sent to the author of *Nuzhā-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*. Many others possessed copies and it could easily be read.¹⁴⁰

The refutation of *Sawlat-i Ghadanfariyya* was written by Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad himself, although, in the introduction, he attributed the authorship to his disciple Sayyid Bāqir Shāh. The Mawlānā says that although Sunni and Shi'ī polemical and *kalām* literature used deroga-

139 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Sawlat-i Ghadanfariyya*, Rāmpūr Ms., ff. 39b.

140 *Ibid*, f. 100b.

tory language in presenting the statements by various companions of the Prophet, the harsh language against the *Tuhfa's* author in *Bāriqa-i Day-ghamiyya* was not due to bigotry or spite. It was in retaliation to the abusive statements employed by the *Tuhfa's* author against the most revered and pious 'ulamā' of the Ja'fariyya (Ithnā' Ashariyya) faith. This reflected the spirit of the saying, "Those who throw an unburnt brick are hit back by stones."¹⁴¹

Illustrations of this misuse of language had already been listed in the *Dhū'lfaqār* but would be repeated again to provide examples. The Mawlānā goes on to say that *Sawlat-i Ghadanfariyya* (Ghadanfar's Intrepidity) or *Kurra-i Safdariyya* (Safdar's Whip), were queer titles. "*Ghadanfar*" and "*Safdar*" were 'Alī's titles and he firmly favoured the legality of *mut'a*. 'Alī contended, "Had Khattāb's son ('Umar) not forbidden *mut'a*, only felons would commit adultery or fornication." A more relevant title for the Khān's book would be *Sawlat-i Bakriyya* (Abū Bakr's Intrepidity) or *Farrah-i 'Udariyya* or *Na'thaliyya* (The Ingenuity of 'Umar or Na'thal, the latter was the title given to 'Uthmān by 'Ā'isha).¹⁴²

The works of both authors exhibit considerable restraint. The Khān referred to the Sayyid as Sayyid al-Wahid (the unique Sayyid) and the Sayyid referred to Mawlānā Rashid as Fādil al-Rashid (learned Rashid or guide).

Mawlānā Muhammad Rashid al-Dīn also wrote short treatises rebutting the Shi'i refutations of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. Two of these are available in the Delhi Persian Manuscripts of the India Office, London, and do not seem to have been published. These treatises do not exhibit the restraint on language which Rashid al-Dīn imposed upon himself in *Shawkat-i 'Udariyya*. Rashid al-Dīn's *Tahqiq al-Shi'i* is a brief rejoinder to 'Allāma Sayyid Muhammad Qūlī's *Sayf-i Nāsiri*. *Tahqiq al-Shi'i* defends the Shāh's definition of the Shi'a-i ūla. Rashid al-Dīn says that the Sunni *ahādith* praising the Shi'is refer to the Shi'a-i ūla and not the *Rāfidīs*. The Shi'a-i ūla, whom Rashid al-Dīn, like his teacher, identifies with the Sunnis, are the real devotees of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The Shi'is are the enemies of the *Ahl al-Bayt*; they hide the truth by performing *taqiya* and ignore *hijrat* (migration).

The Sunnis are 'Alī's true Shi'is and those who boast of their Shi'ism are not real Shi'is. The *Rāfidīs* are the "eaters of excrement" (imitators) of the Jews and Christians. The Ithnā' Ashariyya claim of dissociation from other Shi'i sects is absurd for all of them believe that after Prophet Muhammad, 'Alī was the rightful caliph. Different Shi'i sects do not hate each other as the Sunnis hate the Nawāsib and Khawārij. The

141 Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad, *Darbat-i Haydariyya*, Lucknow 1296/1879, pp. 6-9.

142 *Ibid*, p. 10.

Shi'is are friends with the Hindus and are in fact Hindus themselves. Salvation for the Shi'is depends upon their devotion to the *imāma* while the Sunnis do not impose similar conditions on the acceptance of Abū Bakr's caliphate. For the Sunnis, deliverance depends on their dedication to all truthful beliefs. Naturally the Shi'is follow a baseless creed.¹⁴³

Rashid al-Dīn entitled his treatise refuting *Husām al-Islām* (The Sword of Islam) by Ghufrān Ma'āb, *Fadīhat al-ghayy* (The Disgrace of the Erring). The work seeks to contradict the Shi'i belief relating to Allāh's obligation to appoint prophets. Rashid al-Dīn accuses Ghufrān Ma'āb of failing to understand the Shāh's arguments and the Sunni beliefs which he had distorted and wrongly quoted.¹⁴⁴

Mawlānā Rashid al-Dīn also wrote a treatise entitled *Tanbih al-Safih* (Admonitions to the Stupid) as a rejoinder to Ghufrān Ma'āb's *Sawārim al-Ilāhiyāt fī qatā' shubhāt ābid al-'Uzza wa'l-lāt* (A Divine sword cutting doubts for the Worshipper of 'Uzza and Lāt). The Khān's *Tanbih al-Safih* was not available to the author.

These treatises were written in the form of letters. Mawlānā Rashid al-Dīn's letter to 'Allāma Mufti Muhammad Qūli and Sultān al-'ulamā' and their replies are also available in the Delhi Persian Manuscripts of the India Office Library, London.¹⁴⁵ Rashid al-Dīn also wrote a book entitled *Idāh-i latāfat al-maqāl*. The book developed from the controversy sparked off by a treatise entitled *Latāfat al-maqāl*. The *Idāh* is its refutation. The preface to the *Idāh* by Amīr Hasan Khān, possibly Rashid al-Dīn's pupil, is dated 1240/1824.¹⁴⁶

The most prolific Sunni polemist and an indefatigable author was Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī Faydābādī. He commenced his *Izālat al-ghayn fī basārat al-'ayn* in Jumāda II, 1270/March 1854 and completed it in Jumāda I, 1272/January 1856. The work attacks the Shi'i theory of *imāma* and attempts to prove the legality of the succession of the Prophet's first three caliphs. Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī tries to show that 'Ā'isha and 'Alī had no intention of fighting and the battle was sparked off by the impiety of 'Uthmān's assassins who were scared of *qisās* (retaliation). 'Alī showed his regard for 'Ā'isha by sending her brother Muhammad bin Abū Bakr to help when the camel on which she was seated was about to fall.¹⁴⁷ 'Alī respected 'Ā'isha until the end of his life. He felt no ill-will towards the first three successors to the Prophet. Fātima was reconciled to Abū Bakr.¹⁴⁸ 'Alī and the Banī Hāshim did not delay in making *bay'a* with

143 Rashid al-Dīn, *Tahqīq al-Shi'a*, I. O. L. Per. Mss., D. P. 313c, ff. 1-11b.

144 Rashid al-Dīn, *Radd-i 'aqida-i Husām*, I. O. L. Per. Mss., D. P. 313 d, ff. 72-94.

145 I. O. L., Per. Mss., D. P. 323c.

146 Bānkīpūr, 2065.

147 Haydar 'Alī Faydābādī, *Izālat al-ghayn*, Delhi 1272/1856, pp. 490-96.

148 *Ibid*, pp. 571-99.

Abū Bakr who was chosen because of his eminence among the *muhājirs*. The *Shaqshaqiyya* sermon by 'Alī is strongly hostile to *taqiya*.¹⁴⁹

Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī goes on to say that, after the Muslims had elected a caliph, to wage war against him was unlawful except in the following circumstances :

1. If the caliph becomes an infidel and rejects the obligatory duties of the faith, it is imperative for Muslims to declare war on him. Such a war would be the most meritorious *jihād* which should not cease until the traitor is defeated and Islam restored.

2. If the caliph begins to kill people and destroy their property, makes debauchery lawful, in short bases his rule on the sword and not on the *sharī'a*, then the caliph and his supporters are reduced to the position of highway robbers and their annihilation is imperative.

3. If the caliph openly begins to act tyrannically and issues orders contravening the *sharī'a*, war against him and his followers is imperative. However, if the caliph does not violate the *sharī'a* the Muslims must be patient.¹⁵⁰

He adheres to the general Sunnī theory that after Hasan's peace with Mu'āwiya, the latter became the lawful caliph but considers that Yazīd was not a legitimate caliph.¹⁵¹ After Mu'āwiya, Imām Husayn was the lawful caliph. He strongly condemns the Shī'ī literature which identifies the caliphate of the first three successors of Prophet Muhammad with that of Yazīd. The work shows respect for the first eleven Shī'ī Imāms but is vituperative towards the twelfth Imām whose existence the Mawlawī says is denied by the Sunnis. The Shaykh bestows abusive titles on all Shī'ī 'ulamā'. Khwāja Naṣr al-Dīn Tūsī is referred to as *Munajjim-i bi dīn* (irreligious astrologer); 'Allāma Hillī is mentioned as *Shaykh Chillī*¹⁵² and Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī is referred to as *ra'is al-muftarin* (the leader of the slanderers). Ghufrān Ma'āb Dildār 'Alī is called *Dildār-i bi murawwat* (inhuman Dildār-mistress); *dilbar-i bi wafā* (faithless sweetheart) and *bu'i fudūl Ja'isi* (Idle-talker Ja'isi). The Mawlawī also wrote a separate work entitled *Kāshif al-bathām 'an tadlīs al-mujtahid al-qamqām* condemning the works of Ghufrān Ma'āb and Sultān al-'ulamā'.

Shaykh Haydar 'Alī's *Muntahī al-kalām* is a compendium of the Sunnī replies to the general Shī'ī indictments. The work defends the *Tuhfa*, *Shawkat-i 'Umarīyya* and other Sunnī works and seeks to refute the Shī'ī objections in the *Nuzha-i Ithnā' Ashariyya* and by the Lucknow *mujtahids* and their disciples. *Muntahī al-kalām* was rebutted by Mawlānā Sayyid

149 *Izālat al-ghaym*, pp. 602-612.

150 *Ibid*, pp. 489-90, 474.

151 *Ibid*, p. 45.

152 A buffoon in Indo-Persian and Urdu literature. Three dots under *hā'i huttī* of Hillī makes it *jīm-e fārisī* called *che*. The same word is then pronounced as *Chillī*.

Hāmid Husayn, the son of 'Allāma Mufti Muhammad Qūli, who wrote *Istiqsā' al-afhām fi naqd muntahī al-kalām*. Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn's *Abaqāt al-anwār fi Imāmat al-a'imma al-athār* added a new dimension to the polemical literature. He wrote separate volumes on different *ahādīth* about 'Alī's *imāma*.

In 1220/1805 one Sayf al-Dīn Asad-Allāh Multānī happened to come across the *Sawārim al-Ilāhiyāt* of Ghufrān Ma'āb Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī at Makanpūr (Kānpūr) where he had gone to visit the tomb of Shāh Madār. Sayf al-Dīn wrote the *Tanbih al-Safih* refuting the Shī'ī beliefs defended in the *Sawārim*.¹⁵³

The criticisms of the historian Khayr al-Dīn Muhammad Ilāhābādī to the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* which he studied at Jawnpūr in 1226/1811-12 are marked by queer sarcasm and condemnation. In his preface to the *I'tidhār-i 'Azīz* (Apology to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz) designed to criticise the fourth chapter of the *Tuhfa*, he tells us that books comprising his comments on other chapters were to follow but only a book reviewing the ninth chapter, entitled the *Armughān-i 'Azīz* (Presentation to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz) is available. In the *I'tidhār*, Khayr al-Dīn pays glowing tributes to the learning and piety of the Shāh and adds that the *Tuhfa* is designed to condemn the extremists among the Shī'īs and the fanatics among the Sunnis. He goes on to say that finding himself in an uneasy position of sitting between two stools, the Shah had to indulge in obliquity and to make his work intentionally obscure, equivocal and enigmatic. Unfortunately for the Shāh, Khayr al-Dīn asserts that the Sunni sects including the 'Ash'ariyya system, based as they are on the devotion to the first three successors of the Prophet Muhammad cannot be rationally defended.¹⁵⁴ Naturally the Sunni sources and *ahādīth* are self-contradictory and conceal clear divine injunctions contained in the Prophet's sermon at the Ghadīr Khumm. Although Khayr al-Dīn is exceedingly respectful in criticising Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz his arguments do not differ from those of Shī'ī 'ulamā'.

153 Khudābakhsh Library, Patna Ms., 1338.

154 *I'tidhār-i 'Azīz*, Rāmpūr Ms., 49-149.

Sunni Puritanism and Jihād

Sunni political thought was based on three different groups of sources. The first included the works on Sunni fiqh and hadīth and those of orthodox Sunni theorists such as the authors of the *corpus* of literature called the *Kitāb al-kharāj* or *Risāla fi'l-kharāj*¹ written in the 8th century A.D. Secondly were the Arabic translations of the Pahlavi "Mirrors for Princes" compiled by the scholars of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. Although the hadīth literature explicitly enjoined Muslims not to obey "a creature against the Creator", according to the "Mirror"² literature, disobedience to the ruler was in no circumstance permitted. The third source consisted of the works of Muslim philosophers such as Abū Nasr Fārābī (d. 339/950) and ibn Sīnā (370/980-428/1037).

The earlier theorists drew heavily upon the first two categories, and their writings became definitive for later orthodox Muslim theorists. Ghazālī islamized the political theory of the great Sasanian Emperor Ardashīr (c. 222-240) saying that "monarchy and religion are like twin brothers". Ghazālī wrote, "An evil-doing and barbarous sultān, so long as he is supported by military force, so that he can only with difficulty be deposed and the attempt to depose him would cause unendurable civil strife, must, of necessity be left in possession and obedience must be

- 1 Some twenty-one books bearing the title *Kitāb al-kharāj* or *Risāla fi'l-kharāj*, of which three survive, were not merely intended to revive the principles of taxation used by the first four caliphs, but sought to sanctify the personality of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, both as God's vicegerents on earth and as successors to the Prophet Muhammad and the first four caliphs. Their authors were prominent jurists and the image of the rulers they presented aroused great enthusiasm among the orthodox.
- 2 The earliest source for the "Mirror" writers was the *Khudāy-nāma*, translated into Arabic by ibn al-Muqaffā' (102/720-139/757) and the *Adab al-saghīr* and the *Adab al-kabīr*, also by the same author. The *Adab al-saghīr* and the *Adab al-kabīr* highlight Ardashīr's famous maxim that religion and kingship are twin brothers, religion being the basis of kingship and the kingship the protector of religion. (*al-Adab al-saghīr wa'l adab al-kabīr*, Beirut 1961, pp. 63-72).

rendered to him, exactly as obedience must be rendered to emīrs."³ By the end of the eleventh century A.D., the apocryphal *ahādīth* legitimizing the sultanate became enormous and disobedience to the sultāns was regarded as an abominable sin.

In the sixteenth century Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī strove to have Akbar's policy of "peace with all" reversed with the help of Jahāngīr's influential nobles, and considered his own stay in Jahāngīr's camp for about a year and a half a great success for his orthodox Sunnī revivalist mission.⁴ In the eighteenth century Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and the Rohella chief, Najīb al-Dawla, were not only Shāh Walī-Allāh's great hopes, but he also tried to awaken in the licentious Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shāh (1161-1167/1748-1754) the need to revitalize the disintegrating Mughal empire.⁵

Some 'ulamā' and sūfis fearlessly criticized the policies of both the rulers and their governors but they did not encourage rebellion against them even though they were corrupt. In 81/700, Hasan al-Basrī (21/642-110/728) told a dissident, ibn Ash'ath, "The violent actions of tyrants were a punishment sent by God which could not be opposed by the sword but must be endured with patience."⁶ However, other sūfis and 'ulamā' diverted their energies against the infidels and were enthusiastic *jihād* warriors. Some made *jihād* against infidels a regular part of their life. They spent the first year in meditation, the second in pilgrimage and the third in leading their followers against the infidels to fight *jihād*.⁷ One such was Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubra (b. 540/1145-6), who died fighting against the Mongol invaders of Khwārazm in 618/1221, although the ruler, Sultān Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh had fled, leaving his country to the invader's mercy.⁸

Shaykh Jalāl, who settled in Sylhat in Bengal and came to be known as Sylhatī, originally belonged to Turkistān. His spiritual guide Sayyid Ahmad Yasawī of the *silsila-i Khwājgān* prophesied that Shaykh Jalāl was destined to be a great *mujāhid* (fighter of *jihād*). The Sayyid put a group of his disciples at the disposal of the Shaykh who, along with his other followers, marched from his native Transoxiana towards India. Fighting and defeating those they encountered the Shaykh's disciples reached the newly conquered region of Sylhat in Bengal where they settled down and became very famous. The Shaykh (known as Sylhatī) died in 748/1347

3 Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* in H. A. R. Gibb, *Islamic Society and the West*, London, reprint 1960, I, part I, p. 31.

4 M. R. M., pp. 246-47, 300-313.

5 S. W. T., pp. 296-308.

6 H. Ritter ; Hasan al-Basrī, E. I.², III, p. 247.

7 *Supra*, p. 143.

8 H. S. I., I, pp. 93-94.

and even now his tomb is believed to radiate miraculous blessings throughout the region.⁹

There is no dearth of legendary warrior saints in the history of the Sunnis. The most prominent was Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī who is said to have flourished during the Ghaznavid reign. It is alleged that he conquered the region from the west to the east of Awadh and fell fighting the infidels in Bahrāich.¹⁰

The legends tell us of another saint called Sayyid Qutb al-Dīn, (an ancestor of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd whose *jihād* movement will be discussed below), who defeated Rāja Jaychand of Qanauj and drove him to Karā and his brother to Mānikpūr. Sayyid Qutb al-Dīn besieged Karā and his brother invested Mānikpūr. Both towns fell after two months of protracted siege, and the Rāja took refuge in the Vindhya.¹¹

It would seem that the ancestors of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd belonged to that galaxy of Sayyids, 'ulamā' and sūfīs who, uprooted by the Chingiz's invasion of Transoxiana and eastern Īrān from 1219 to 1221, settled in northern India during the reign of Sultān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-633/1211-1236). These families generally colonized small towns to the west and east of Delhi whose Hindu leaders had either died in wars or had re-established the power in more inaccessible regions. One of these settlers, Sayyid Qutb al-Dīn served as the Shaykh al-Islām of Delhi¹² and died at a ripe old age on 3 Ramadān 677/18 January 1279. He had three sons, Sayyid Nizām al-Dīn, Sayyid Qiwām al-Dīn and Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn. Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn was the *qādī* of Badā'un and Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn was the *qādī* of Karā. The famous historian Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī visited both Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn and Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn. According to Baranī there could be no better proof of Tāj al-Dīn's genuine Sayyidship than the fact that some holy men had seen the Prophet Muhammad in the form of Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn in their visions.¹³ Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn's nephew, another Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn, was a sūfī of miraculous achievement and given to indulging in *samā'* (music).¹⁴

Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd was the descendant of Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the descendants of Rukn al-Dīn moved to Nastrābād and Rae Bareli. For two centuries the family had been prominent because of Sayyid 'Alam-Allāh (b. 12 Rabī' I, 1033/3 January 1624), whose maternal uncle tried in vain to train him for a military career for he was given to mystic and ascetic exercises. Before the

9 H. S. I., I, pp. 314-15.

10 *Ibid*, p. 311.

11 Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī Nadwī, *Sīrat-i Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Karāchi 1975, I, p. 65.

12 Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1860-62, p. 111.

13 *Ibid*, p. 248.

14 *Ibid*, p. 349.

banishment of the Mujaddid's famous *khalīfa* Sayyid Ādam Banūrī (d. 1053/1643) from India to Mecca by the Emperor Shāhjahān in 1052/1642-3 Sayyid 'Alam-Allāh had become his disciple. In 1075/1664-65 Sayyid 'Alam-Allāh went on a pilgrimage. Seven years later he embarked on another pilgrimage and, after his return to Rae Bareli, he constructed a mosque on the bank of the Sa'i river.¹⁵ He died in 1096/1684-5. The Sayyid led an austere pious life and always urged his disciples and visitors to follow the rules of the shari'a literally. His four sons, Sayyid Āyat-Allāh, Sayyid Muhammad Hudā, Sayyid Abū Hanīfa and Sayyid Muhammad Jī, were deeply imbued with their father's tradition of piety and puritanism, and three of them, following the *sūfī* and *futuwwa*¹⁶ (chivalric) traditions, participated in *jihād*. Sayyid Āyat-Allāh's grandson, Shāh Abū Sa'id (d. 9 Ramadān 1193/20 September 1779), the son of Sayyid Muhammad Diyā' was an important *khalīfa* of Shāh Walī-Allāh and the maternal grandfather of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd.

Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's paternal great-grandfather, Sayyid Muhammad Hudā (d. 19 Rab' I, 1119/20 June 1707) and his grandfather Sayyid Muhammad Nūr (d. 6 Rab' I, 1148/27 July 1735) combined in themselves the life of a soldier and that of a dervish. Sayyid Muhammad Nūr's son Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad Nu'mān, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's uncle, became Shāh Walī-Allāh's disciple in Dhu'lqa'da 1175/May-June 1762. In 1193/1779, he made a pilgrimage and died in Jerusalem in the same year. Sayyid Muhammad Nūr's son, Sayyid Muhammad 'Irfān had two wives. His second wife, whom he married after his first wife's death, was the daughter of Shāh Abū Sa'id. She had three sons: Sayyid Muhammad Ibrāhīm, Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad Ishāq and Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd. Returning from Lucknow, Sayyid Muhammad 'Irfān died in 1214/1799-1800. Sayyid Muhammad Ibrāhīm became a soldier in Nawwāb Amīr Khān's¹⁷ army but before his death returned to Delhi. Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad Ishāq distinguished himself in scholarly pursuits, studied under Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, and became the latter's spiritual disciple. He spent the rest of his life in teaching in Rae Bareli and died in Jumāda II, 1234/March-April 1819.¹⁸

Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, the youngest son of Sayyid Muhammad 'Irfān, was born on 6 Safar 1201/28 November 1786.¹⁹ He took little interest

15 *Sīrat*, I, pp. 69-78.

16 E. I.², III, pp. 961-65.

17 *Supra*, pp. 41-42.

18 *Sīrat*, I, pp. 65-85.

19 Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Lahore 1952, p. 56; *Makātib-i Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Lahore, 1975, f. 27a; Mawlawī Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī, *Makhzan-i Ahmadi*, Agra 1299/1881-82, pp. 10-11; Sayyid Ja'far 'Alī Naqwi, *Manzūratu's-su'ada*, Panjāb University Library Ms., pp. 5-8.

in reading or writing but was passionately devoted to physical exercise. As he matured, besides prayer and meditation, helping and serving the poor and helpless became his mission in life. His home environment made him exceedingly puritanical. In 1218/1803 or 1219/1804 he set off for Lucknow with a small party of unemployed people in search of work. The Sayyid became the guest of a nobleman who was devoted to his family but his companions could not get work and subsisted by doing odd jobs. Disappointed after seven months of fruitless search for work, Sayyid Ahmad, decided to lead an impoverished, but spiritual life in Delhi under Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz. His companions refused to share his enthusiasm for dependence on God, and he left Lucknow without informing them. Facing considerable hazards, but never losing his spirit of dependence on God and his zeal to help the poor and helpless, he reached Delhi.²⁰

In Delhi, the Sayyid called on Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and greeted him with the Islamic *salām 'alaikum* (peace be with you). According to the *Amīr al-rawāyāt*, Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, despite their devotion to the puritanical reform, were greeted even by their family members with the customary Mughal court humility. The Sayyid's spontaneous demonstration of the Prophet's *sunna* prompted Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz to make sharī'a greetings compulsory for all.²¹ When the Shāh learnt that the visitor was the maternal grandson of Shāh Abū Sa'id and the nephew of Sayyid Nu'mān and had come to him to obtain spiritual perfection, he was very pleased. He assigned him to the care of his brother Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir. A few days later Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz initiated the Sayyid into the Naqshbandiyya, Qādiriyya and Chishtiyya *silsilas*.²² During his mystical training the Shāh asked the Sayyid to meditate by keeping the figure of the Shaykh (religious guide) in his vision, called the *tasawwur-i Shaykh* in *sūfī* parlance. The Sayyid thereupon shocked the puritan Shāh by requesting him to explain how contemplating the *tasawwur-i Shaykh* differed from idol worship (which involved worshipping a stone or paper figure). The Shāh recited the Hāfiz's famous verse:

"Dip the prayer carpet into wine were the chief priest to order it;
for the traveller on the *sūfī* path is not unaware of the rules of reaching
the goal."

Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd replied that only the Qur'ān, Sunna or the *ijmā'* of *umma* could convince him that the *tasawwur-i Shaykh* and idol worship

20 *Makhzan*, pp. 12-18; Naqwi, pp. 9-20.

21 *Arwāh-i thalīha*, pp. 122-23.

22 *Makhzan*, p. 18.

were different from each other. The Shāh congratulated the Sayyid and said that he was blessed with the prophetic *wilāya* (nearness to God). Although both stories are most critical of both Shāh Walī Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and seem to be unlikely, they are unquestioningly believed to be true by the Sayyid's admirers. Be as it may, on the Sayyid's request the Shāh explained that those who are endowed with the commonplace *wilāya* are the chosen slaves of God who so deeply love Allāh that no trace of worldly attachment, or love of wealth, property or family remains in their heart. People considered them lunatics. They were engrossed in crushing their self, and in prayers, meditations and services to mankind. Their life is patterned after the following verse :

"The (faithful) slaves of the Beneficent are they who walk upon the earth modestly, and when the foolish ones address them answer : Peace."

They do not interfere with the sinner's lives but lead a secluded, ascetic life.

Those who are endowed with prophetic *wilāya* are so deeply sunk in divine love that the following Qur'ānic verses apply to them :

"Lo! We purified them with a pure thought, remembrance of the Home (of the Hereafter)."²³

"It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces to the East and the West; but righteousness is he who believeth in Allāh and the Last Day and the angels and the Scripture and the Prophets; and giveth his wealth, for love of Him to kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and to those who ask, and to set slaves free; and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor-due. And those who keep their treaty when they make one, and the patient in tribulation and adversity and time of stress. Such are they who are sincere. Such are the God-fearing."²⁴

According to the author of *Makhzan-i Ahmadi*, the Sayyid's mystical exercises endowed him with the Prophetic *wilāya*.²⁵ The Prophet himself appeared to him in a vision. 'Alī and Fātima also appeared : 'Alī washed him and Fātima dressed him in new clothes. These ceremonies marked the culmination of the Sayyid's attainment of the Prophetic *wilāya*,²⁶ and

23 *Qur'ān*, XXXVIII, 47.

24 *Qur'ān*, II, 177.

25 *Makhzan*, pp. 18-22.

26 *Makhzan*, p. 24.

in the Sayyid's vision, all leading *sūfi pīrs* called on him. Although incredible to the more objective Muslims, to the Sayyid's devotees these stories foretell the Sayyid's future eminence.

By early 1223/1808 Sayyid Ahmad Shahid was back in 'Rae Bareli and was married. In the middle of 1226/June 1811 he again left for Delhi. He did not stay there for more than a few months and in 1227/1812 he joined Nawwāb Amīr Khān's army which at that time was besieging Dhamkola fort between Būndī and Karolī.²⁷ According to the Sayyid's contemporaries and his modern biographers, his decision was divinely inspired to prepare him for a future *jihād*.²⁸ In fact the Sayyid thought that he could obtain more success in his puritanical revivalist mission with illiterate Pathāns in Amīr Khān's army in which his elder brother had already served, and with Amīr Khān's Pindārī²⁹ associates, than amongst the corrupt and cynical Muslim population of Delhi or Awadh. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz also blessed the Sayyid's missions. Amīr Khān welcomed the Sayyid's presence in his army and consulted him frequently, but the Sayyid's main concern was to infuse the soldiers with honesty, integrity and the simple puritanical life of the shari'a.

He had already acquired sufficient military skills, and he lived with the soldiers, sharing with them the hard camp life and arduous marches in the rugged, desert terrain of Rājasthān and Mālwa. As discussed earlier, Amīr Khān made peace with the British in November 1817. Amīr Khān's wars were not intended to help the Rājput princes' and Marāṭha chiefs' struggle for Indian independence nor were they *jihād*, but they offered employment to more than 30,000 Muslim soldiers whose future was bleak when the army was disbanded. The Sayyid's efforts to prevent Amīr Khān from signing the treaty with the British failed. Sayyid did not wish to lead the life of a courtier and he returned to Delhi in 1233/1817-18.³⁰ Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz gave his deceased brother, Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir's vacant room in the Akbarābādī mosque to the Sayyid. Although he was only thirty-two years old the Shāh assigned to him the care of the disciples who were awaiting initiation under him.

The Sayyid's most spectacular success was the initiation first of Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and then of Muhammad Ismā'il. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz considered both of them perfect in their knowledge of the Qur'ānic exegeses, hadīth, fiqh, principles of fiqh and logic and gave them the titles of "Shaykh al-Islām" and "Hujjat al-Islām" respectively.

After the initiation of Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Shāh Ismā'il, a considerable number of members of the families of Shāh Walī-Allāh

27 *Makhzan*, pp. 31-32.

28 *Ibid*, pp. 104-8, *Mīhr*, pp. 82-92.

29 *Makhzan-i Ahmadī* calls the Pindārīs the Turks of India, p. 33.

30 *Makhzan*, pp. 33-34, *Tārīkh-i Ahmadī* (Tonk), II, ff. 5b-16b; *Sīrat*, I, pp. 109-17.

and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz also had themselves initiated as *sūfīs* by the Sayyid. Shāh Ismā'il compiled the Sayyid's sermons into a book called the *Sīrat-i mustaqīm*. Cutting across the basic differences of the Qādiriyya, Chishtiyya, Naqshbandiyya and Mujaddidiyya *silsilas* of India, the *Sīrat-i mustaqīm* seeks to elaborate what Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz described as the Prophetic *wilāya*. The Sayyid called it the *Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya* (the path of Prophet Muhammad) and giving this name to his own *sūfī silsila* obtained *bay'a* in this order.

At the request of a large number of seekers after *sūfī* initiation from the region between Delhi, Sahāranpūr and Muzaffarnagar, which was under the Shāh's influence and inhabited by a predominantly Afghān population, the Sayyid took Shāh Ismā'il, Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and some other companions and set off from Delhi in Dhu'lqa'da 1233/September 1818. Visiting Ghāziābād, Murādnagar, Meerut, Sardhana, Budhāna, Phulet, Muzaffarnagar, Thāna Bhawn, Kāndhla (Muzaffarnagar) Deoband, Sahāranpūr, Ambeth, Gangoh, Nānawtā (Sahāranpūr), the Sayyid and his party returned to Delhi by Jumāda I, 1234/March 1819. The Sunnis of the area were already devoted to Shāh Walī-Allāh and Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān but the Sayyid's missionary tour was unique. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Shāh Ismā'il walked alongside the Sayyid's horse or the bullock carts and acted as nightwatchmen for the Sayyid. Both the old *sūfīs* and the new initiates were deeply impressed with the Sayyid and his party's devotion to the early Islamic practices of equality, brotherhood and sincerity which the court influence had driven away from the Muslims' minds. Shāh Ismā'il and Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy delivered fiery speeches against the Muslim practice of visiting graves, lighting lamps upon them and showing respect to *ta'ziyas*. They even burnt to ashes some *ta'ziyas* belonging to their disciples.³¹ According to a Shi'i author, a riot broke out in Meerut when the district authorities banned the Sayyid's preachings.³² After their return, the Sayyid and his principal disciples did stay in Delhi for two or three weeks. They set off again early in Jumāda II, 1234/April 1819 via Ghāziābād, Hāpur, Murādābād, Rāmpūr and Bareilly (known as Bāns Bareilly), reaching Rae Bareilly on 29 Sha'ban 1234/23 June 1819.³³ Besides Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy, Shāh Ismā'il, many other important 'ulamā' and *sūfīs* accompanied the Sayyid. The Sayyid's brother Sayyid Muhammad Ishāq had died on 7 Jumāda II, 1234/3 April 1819 and the family resources were not adequate to feed the party at Rae Bareilly and it lived on the meagre *futūh* (unsolicited gifts) and manual labour.

31 T. A. II, ff. 19b-28a; *Sīrat*, I, pp. 118-43.

32 Sayyid 'Alī bin Hasan al-'Askari (Musharraf 'Alī), *Izāhat al-hayy fī radd-i 'Abd al-Hayy*, Khudābakhsh Library Patna, ff. 7b-9a.

33 T. A. II, ff. 30a-36a; *Sīrat*, I, pp. 144-45.

From Rae Bareli, the Sayyid made three important missionary tours. The first one was undertaken to Salon (Rae Bareli), Ahlādganj (Pratāpgarh district), Allahabad, Banāras and Sultānpūr. The party reached Salon on the occasion of the 'urs (death anniversary) of Shāh Pīr Muhammad. The Sayyid took occasion to urge Pīr Muhammad's heir Shāh Karīm 'Atā to abandon all non-sharī'a ceremonies. Shāh Karīm made no promises but asked the Sayyid to pray that those innovations which were the legacy of early sūfī pīrs and had no sharī'a basis might be eradicated. In Allahabad they stayed at the *dā'ira* (sūfī centre) of Shāh Ajmal (d. 1 Dhu'l-hijja 1236/30 August 1821). In Banāras a *gosā'in* (yogi) who lived near the forsaken mosque of Basehsar (the site of the Sayyid's camp) was annoyed by Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy's sermons. A Muslim *pīr* to the washermen who attended the Mawlānā's sermons admitted that in return for exempting them from five times prayers which was impossible for washermen, he received bi-annual gifts. Those who were unable to fast made additional gifts. The *pīr* said that he survived on these offerings. The Sayyid urged him to depend on God but the *pīr* left Banāras and the washermen became the Sayyid's disciples. The Muslim weavers, of whom there were quite a large number in Banāras, also became the Sayyid's disciples.³⁴

Returning to Rae Bareli the Sayyid travelled to Lucknow with a party of 170 men and stayed in a house near the Tila mosque of Shāh Pīr Muhammad built by Awrangzīb. A large congregation assembled there for Friday prayers. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy's sermons were a great success. The dignitaries of the capital were also attracted. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy's impressive sermons converted many Shī'is to Sunnism. The Prime Minister Nawwāb Mu'tamad al-Dawla was alarmed. He asked the Sayyid's disciple Faqīr Muhammad Khān *risāladār* (the commander of a body of horses) to urge the Sayyid to stop proselytising sermons but the Sayyid refused to do so. Ultimately Mu'tamad al-Dawla decided to leave the party alone and invited the Sayyid and his party to dinner. Meanwhile, Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy delivered a very important sermon. Shāh Ismā'il in his usual soldier's uniform visited Mawlānā Ghufrān Ma'āb's house where he asked the Mawlānā to explain the difference between *taqīya* and *nifāq* (hypocrisy). When his answers failed to convince the Shāh, Ghufrān Ma'āb promised to send a written dissertation. When the paper was received the Shāh wrote a refutation of it without consulting any books.³⁵ In view of the fact that Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz was unable to convert more than a couple of Shī'is to Sunnism in Delhi, the stories of

34 T. A., II, ff. 54a-58b; *Makhzan*, 56-69; *Sīrat*, I, 149-156.

35 T. A., II, ff. 42a-51a; *Sīrat*, I, 156-182; *Thānesarī*, pp. 105-111.

Shāh Ismā'il's and Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy's great success appear to be beyond belief and are legends.

After his return to Rae Bareli, the Sayyid decided to set a practical example by reviving the custom of widows' remarriage among the upper classes. The remarriage of widows had always been a taboo topic among upper class Muslims.³⁶ The Sayyid, however, delivered sermons supporting the introduction of widow remarriage and succeeded in persuading the widow of his elder brother, Mawlānā Muhammad Ishāq, to marry him. Later the Sayyid had letters written to his disciples and to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz to popularize this movement.³⁷

In Muharram the Shī'is of Nastrābād, which happened to be Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī Ghufrān Ma'āb's hometown, decided to recite *tabarra* publicly and suggested to the Sunnis that if they were unable to listen to it they should move to some other place for a day or two. The Sunnis wrote to the Sayyid for help. He arrived with his party and informed the Shī'is that they should adhere to their existing practices in the *ta'ziya* procession and should not attempt any innovations. The Shī'is threatened to stop their procession in protest but after a full investigation the local administrator ordered the Shī'is to refrain from starting any new practices. The Muharram passed off peacefully and the Sayyid returned to Rae Bareli. On Chihlum (20 Safar) the Nastrābād Sunnis again asked the Sayyid to help. The Shī'is of Nastrābād had prevailed upon Bādshāh Begum, who held Nastrābād in her *jāgir*, to issue an order to her *'āmil* (administrator) to suppress the Sunni movement. King Ghāzi al-Dīn Haydar, who was estranged from Bādshāh Begum, intervened at the request of his vizier, Mu'tamad al-Dawla Āghā Mīr and ordered the latter to ensure that no rioting took place. Mu'tamad al-Dawla deputed the Sayyid's disciple Faqir Muhammad to organise a force of 500 to maintain peace in Nastrābād. Ghufrān Ma'āb, upon whose help the Shī'is had counted, also asked them to be peaceful. A *mahdar* (legal document) was drawn up by the Shī'is to the effect that they would not depart from the earlier Muharram practices.³⁸ Although the Awadh government was Shī'i, even during their decline they were able to maintain peace and amity between different sects and communities. To Sayyid's leading disciple their victory over the Nastrābād Shī'is was a prelude to their success in their future *jihād*.

The Sayyid and his disciples continually discussed the importance of *hajj* and *jihād* in their private assemblies. In Akbar's reign the orthodox Sunni, Makhdūm al-Mulk Mullā 'Abd-Allāh Sultānpūrī, had issued a *fatwa* saying that the Safavid Shī'is' domination of the land route and Portuguese

36 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, p. 22.

37 *Makhzan*, pp. 43-46; *Sīrat*, I, 183-92; *Thānesarī*, pp. 97-99.

38 *T. A.*, ff. 91b-97b; *Makhzan*, pp. 47-52; *Thānesarī*, pp. 100-102.

control of the sea route had made it dangerous for Muslims undertaking a pilgrimage, and it was no longer obligatory to do so. However, Akbar's court 'ulamā' ridiculed the *fatwa* and the Mughal emperors used to make special arrangements for pilgrim travel.³⁹ The rich Muslims however, like the Makhdūm al-Mulk, were too scared to embark on pilgrimage; those who did not possess adequate means were in any case exempt. Many rich 'ulamā' themselves avoided going on pilgrimage and *fatwas* absolving Muslims from this duty abounded. When the decision of the Sayyid's party to go on a pilgrimage was known, controversy was again sparked off. Some of the Sayyid's disciples were also astonished at his decision, for they knew that the Sayyid was planning to embark on *hijrat* (emigration) and *jihād*. A *fatwa* saying that *hajj* was not obligatory for Muslims was issued. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Shāh Ismā'il wrote a counter-*fatwa*, and Shāh 'Abd al-Aziz endorsed the verdict of his talented disciples. The Sayyid had letters written to his disciples in other parts of India stating that he and his disciples had decided to go on a pilgrimage but had no financial resources. They would do manual labour en route and proceed to their goal. The Sayyid went on a missionary tour to Unnao and Kanpur, while Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy went to Fathpūr (Hanswa) and Dalmaū to persuade Muslims to embark on pilgrimage accompanied by their families.⁴⁰

Finally, at the end of Shawwāl 1236/July 1821, the Sayyid set out from Rae Bareli with a party of 400. Before proceeding further the Sayyid made an encouraging speech reminding them of the merits of *hajj* and prophesying their safe return. However, he allowed those who were wavering to return to their homes. The party crossed the Ganges near Dalmaū on 8 Dhu'lqa'da 1236/7 August 1821 and proceeded towards Allahabad, Mirzāpūr and Banāras. Wherever they stopped they preached against *bid'at* (sinful innovations) and commended strict adherence to the puritanical rules of the shari'a. At Mirzāpūr one of the Sayyid's disciples imposed a scale of fines for participating in different types of Muharram ceremonies. Someone who visited a *ta'ziya* had to feed a Sunni student for a month. In Banāras some of the Sayyid's Sunni disciples destroyed several hundred *ta'ziyas* and used the wood and paper as fuel to cook the party's food. In a different *muḥalla* the Sayyid ordered one of his disciples to destroy the *ta'ziyas*, their platforms and the Muharram banners.

The party left Banāras on 7 Muharram 1237/4 October 1821 and, staying in Zamāniya, Ghāzipūr, Haldiya, Baksar, Ballia, Chhapra, Dānāpūr, reached 'Azimābād (Patna), on 19 Muharram 1237/16 October 1821. In Dānāpūr a disciple destroyed his *ta'ziya* platforms and the

39 Badā'ūni, Mullā Abd al-Qādir, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1884-98, II, p. 203.

40 T. A., II, 105a-108a; *Sīrat*, I, pp. 200-207; Thānesarī, pp. 125-130.

Sayyid laid the foundation of a mosque there. The Imāmbāra was converted into a guest house. In Patna, the Shi'is failed to convince the British magistrate that the Sayyid had embarked on *jihād* against the British and that their destruction of the *ta'ziya* platforms was a threat to peace. The magistrate accepted the Sunni plea that the *ta'ziya* platforms were voluntarily destroyed by their Sunni owners who had been converted by the Sayyid to puritanical Sunni beliefs and that the story of *jihād* against the British was a Shi'i fabrication designed to win British sympathies. A wealthy Shi'i gentleman, Qutb al-Dīn Khān by name, embraced Sunnism and became the Sayyid's disciple.⁴¹

The Sayyid left 'Azimābād on 26 Muharram/23 October and staying in Sūrajgarh, Munger, Bhāgalpūr and Rājmaḥal, arrived at Murshidābād on 5 Safar/1 November. There Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy's sermons made the Sunnis, who had hitherto lived amicably with the Shi'is, aggressively puritanical. Six days later the party reached Calcutta via Hugli. In Calcutta the Sayyid stayed with the British Government attorney, Munshi Amin al-Din. The Munshi controlled British legal interests and was very rich. He also led a very licentious life, but the Sayyid's influence quickly changed him. A large number of Hindus too were converted to Islam by the party. The Bengali Muslims' marriage was arranged by their parents but afterwards they could keep any woman they liked without marrying her. The Sayyid and his party married most of them according to the shari'a rules. The Sayyid also insisted that his Bengali Muslims introduce the veiling of women in their families. In Calcutta also his Bengali disciples destroyed their *ta'ziya* platforms. Sunni leaders from Dacca and other places in Bengal and Assam visited the Sayyid.

Chittagong leaders told the Sayyid that their women, like the Hindus, plastered their kitchen floors with cow dung, and, like the Hindus, took their meals outside the kitchen. The leading Muslims were those who performed two *'ids*. Some Sunnis also celebrated Muharram. They prayed to Bhawāni and also made offerings at the graves of *pīrs* and *shahids*. Mistresses lived with the legally-wedded wives and no objections were raised. The Sayyid explained his inability to visit Chittagong but hoped that his *khalīfas* in Bengal would help its inhabitants.⁴²

As was the case with other places in Calcutta, men of all classes were initiated in the Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya under the Sayyid. Many descendants of other *sūfi* saints were also converted. The Sayyid stayed for about three months in Calcutta.

41 *Makhzan*, pp. 68-71; *T. A.*, II, ff. 114a-155a; *Thānesarī*, pp. 131-33.

42 *Makhzan*, pp. 70-76; *T. A.*, II, ff. 156a-172a.

The Sayyid's biographers eulogistically describe the Sayyid's miraculous success in his career, and there are no means of checking the authenticity of the individual events. However, Hunter's account which is based on the information of the Sayyid's followers embodies similar stories. He says, "A protracted halt at Patna so swelled the number of his followers as to require a regular system of Government. He appointed agents to go forth and collect a tax from the profits of trade in all the large towns which had laid on his route. He further nominated four Khalifas, or Spiritual Vicegerents, and a high priest, by a formal Deed such as the Muhammadan Emperors used in appointing governors of provinces. Having thus formed a permanent centre at Patna, he proceeded towards Calcutta, following the course of the Ganges, making converts and appointing agents in every important town by the way. In Calcutta the masses flocked to him in such numbers, that he was unable even to go through the ceremony of initiation by the separate laying on of hands. Unrolling his turban, therefore, he declared that all who could touch any part of its ample length became his disciples."⁴³

On the whole, the devotion to Sunni puritanism of the Sayyid and his party, which consisted of eminent Sunni 'ulamā' and *sūfī pīrs* of different orders, and their war against sinful innovations and the Hindu and Shi'i accretions of Sunnism, attracted a considerable number of converts to their fold. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy's lectures and Sayyid Ahmad Shahid's short but incisive Urdu sermons, in conjunction with the corporate life of the party, whose members did not hesitate to perform the most menial jobs themselves, and strictly adhered to the shari'a laws, must have impressed even those who were not initiated. The Sayyid very farsightedly appointed a *khalifa* (representative) everywhere he stayed to make sure that the impact he made was not lost and the ideas of puritanism, reliance on God and self-help he introduced were consolidated.

We know that when the party left Rae Bareli they had no financial resources and the gifts which they received everywhere were distributed to the poor. The party were not conscious of any need to accumulate possessions and the flow of gifts was unabating. When the party departed for their pilgrimage they numbered 753; ten boats were hired for a fee of Rs. 13860 and the fare was Rs. 20 per passenger. Sixty more passengers who were declared destitutes were carried free of charge. An *amīr* (commander) was appointed for each boat to control the passengers' religious needs and comforts. The biggest party, consisting of 174 passengers, was under the Sayyid. His boat was the slowest and oldest and sailed behind nine others. Provisions to the value of Rs. 7387 and utensils costing

43 W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, London 1872, 2nd edition, p. 13.

Rs. 653 and 8 annas were also bought. Rs. 1200 extra were paid for making secluded places available for the women.⁴⁴

After a stay of about three months, the party sailed from Calcutta in Jumāda I, 1237/January 1822 and reached Jadda on 28 Sha'bān 1237/20 May 1822. Six days later they reached Mecca. During their stay en route to Mecca, the party tried to eradicate non-Islamic practices. In Mecca, Indian pilgrims and other Muslims were initiated by the Sayyid. The Meccan dignitaries also called on the Sayyid. The *Sirāt-i mustaqim* was translated into Arabic by Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and copies were distributed to Arabic-speaking disciples. The initiation of three disciples from Java is especially mentioned in the sources. The 'ulamā' in the Sayyid's party were very excited at meeting Muhammad bin Shawkānī, a famous Yemenite scholar. Before 10 Dhu'lhiġja/28 August 1822, the Sayyid obtained a pledge from his followers, while they were in 'Aqaba. (the summit of Mina near Mecca), to fight *jihād*. The letter the Sayyid wrote from Mecca to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz describing his spiritual progress and incredible visions horrified a sincere disciple of the Shāh in Calcutta through whom the letter was sent to Delhi. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, however was not alarmed and urged his Calcutta disciple to be patient and wait for the fulfilment of the promises made to the Sayyid by God.⁴⁵

On 5 Safar 1238/22 October 1822, the Sayyid and his party, left for Medina. In Medina the Sayyid refused an invitation from the dignitaries there to attend the 12 Rabi' I, birth anniversary of the Prophet on the ground that no authority to hold the function could be found in the Qur'ān and hadith. However, he frequently visited the tombs of Baqī' and other holy places in Medina. At the end of Rabi' I, the Sayyid's party left Medina for Mecca. On 1 Dhu'lqa'da 1238/10 July 1823 they left Mecca without waiting for a second pilgrimage. The Sayyid's enemies think that the puritanism of the Sayyid's party had made the predominantly anti-Wahhābi elements in Medina and Mecca so deeply hostile to its members that they could stay no more in holy cities. However, travelling via Bombay and Malabar they returned to Calcutta. The Sayyid stayed for about a month in Calcutta waiting for the arrival of a stranded boat. Travelling through Patna, Ghāzīpūr, Banāras, Mirzāpūr and Alla-

44 *T. A.*, II, ff. 181a-196b; Thānesarī, pp. 138-47.

45 Like Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1115/1703-1201/1787) Muhammad bin 'Alī Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834-35) was an eminent Sunnī puritanist and hadith scholar. At the request of an 'ālim in his party, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd had a letter sent through the *qādi* of Mocha to Shawkānī urging him to send his *Mawdu'at-hadīth* to them (*T. A.*, ff. 218a-b.). *T. A.*, II, ff. 220a-224a; *Makhzan*, pp. 90-97; *Sirat*, pp. 283-86; *Makātīb wa Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, University Collections, 'Aligarh, pp. 219-24.

habad the Sayyid and his party arrived back in Rae Bareli on 1 Ramadān 1239/30th April 1824.⁴⁶

The Jihād

The Sayyid stayed in Rae Bareli for about a year and ten months devoting his thoughts mainly to *jihād* and its preparation. He travelled to neighbouring towns to preach *jihād*. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Shāh Ismā'il made more extensive tours and also reached Delhi. There they stayed longer than they meant because of the death of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz on 5 June 1824. Besides arousing the Muslims to fight *jihād* in Allāh's path, these two leaders were involved in refuting objections against the *Sirāt-i mustaqīm* and *Taqwiyat al-imān* by Shāh Ismā'il, for in Delhi, the indefatigable polemicist Mawlawī Rashid al-Dīn and other disciples of the Shāh were, as we shall see, violently opposed to *Taqwiyat al-imān* which by then had been published.

Some statements by Sayyid Ahmad's biographers tend to show that before departing on *hajj*, he and his followers used to discuss *jihād*, but this was only an academic discussion of it as an obligatory Islamic duty. The literature on the Sayyid and his disciples does not name the infidel power whom the Sayyid wished to annihilate before his departure to Mecca. Only *Izāhat al-ghayy* by the Shī'i, Musharraf 'Alī, which seems to have been completed before the Sayyid's departure on *hajj*, throws some light on the subject. The author says that he wrote to Mawlānā, 'Abd al-Hayy asking him to confirm in writing under his signature and seal the following statements which were made in the Sayyid's assemblies and were widely known as correct.

"After his return from the *hajj*, the *Pir* will gird his loins to annihilate the Shī'is of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Later he will defeat the English army in three different battles. His third battle will completely wipe out the English. In the battle against the Sikhs, the *Pir's* right shoulder will be injured by a Sikh spear, but God will rub His hands on the *Pir's* shoulder and would cure him. Ultimately the defeated Sikhs will become the *Pir's* followers."

Although Musharraf 'Alī wrote provocatively that unless a clear reply was received from Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy he would be deemed to be practising *taqiya*,⁴⁷ a taboo to the Sunnis, no reply seems to have been received. However, the Sayyid believed that the alleged atrocities of Ranjit Singh in the Panjāb, and the Sikh domination over the Peshāwar region, had made the Afghāns fierce enemies of the Sikhs. Relying on their co-operation he made the war against the Sikhs his principal objective.

⁴⁶ *Makhzan*, pp. 98-116; Thānesari, pp. 149-61.

⁴⁷ *Izāhat al-ghayy*, ff. 28a-b.

Until the independence of the Indian sub-continent, Sayyid Ahmad's *jihād* movement was interpreted as a war against the Sikhs. (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khān, alarmed by the publication in June 1871 of W. W. Hunter's *The Indian Musalmans*, dealing mainly with the Wahhābis and the economic decline of the Muslims, wrote a series of articles in *The Pioneer* refuting Hunter's observations. In 1872 these were published in Banāras in a book entitled *Review on Hunter's Indian Musalmans*. According to (Sir) Syed Ahmad, Shāh Ismā'il declared in Calcutta that *jihād* against the British was out of the question for "under the English rule, Mohamedans were not persecuted, and, as they were the subjects of that Government, they were bound by their religion not to join in a *jihād* against it."⁴⁸ Modern scholars question the authenticity of (Sir) Syed's information about Shāh Ismā'il, but (Sir) Syed Ahmad's statements that his (Sayyid Ahmad Shāhid's) activities were known to the English, cannot be disputed. (Sir) Syed Ahmad's thesis is further elaborated in Mawlawī Muhammad Ja'far Thāneswarī's *Sawānīh Ahmadi awr tārikh-i 'ajib* and in Mirzā Hayrat, *Hayāt-i tayyiba*. The works, written after the independence of India, gloss over the Sayyid's *jihād* against the Sikhs and state his main objective was to fight the British. Pakistānī scholars do not have any such inhibitions. To them war against the Sikhs was also a war of Muslim national independence. The letters which the Sayyid wrote to the Khāns of Transoxiana and the rulers of Kābul during the war against the Sikhs, indicate that he had resolved to found an Islamic kingdom from Peshāwar to Calcutta. Although the letters were written to allay the suspicions of the Afghān and Central Asian princes, the overall view of the material is that, after defeating the Sikhs, the party intended to liberate India from the English. The Sayyid's objectives were too mystical and chimerical for the British to have paid them any serious attention, but, to the Sayyid's party, martyrdom in *jihād* was an end in itself, and hopes of heavenly rewards had made them oblivious of any advance plannings.

On 27 Jumāda II, 1241/6 January 1826 the Sayyid and the party set out on *jihād*. Their first important halt was at Gwalior where Mahārāja Dawlat Rāo Sindia and his prime minister, Hindū Rāo, offered the party lavish hospitality. The Sayyid divided his party, which consisted of some 550 soldiers into five groups. From Gwalior the party went to Tonk, and then made the arduous journey to Sind through Mārwar. The Amīrs of Sind entertained the Sayyid but their response to *jihād* itself was very disappointing. On 14 Dhu'lhiġja 1241/20 July 1826 the party left for Qandahār via Shāl (Quetta).

48 Syed Ahmad Khān Bahādur, *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans*, Benāres 1872, pp. 14-15.

The Governor of Quetta received the party warmly. Mihrāb Khān, the ruler of Qalāt, who was at war with Qandahār, took no interest in the Sayyid's expedition. The governor of Qandahār would not allow his soldiers to join the Sayyid's army and, only 270 of the 'ulamā' and students were permitted to accompany the Sayyid. Travelling through Ghaznī, the party reached Kābul where its ruler, Sultān Muhammad Khān, personally received the Sayyid in his capital. There the Sayyid stayed for about one-and-a-half months but, finding the Durrānī internecine wars interminable, the party left for Peshāwar, arriving there at the end of Jumāda I, 1242/December 1826.⁴⁹ From Peshāwar, the Sayyid visited Charsadda in Hashtnagar. The local Yūsufza'is, who had been subdued by Ranjit Singh's army, were greatly encouraged by the Sayyid's determination to crush Sikh power. Budh Singh Sindhanwālia, Ranjit Singh's commander in the region, was alarmed and moved to Akora near Attak and Nowshehra. The Sayyid, at the head of 1,500 warriors, (500 Indians, 200 Qandahāris and 800 irregular tribesmen) also hastened to Nowshehra. On 18 Jumāda I, 1242/18 December 1826 the Sayyid sent the following ultimatum to Ranjit Singh :

Voluntarily embrace Islam which will make you a brother to the rest of the Muslim community.

Or

Surrender and pay *jizya* (poll tax) in order to qualify for our protection. Should none of the above alternatives be acceptable to you, get ready to fight, noting the fact that the entire Yāghistān and Hindustān are with us and that we love martyrdom more than you love wine.⁵⁰

Without waiting for a reply to the ultimatum the Sayyid decided to make a surprise midnight attack on 21 Jumāda I, 1242/21 December 1826, on the 7,000-strong Sikh army encamped across the river Landa'ī. Before the Sikhs could waken, the Sayyid's army is said to have slaughtered 700 of the Sikhs losing some 36 Indian and 40-45 Qandahāris itself. The band of the Afghān tribesmen plundered the Sikh camp and appropriated much booty. The Sayyid's first victory over the Sikhs made a very deep impact on the Yūsufza'is, and they flocked around him. Budh Singh moved to Shaidū at the invitation of Khādī Khān, the tribal chief of Hund (Ohind, or Waihind, north-east of Attak). The Sayyid also moved and camped near Attak. He made peace between Khādī Khān of Hund, Ashraf Khān of Zayda and Fath Khān of Panjtār, the local Afghān tribal leaders. His own ranks swelled to 5,000. The Sayyid allowed the tribesmen, at their

⁴⁹ *Manzūrat al-Su'ada*, pp. 640-70 ; *Sīrat*, pp. 354-92.

⁵⁰ *Thānesarī*, pp. 216-17, 220-21.

request, to make a night attack on the flourishing commercial centre, Hadrū by name, across the river Indus, near Hund. Before dawn they returned, having killed several Sikhs. The undisciplined tribesmen then attempted to decamp with their booty causing great confusion. Many regular soldiers were drowned. The Sayyid's reinforcements saved his regular forces from further losses. The irregulars refused to surrender their booty, estimated to be worth Rs. 15,00,000 and the Sayyid deferred enforcing the laws governing the distribution of *ghanima* (booty).⁵¹

The disorganised plunder after the first two battles prompted the 'ulamā'. the Sayyids and tribal leaders to elect Sayyid Ahmad as their Imām (*khalīfa*) in order that in future the *jihād* should be conducted in an orderly manner and the shari'a ordinances be effectively introduced among the *mujāhidīn*. On 12 Jumāda II, 1242/11 January 1827, the Sayyid was formally elected Imām or *khalīfa*. He assumed the title of *amīr al-mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful). The tribesmen called him Sayyid Bādshāh (King). On the following Friday the *khutba* was read in the Sayyid's name.⁵²

Three days later Budh Singh wrote the following letter of protest to the Sayyid :

"You have covered a very long distance from your country in order to provoke a war and have placed on your body the garment of martyrdom. It was incumbent on you to fight on an open battle-field. The night-attack and assault on the poor and the merchants of Hadrū to satisfy your carnal self are an eternal disgrace."

The Sayyid wrote a long reply stating that wars were fought for three different reasons :

1. the acquisition of wealth and power ;
2. exhibition of courage ;
3. to gain martyrdom.

His (the Sayyid's) aim, however, was to obey God and to promote the interests of Islam. Were the important rulers to accept Islam, he (the Sayyid) would be their whole-hearted well-wisher.⁵³

War against the Sikhs became imminent. The Sayyid wrote letters to his Indian disciples and tribal chiefs and their followers who had already exhibited their willingness to wage *jihād*, asking them to hurry and join for *jihād*.

51 Thānesarī, pp. 220-21.

52 Letter to Dūst Muhammad Khān of Kābul, *Makātīb*, ff. 136b-38a ; *Manzūrat al-Su'ada*, pp. 39-47, 65-66, 146, 306-10 ; Thānesarī, p. 225.

53 *Sīrat*, I, pp. 407-10.

The tribal chiefs in the Sayyid's army also sent the news of the emergence of an Imām to other *khāns* (chiefs) and invited them to rally round the Sayyid's banner. They also wrote to Yār Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Peshāwar, and his brother Sultān Muhammad Khān of Kohāt, saying that the Muslims in the Panjāb had no means of liberating themselves from the yoke of the ferocious polytheist (Sikh) rule, and that no ruler from Sistān or Khurāsān, or chief from Qandahār, Kābul or Peshāwar, had lent an ear to the cry of the oppressed Muslims of the region. It was Sayyid Ahmad's arrival that had filled them with hope. He had no interest in booty or in ruling the territory but had been asking Muslims to fight against the infidels for Islam's sake. The Sayyid himself wrote similar letters. In a proclamation he wrote "He (Allāh) hath bestowed on those who strive (here—fight non-Muslims), a great reward above the sedentary."⁵⁴ Further the Qur'ān promises "Degrees of rank from Him, and forgiveness and mercy."⁵⁵ The duty to fight a *jihād* in order that full worldly and heavenly merit might be obtained are spelled out by the shari'a laws. To meet that objective, the appointment of an Imām was imperative. The Qur'ān says :

"O ye who believe ! Obey Allāh, and obey the messenger, and those of you who are in authority."⁵⁶

"And if any tidings, whether of safety or fear, come unto them, they noise it abroad, whereas if they had referred it to the messenger and such of them as are in authority, and those among them who are able to think out the matter would have known it."⁵⁷

The Qur'ānic verses and *ahādith* calling upon believers to recognise the imām are innumerable, for instance a hadith says : "One who does not recognise the imām of the age dies the death of ignorance." Since the predominance of infidels and evildoers has made *jihād* an obligatory duty in that age, the appointment of an Imām is also imperative and peremptory. It was thought that God should be thanked that he had first inspired him (the Sayyid) from the invisible world to the appointment of that noble rank (Imām). Later a very large body of people consisting of true believers, Sayyids, eminent 'alims, noble *mashā'ikh* (sūfī leaders), great *khāns* and noble and common people invested him (the Sayyid) with that high office. On Thursday 12 Jumāda II, 1242, a large number of these classes, of whom Khādi Khān, Ashraf Khān, Sa'adat Khān, Bahrām

54 Qur'ān, IV, 95.

55 Qur'ān, IV, 96.

56 Qur'ān, IV, 59.

57 Qur'ān, IV, 83.

Khān were the most prominent, made *bay'a* with him and elected him their imām. The *khutba* was read in his (the Sayyid's) name. God willing, the blessings of that *sunna* would make them victorious. Those Muslims who were not present should also gird their loins to fight *jihād* and make *bay'a* with his (the Sayyid's) deputies and join the *jihād* with lofty minds. All Muslims must recite the *khutba* in his (the Sayyid's) name so that the war against the infidels and the congregational prayers should be performed in accordance with *shari'a* rules.⁵⁸

The letters written by the Sayyid and the Yūsufza'ī chiefs of Panjtār, Zayda and Hund were a great success. About 80,000 Yūsufza'īs assembled to fight *jihād*, which to them meant wreaking vengeance on the Sikhs. Sardār Yār Muhammad Khān, Sultān Muhammad Khān, Pir Muhammad Khān of Peshāwar region and the villagers of Sarma'ī near Newshehra, awaited the Sayyid's orders. The Durrānī army of about 20,000 arrived at the opposing ends of the river Landa'ī. Ranjit Singh despatched reinforcements to Budh Singh and Harī Singh Nalwa, the governor of Hazāra moved to the Indus with his army. The Sayyid's army marched towards Akora via Newshehra. The *mujāhidīn* were successful in their initial skirmishes with the Sikhs who sustained considerable losses. However, when the actual battle took place at Shaydū, Yār Muhammad, who had undertaken to send food to the Sayyid, treacherously administered poison to him. During the battle Yār Muhammad was stationed at the extreme left of the battlefield and took no part in fighting it. It was with great difficulty that Shāh Muhammad Ismā'il managed to extract the Sayyid safely from the thick of the battle when the poison began to show effect. The Sikhs were victorious and Ranjit Singh celebrated the victory on a grand scale in Lahore.⁵⁹

The Sayyid reached Chingla'ī where he stayed for a month to recuperate, before touring for about three months in the Buner and Sawāt regions with a party of about 300 disciples. On 2 Dhu'lqā'da 1242/28 May 1827 Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy who had been left at Tonk joined the Sayyid at Chārbāgh. The Sayyid's tour enhanced the tribes' confidence. On 11 Dhu'lhiġja 1242/6 July 1827 his party encamped at Panjtār beyond Samah had the Landa'ī river. One thousand *mujāhidīn* joined him there, the Sayyid settled 700 in the adjoining villages and kept 300 with him. Fath Khān, the chief of Panjtār devotedly served the Sayyid. The chiefs of Sawāt, Agror, Amb, Muzaffarābād, and other tribal leaders of Hazāra, rallied round the Sayyid's banners to fight the Sikhs. Sulaymān Shāh of

58 *Sīrat*, I, pp. 418-19. For legality of Friday prayers, *Supra*, pp. 229-30.

59 Thānesari, pp. 220-30; *Sīrat*, II, 1-12, Mihr, pp. 389-401; Diwān Amarnāth, *Zafar-nāma*, Lahore 1928, p. 181; *'Umdat al-tawārīkh*, II, p. 341.

Chitrāl, contemplating a bid to seize Kashmīr, was keen to join the Sayyid.⁶⁰

Letters survive written by the Sayyid to the rulers of Kābul, Peshāwar, Kohāt, Bannū, Hashtnagar, Hirāt, Bukhārā, Qunduz and Chitrāl, and to Āsaf Jāh III and Ahmad 'Alī of Rāmpūr. They spell out the reasons for starting *jihād* and ask the recipients to send their forces should it be impossible for them to participate personally. In his letter to Shāh Mahmud Durrānī, the sultān of Hirāt, the Sayyid wrote :

“There is a great difference between the *imāma* and the sultanate. The *imām* is appointed to organize *jihād* and uproot rebellion and insurrection. The real objective of the *imām* is not to rule countries, cities, tracts (of lands) and districts. The real aim of the *imām* is to transfer the sultanate to its rightful owner. Conversely, the real objective of the rulers of the sultanate is to consolidate their power, to rule, to conquer other countries and to extend their boundaries.”⁶¹

The sultān was invited to fight *jihād* to regain his lawful rights. Nasr-Allāh, the ruler of Bukhārā, was sent a long letter. It begins with an account of his ancestor Sayyid 'Alam-Allāh, an important *khalīfa* of Sayyid Ādam Banūrī and effectively underlines his (the Sayyid's) Naqsh-bandiyya Mujaddidiyya links. In this letter the threat of both Sikh and British domination over India is emphasized. It says, “The Indian territories in principle (*az asl*) are not *dār al-harb* but the Indian and English infidels have in fact seized them. Therefore their liberation is imperative for all Muslims in general and important rulers in particular.”⁶² The letter goes on to say, “The wicked Christians and the horrible polytheists have seized most of the Indian territories from the river Abāsīn (Indus) to the deep ocean. The area extends to six months' journey. They have spread the net of deception and dissimulation, rendering Allāh's faith obscure. They harass the Muslims in general and their leaders in particular. They have extended their hands of tyranny over the mosques and Islamic places of worship. The shari'a laws have been obliterated and the laws of infidelity introduced.” The letter goes on to say, “The Frank (English) infidels who have seized India are very experienced, clever, and wily. Were they to invade Khurāsān, the region would easily pass into their hands and their territories would then adjoin your (the ruler of Bukhārā) territory. The boundaries of the *dār al-harb* would become adjacent to the *dār al-Islām*.” The letter thus aroused both

60 *Sawānīh*, II, pp. 13-18 ; Mīhr, pp. 418-31.

61 *Makātib Sayyid Ahmad*, Photolitho, Lahore, f. 18a.

62 *Ibid*, ff. 25a-b, 28a-b ; also *Supra*, pp. 225-237.

fear and indignation. As regards the Sayyid's own objectives, the letter states that the domination of the English and the Indian infidels over India filled his (the Sayyid's) heart with pain and he was divinely inspired to perform *hijra* and *jihād*. He first went on pilgrimage to Mecca with about 800 people and later received an inspiration from the invisible world to declare himself an *imām*, and Allāh promised him victory over the infidels and the success in the restoration of the Prophet's *sunna* to its dominant position. The community of the Sayyids, 'ulamā', *qādis*, *sūfis*, *khāns* and important common people performed *bay'a* at his hands. This decision had made war against the infidels inevitable and the congregational prayers of Friday and 'id legal. In this letter, the Sayyid, swore by God that neither the conquest of territory nor the founding of kingdoms nor the accumulation of treasure and riches had ever been his objective.⁶³

The Sayyid's letters did not receive a satisfactory response however, and his mission was not taken seriously. His assumption of the title of *imām* was also treated as an innovation, for the division of power between an *imām* and a *sultān* had no precedent in the history of Sunni Islam. Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd, the spokesman of the Sayyid's *imāma*, wrote innumerable letters to allay misgivings, and also compiled a Persian treatise entitled the *Imāmat*. The most difficult task for the Sayyid was, however, to unify the tribes and make them replace their customary laws and traditions with the puritanical Sunni principles of the *mujāhidīn*. Although some local *mullās* had joined the Sayyid, they were not interested in renouncing their customary laws. The following are the important tribal customs the Sayyid wished to see replaced or abolished.

1. The *isqāt* was the term used for the expiation of the sins of the dead. The ceremony was performed by *mullās* who passed a copy of the Qur'ān and some money from one of the assembled mourners to another. Later the Qur'ān and money were handed over to the whole group.
2. The bride-price : This was fixed at such a high rate that many men who could not afford it remained unmarried. Girls also remained spinsters for want of men who could pay the price.
3. If the bridegroom were unable to pay the full amount, the bride was not sent to the bridegroom's house until the money was paid off. A large number of bridegrooms were forced to do hard labour to procure sufficient money.
4. Tribal jealousies had closed the eyes of the tribes to truth and justice. Their rivalries were endemic.
5. The distribution of wives of a deceased male among the heirs like the rest of the estate.

63 *Makātīb*, ff. 25a-29a.

6. The unfulfilment of promises.
7. The predomination of worldly gain over spiritual consideration.
8. Men marrying more than four wives.
9. Women having no right to inherit property.
10. Rich men wearing silk garments and drinking liquor.
11. Robbery and thuggee which were considered as equivalent to *jihād*.⁶⁴

The introduction of the puritanical reforms was an uphill task, but the Sayyid believed that without adherence to the correct sharī'a principles, *jihād* was meaningless. Groups of Indian disciples continued to arrive from Calcutta, Patna, Gorakhpūr, Rae Bareli, (Bāns) Bareilly, Rāmpūr, Amroha, Delhi, Pānīpat, and Tonk. Money was collected throughout British India and despatched to Peshāwar through *hundis* (bills of exchange). When Peshāwar rebelled against the Sayyid, the *hundis* were sent to Manāra near Hund: but there were considerable problems involved in cashing the *hundis*. It is not known whether devices recommended by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz to legalise the *hundis* from the sharī'a point of view were adopted.

Mawlānā Mahbūb 'Alī, a leading disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's agent for recruitment in Delhi and had arrived with a party to help the Sayyid in 1243/1827, was deeply disappointed by the Sayyid fighting the Muslim tribes. His subsequent desertion and departure for Delhi⁶⁵ was a considerable setback to the movement. The Sayyid's disciples did not lose heart however. They made a night attack on the Sikh entrenchment at Damgala commanding the Muzaffarābād route. A Sikh fortress at Shinkārī was also attacked and losses inflicted on the Sikhs. In Jumāda II, 1243/December 1827, the Sayyid transferred his camp from Panjtār to Kharr on the left bank of the Sawāt river for defensive reasons, and himself toured the different tribal boundaries. A major tragedy was the death of Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy on 8 Sha'bān 1243/24 February 1828.

The Sayyid lived at Kharr for about one year but his Afghān followers were soon divided into several groups and the Durrānīs became the *mujāhidīn's* inveterate enemies. In the summer of 1828, the Sayyid's force invaded Utmanza'i, but the Durrānī position suffered little damage. In Jumāda II, 1244/December 1828, the Sayyid moved again to Panjtār. On 1 Sha'bān 1244/6 February 1829, he collected the Afghān 'ulamā' and other leaders and reiterated his demand that they submit to the sharī'a laws. Afterwards the *bay'a* was renewed with him and the Afghāns

64 Mihr, pp. 56-57; *Manzūrat al-Su'ada*, pp. 804-7, 876-80, 920-23, 990-99; Thānesarī, pp. 263-64.

65 *Manzūrat al-Su'ada*, pp. 361-68, 751-52, 1090-91; Thānesarī, pp. 234-35; *Strat*, II, pp. 48-59.

pledged their adherence to the shari'a laws. Then the Sayyid made peace between Fath Khān of Panjtār and his brother Nasir Khān, but the gulf of jealousy widened between Fath Khān, who had become the Sayyid's favourite, and Khādi Khān of Hund.

In the wake of the introduction of the shari'a laws, the land belonging to the tribes of Maneri at the mouth of Panjtār was restored to its original owners and the usurpers who had conquered it about a hundred years earlier were dispossessed. Khādi Khān did not agree with the shari'a decision and urged that the customary law of possession by those who had seized tribal land in warfare should be honoured. Khādi Khān then took shelter with Ranjit Singh's French general, Baptiste Ventura, who, however, failed to collect the taxes and was driven out by the *mujāhidin*.

The confidence of the local Samah tribe in the Sayyid's leadership increased and more tribes joined him. However, Khādi Khān remained adamant in his decision to defend the customary tribal laws. Once again Ventura appeared near Panjtār with his Sikh forces but the *mujāhidin* forced him to retreat. In a last bid to win him over, Shāh Ismā'il met Khādi who proudly refused to abandon his position. Whereupon Shāh Ismā'il made a surprise attack on Hund, rushing in when the doors of the fort were opened. Some guards were killed and the fort was seized. Khādi did not at first believe the news, but the firing of the *mujāhidin*'s guns awakened him from the abyss of illusion. His soldiers took to flight and he was killed by the *mujāhidin*.

Khādi Khān's brother, Amīr Khān, opened negotiation with the Sayyid to obtain possession of Hund, but at the same time treacherously invited Yār Muhammad Khān of Peshāwar to assist him against the Sayyid, promising to pay him ten to twelve thousand rupees. To Yār Muhammad, it was a golden opportunity to dominate the region. He marched with an army against the *mujāhidin* and arrived near Zayda. The Sayyid urged Yār Muhammad to cease hostilities and submit to the shari'a laws. Yār Muhammad contemptuously rejected the Sayyid's offers of friendship. On the eve of 5 Rabi' I, 1245/4 September 1829, Shāh Ismā'il made a night attack on Yār Muhammad's army and seized their guns. Yār Muhammad was mortally wounded and died before reaching Peshāwar. The *mujāhidin* entered Panjtār victoriously. Amīr Khān was killed by the villagers he had hoped to rule.

The Sayyid did not make an immediate dash on to Peshāwar. Yār Muhammad's brother, Sultān Muhammad, became Peshāwar's ruler and retrieved the prestige of the ruling house. The Sayyid hoped to consolidate his power in Hazāra and then conquer Kashmir. Pāyanda Khān, the Tanāoli chief was also disillusioned by the Sayyid's Islamic government and refused to make *bay'a*. The Sayyid defeated him. At Pāyanda

Khān's request Hari Singh Nalwa's Sikh army fought against the *mujāhidin* at Phūlra near Mānsahra. The Sikhs were defeated in the first battle but ultimately obtained victory and the Sayyid returned to Panjtār.⁶⁶

Meanwhile Sultān Muhammad of Peshāwar marched against the Sayyid declaring him an impostor. Sultān Muhammad's army consisted of 2,000 cavalry, 4,000 infantry and two heavy and four light pieces of artillery. A battle took place at Mājār village and the Sultān Muhammad's army was defeated. The Sayyid and his victorious army entered into Peshāwar without facing any resistance. Sultān Muhammad was forgiven and made the governor of Peshāwar. *Qādīs* were appointed to introduce the shari'a law and (*'ushr*) and tax collectors were appointed at different places. Both the collection of *'ushr* and the enforcement of shari'a law, particularly as the latter, which interfered with customary marriage laws, made the Sayyid's government exceedingly unpopular in Peshāwar.⁶⁷ According to the Sayyid's apologists, he did not insist on the remarriage of widows, but demanded that each such married girl as previously had not been sent to her husband's house until full payment of the bride money was made, should be given to her husband within three days. Each mature girl had to be married within a month and sent to her husband. The Sayyid's apologists admit that many irresponsible *mujāhids* did not enforce orders rightly.⁶⁸

According to Mawlānā 'Ubayd-Allāh Sindī, a Hindustānī follower of the Sayyid forcibly married the daughter of the chief of the Khweshgī tribe. The leader was so deeply offended that he made peace with the Khatak tribe against whom he had a long-standing feud. The Khatak leader snatched the scarf from his own daughter's head in a tribal assembly, saying that so long as the Khweshgī girl's honour was not avenged, she should consider herself dishonoured. The bare-headed Khatak girl was taken from place to place in order to arouse the Afghān tribes to rise against the *mujāhids* in the name of vindicating Afghān honour.⁶⁹ This story, which is based on Sindī's personal research in the Afghān tribal region, cannot be summarily dismissed as malicious, for he is accepted as a distinguished authority on Shāh Walī-Allāh's movement and is deeply admired by orthodox Sunni scholars. It is also compatible with both the Afghān tribal and *mujāhidin* mentality.

The Sayyid's difficulties were compounded by the dissemination of

66 Sayyid Murād 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Tanāwalyān*, Lahore 1975, pp. 50-56. According to the Sayyid's biographers, Pāyanda Khān was treacherous and was defeated. However, these accounts also show that the Sayyid failed to obtain hold over Hazāra. *Manzūrat al-Su'ada*, pp. 357-90, 519-26, 728-35.

67 *Manzūrat al-Su'ada*, pp. 804-7, 920-23.

68 *Sirat*, II, pp. 309-17; Mihr, pp. 284-88.

69 Mawlānā 'Ubayd-Allāh Sindī, *Shāh Walī-Allāh awr unki siyāsī tahrīk*, Lahore 1970, 4th edition, p. 122.

letters, tracts and messages from India saying that he and his party were *ghayr muqallids* (not conforming to Hanafī law) and Wahhābīs. In order to defend his mission against such vilification, the Sayyid wrote a long letter to the 'ulamā' of Peshāwar on 19 Rabi' II, 1245/18 October 1829. In it he stated that he (the Sayyid) and the entire body of *mujāhidīn* were falsely accused of being heretics and irreligious, of not adhering to any specific fiqh rules (*madhhab*) and of being licentious and greedy. Refuting the tirades of the hostile 'ulamā', the Sayyid wrote that his family was well-known in India. Both his ancestors and he strictly followed the Hanafī laws and none of his teachings violated Hanafī principles. However, as a human being he was liable to error and was prepared to admit it. The learned men in each school of jurisprudence acted differently from the common people. The former preferred some traditions over others as the basis for their reasoning. Such learned men had always been engaged in reconciling their ancestor's statements with the conflicting rulings in the religious texts. This did not make them outcasts, for it was everyone's duty to understand the spirit of those who differed. However, those who had doubts should feel themselves free to discuss the controversial questions with him. Referring to the accusation that he committed atrocities, the Sayyid wrote that, unless compelled by the sharī'a, he had never struck anyone unnecessarily, even a dog. However, he regarded the punishments he inflicted on the hypocrites and apostates as a divine blessing. In fact, enthusiasm for strengthening the faith and the contemptuous treatment of its enemies were basic elements of faith. However, he went on, if he (the Sayyid) had committed any mistakes, it was incumbent upon them (the 'ulamā') to warn him personally and not to spread scandal in the assemblies. They should not desert him during *jihād* because of his faults. The hadīth said that *jihād* would last until Judgment Day; neither the tyranny of tyrants nor the justice of righteous men would end it.

The latter added that allegations of his (the Sayyid's) irascibility and vindictiveness were also wrong. Often he had unconditionally pardoned the spies of hypocrites and infidels, so how could any wise man believe that he would lose his temper when commanding what was lawful and prohibiting what was wrong?⁷⁰ In a different letter to the 'ulamā' he justified his wars against the Muslim tribal chiefs.⁷¹

However the discontent in Peshāwar did not subside. Sultān Muhammad's supporters complained that Yār Muhammad, who was an imām (ruler) had been unjustly killed, as was Khādī Khān. The Peshāwar 'ulamā' did not accept the Sayyid's defence on the pleading of the Sayyid's *qādis*. Early in November 1830, Sultān Muhammad's brother killed the

70 *Makātīb*, ff. 115b-118b.

71 *Ibid*, ff. 118b-120a.

Sayyid's *qādi* of Peshāwar and some of his associates. At several other places the Sayyid's *'alims* and *mujāhidin* were murdered in cold-blood. The Sayyid was deeply hurt and began to plan to emigrate to some other country.⁷² Apart from the night attacks, the *jihād* against the Sikhs had not yet made any headway, in fact *mujāhidin* were being mercilessly slaughtered by Muslim tribesmen and the shari'a rules being violated.

Sikh depredations in Hazāra increased. Many chiefs from the Pakhli and Kāghān valley, who had been expelled from their territories, sought the Sayyid's assistance. The Sayyid decided to mount a major offensive against the Sikhs in Kashmir in order to preserve his power. In Rajab 1246/December 1830, he abandoned Panjtār and set out with some 1,500 *mujāhidin* mostly Indians, towards Bālākot on the road to Muzaffarābād. Shāh Ismā'il was sent in advance. Ranjit Singh ordered his leading general, Sher Singh, to crush the *mujāhidin*. Sher Singh encamped on the eastern bank of the Kabbār river below Bālākot. On 24 Dhu'lqa'da 1246/6 May 1831 both armies were locked in a fierce battle. The *mujāhidin* put up a stubborn fight. The Sikh army retreated to a paddy field. The Sayyid pursued them with drawn sword but was separated from the *mujāhidin* and was shot dead in the field. Shāh Ismā'il was severely wounded while heading towards the area where the Sayyid was killed, and himself died. The retreating Sikhs thereupon turned back and made short work of the *mujāhidin*. About 300 *mujāhidin* were killed; some estimates are much higher. Some 700 Sikhs lost their lives. The Sayyid's dead body was not found. Three days after the Sikh's departure the Muslims of Bālākot buried the dead. A number of the Sayyid's disciples believed that he had not been killed but had mysteriously disappeared like a Mahdi and would reappear to lead the *mujāhidin* to victory. Several of the Sayyid's family traditions support this latter view. The local people reported that they had seen the Sayyid moving about around the river or in the paddy-fields. Mawlawi Wilāyat 'Alī and Mawlawi 'Ināyat 'Alī, whom the Sayyid had sent away from Panjtār in 1828, to obtain and send reinforcements and money from Deccan and Bengal respectively, became enthusiastic propagators of the belief that the Sayyid would return.⁷³

Puritanical and Jihād literature

The basic manual of the *mujāhidin* was the *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*. It contains the Sayyid's discourses but, like the *sūfi malfūzāt* literature, was compiled mainly by Shāh Ismā'il, although sections in the second and third chapters were written by Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy. The lectures in the *Sirāt-i*

72 Thānesari, pp. 275-78.

73 *Manzūrat al-Su'ada*, pp. 1049-1118; Thānesari, pp. 282-90; *Sirāt*, II, pp. 411-463; Mihr, pp. 234-435.

mustaqim were delivered in Persian but the Sayyid also lectured in contemporary Hindi/Urdu. His verbs and pronouns are Hindi while the nouns and adverbs are partly Hindi and partly Arabic and Persian. Modern Urdu scholars consider the Sayyid's works and the *mujāhidīn* literature in general as pioneering Urdu prose.⁷⁴ Even Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz quoted the following Hindi statement of the Sayyid in his assemblies :

"*Dunyā jāe bakher hai*" (The world is a troublesome place).⁷⁵ The *Sirāt-i mustaqim* has been described by the English as the bible of the Indian Wahhābīs. It was compiled at Delhi in 1233/1817-18 before the Sayyid left for Mecca but this does not mean that at that time Najdī Wahhābī ideas were unknown to the Muslim intellectuals in India. The *Izāhat al-ghayy* pointedly accuses the Sayyid and his party of propagating Wahhābī militancy in India.⁷⁶

Although many of the aspects of Sunni puritanism discussed in the *Sirāt-i mustaqim* such as the divine unity, and condemnation of popular Indian *sūfī* practices are based on the teachings of Shāh Wali-Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, the Sayyid was known as *ghayr muqallid* or *salafī* (one who does not strictly adhere to the *fiqh* of one of the four great founders or the Imāms of Sunni *fiqh*). The Sayyid however, called himself a Hanafī. He urged his disciples not to follow *fiqh* texts blindly as they followed the authentic *ahādīth*, and told them that it was essential that the authenticity of the *fatāwā* be also ascertained, for they too contained both authentic and inauthentic material. Consequently, he and his followers are called *Ahl al-Hadīth*.

Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan Khān a leading apologist of the Sayyid says :

"On the basis of the Sayyid's *jihād* in the Afghān region, the Indian worshippers of graves and *pīrs* consider that the movement of the Sayyid originated from the movement of Shaykh Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb Najdī. They indulge in irresponsible speeches and writings, but in fact the movement of Sayyid Ahmad was neither esoterically nor exoterically connected with Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Najdī. *Jihād* was not invented by the Najdī Shaykh. The Qur'ān *ahādīth*, *fiqh* works and other branches of Islamic literature discuss *jihād*. Unless the prescribed conditions for *jihād* are fulfilled, it cannot be waged. For this reason the Sayyid did not fight *jihād* against the British in India. He therefore went out of the British territories and fought *jihād* against the Sikhs and Afghāns.⁷⁷

74 Muhammad 'Abd al-Halīm Chishtī 'Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd kī tahrīk kā athar Urdu adab par,' *al-Rahīm*, February 1966, pp. 636-58; *al-Rahīm*, March 1966, pp. 705-720; *al-Rahīm*, April 1966, pp. 798-803; Fārūqī, Khwāja Ahmad, Urdu men Wahhābī Adab, *Chirāgh-i rahguzar*, Delhi 1974, pp. 109-143.

75 *Malfūzāt*, p. 118.

76 *Izāhat al-ghayy*, f. 19a; *Supra*, p. 68.

77 Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan Khān, *Taqsa-i juyūd al-dhrār*, Bhupāl 1298/1881, pp. 109-10.

According to the Sayyid's disciple, Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī of Jawnpūr, his teacher was strict Hanafī and always saw to it that the *ahādīth* on which Imām Abū Hanīfa based his rulings were thoughtfully evaluated.⁷⁸ Unlike the Wāhhābī literature, the *Sirāt-i mustaqīm* is predominantly *sūfī*. It begins with a discussion on differences between *hubb-i nafsānī* (passion for the self) or *'ishq* and *hubb-i imānī* (passion for belief) or *hubb-i 'aqlī* (rational love). *Hubb-i nafsānī* belongs to the initial *sūfī* stages and *hubb-i imānī* is concerned with the perfection of prophets and the highest achievements of eminent saints. Many *sūfīs* confuse the former with the latter and fruitlessly expend their energies in reconciling the achievements of the prophets and eminent saints with the preliminary mystic attainments and confused ecstasies of mystics sunk in *'ishq*. In short *'ishq* (love) is that state of restlessness and confusion which is born in the human heart out of the inability of the lover to attain his objective. From the heart it permeates all the mental faculties. The highest objective of *'ishq* is union with the beloved. When the objective of the lover is achieved his confusion ends. *Hubb-i imānī* arouses in the seeker's heart the need to search for unknown and unattained objectives. In that state the hardships of the search become easier for him and he girds his loins to overcome all impediments. This passion originates from reason (*'aql*) and then penetrates all the mental faculties. *Hubb-i nafsānī* leads to the extinction of knowledge i.e. loss of consciousness of everything, including the self, except of the beloved. *Hubb-i imānī* leads to the extinction of passions and culminates in an approximation to prophethood. It is named the road to *nubuwwa* (prophethood) or *nisbat-i nubuwwa*, (affiliation with the prophethood). The mystic journey of *'ishq* ends with *ma'rifa* (gnosis) and is known as *nisbat-i wilāya* (affiliation with the protégé of God).⁷⁹

Hubb-i 'ishqī is aroused by ascetic exercises, but listening to music, love-stories and poetry also reinforce it. By avoiding excessive sleep and food not permitted by the *sharī'a* which darken the soul, *hubb-i 'ishqī* is strengthened. *Hubb-i 'ishqī* rents asunder the "veils of humanity" (human nature) and the soul proceeds to unite with its divine source. It does not mean that the seekers of this path are not bound by the *sharī'a* laws and the customary social ethics. Their main aim however, is the evanescence of their soul upon sighting the divine beauty, and they seek to attain their objective in whatever way they can. For example the seeker of this path would not hesitate to attain his objective by listening to music, or indulging in love for a girl, or by some other means not permitted by the *sharī'a*.⁸⁰

78 Karāmat 'Alī Jawnpūri, *Nūran 'alā nūr*, Jawnpūr 1325/1907, pp. 14-16.

79 *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, Meerut n. d., pp. 5-8.

80 *Ibid*, pp. 11-13.

Hubb-i imānī is strengthened by the heart's firm determination to adhere to the shari'a by dissociating from *bid'a* (sinful innovations). This objective calls for complete involvement in adhering to shari'a rules and the readiness to sacrifice one's entire life and property for Allāh's satisfaction. The promotion of the shari'a, the revival of *sunna* and the destruction of *bid'a*, the fostering of a true *sūfi* path, assistance to Allāh's favourites, coming to the rescue of the oppressed, helping the needy and those burdened with debt, assisting the miserable and poor and striving for common good and reform are the *sine qua non* of *hubb-i imānī*. Those endowed with *hubb-i imānī* do not resign themselves in the face of calamity but bear with it courageously. They are not pleased by love-poetry impregnated with complaints. They endure hardship, hunger and thirst and remain naked in order to fight *jihād*. They obtain a unique pleasure from prayers and invocations. They prefer participation in social service and uplift and political development to retiring to the wilderness and indulging in meditation and contemplation. The devotees to *hubb-i imānī* avoid resembling infidels in external appearance and dress, dissociate themselves from their customs, their fairs and festivals, and from those of the innovators.⁸¹

The *Sirāt-i mustaqīm* warns spiritualists that the *rāh-i wilāyat* (road to sainthood) and the *rāh-i nubuwwa* (road to prophethood) should not be deemed mutually contradictory, and that it should not be believed that those who have acquired *hubb-i 'ishqī* have no lot or part in *hubb-i imānī*, or that those who have acquired *hubb-i imānī* do not have access to *hubb-i 'ishqī*. The work repeatedly quotes Shāh Wali-Allāh and also draws upon the *Futūh al-ghayb* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilani and the verses of Shaykh Abū Sa'id bin Abi'l-Khayr.⁸²

The first chapter deals mainly with *sūfi* principles, while the second chapter relates to the war against the *bid'a* (innovations). Its first section deals with the innovations which entered the Muslim body politic because of the Muslim association with heretics and polytheists who outwardly resembled eminent *sūfis*. The heretical *sūfis*, and some true ones also, utter outrageous remarks about God and the common people imitate them. True Muslims should never listen to such expressions, the *Sirāt-i mustaqīm* says. It continues that the heretical aspects of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* outwardly resemble the pious statements of eminent *sūfis*, although the heretical *Wujūdiyyas* indulge in licentiousness, imagining that they had identified themselves with God. The common Muslims should understand that the divine attributes are neither His essence, nor different from Him, but exist with Him, and that similarly the rest of creation is neither the essence of His attributes nor different from him but is His manifes-

81 *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, pp. 24-33.

82 *Ibid*, p. 46.

tation. The attributes manifest themselves, in accordance with the divine scheme, in different forms of creation. Heretics misinterpret the eminent *sūfī* thoughts and misguide people. There is no harm in learning the true intention of the eminent *sūfis* but devotion to hair-splitting discussion of these intentions is sheer waste of time. The belief in predestination is one of the important *sharī'a* commandments but the Prophet has prohibited contemplation and discussion of its subtle aspect. These days the association of Sunnis with the *Rāfidīs*, who do not believe in predestination, and the friendship of Sunnis with heretical *sūfis* had outraged the *sharī'a*.⁸³

The *sūfis*, engrossed in polytheism particularly the Indian *sūfis*, exhibit such an exaggerated reverence for their spiritual guides that the latter are almost transformed into God or a prophet. It is imperative for the novice to select only those *sūfis* as their guides who strictly adhere to the *sharī'a* laws. If they give any orders which are not based on the *sharī'a* laws these should be rejected. A disciple could sacrifice his life and property for the *sūfī* guide's comfort, but if a spiritual guide does not renounce anti-*sharī'a* practices, the disciple should break his *bay'a*.

Muslims travel long distances and undergo severe hardships in order to visit the tombs of *sūfī* saints, considering such efforts as equivalent to the pilgrimage to Mecca, but this causes indescribable injury to them. Those who pray at *sūfī* tombs seeking intercession for the fulfilment of their wishes, are indulging in polytheism. Death is only a bridge for the eminent *sūfis*, uniting them with their Beloved (God), and they may be deemed as living in one sense, but they are dead so far as their intercession in worldly affairs is concerned. Lighting lamps on the graves is also illegal, and the *ahādīth* curse those who indulge in this innovation.⁸⁴

Polytheist *sūfis* encourage Muslims to make vows and offer gifts at the tombs of eminent *sūfis*. This innovation is both wasteful and impregnated with sin. Although in its original form the custom was good and permissible, later generations made it corrupt. Reciting *fātiha* (first chapter of the *Qur'ān*) for the souls of the dead, visiting the graves of parents and reciting chapters of the *Qur'ān* there, are not prohibited, however. Gifts for the benefit of the souls of the dead may also be given. The commemoration of the saints' death anniversaries and the recitation of *fātiha* for their souls are useful acts. What is prohibited is a regular ritual. The custom of showing respect to the food for *fātiha* is also based on popular fantasy. The food for *fātiha* is like any other food, but the common people believe that the spirit of the deceased for whom the *fātiha* has been recited, has penetrated it. It is also believed that the deceased's spirit has touched the food or eaten a little of it, making it holy. These ideas have

83 *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, pp. 50-52.

84 *Ibid*, pp. 53-58.

been borrowed from the Hindus. Muslims who make such offerings to the dead are not interested in helping the soul of the dead but are following polytheism.⁸⁵ The Qur'ān says about them :

“Yet of mankind are some who take unto themselves (objects of worship which they set as) rivals to Allāh, loving them with a love like (that which is the due) of Allāh (only)—Those who believe are stauncher in their love for Allāh—Oh, that those who do evil had but known, (on the day) when they behold the doom, that power belongeth wholly to Allāh, and that Allāh is severe in punishment !”⁸⁶

The innovation that has penetrated the Sunnis from the Rāfidīs is the belief in *tafdīl* (thinking 'Alī superior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar). According to the Sunnis, after the prophets, Prophet Muhammad's four successors are superior to the whole of mankind. Sunnis are not expected to investigate the criterion for superiority. God loved the first two caliphs, however, more than the rest. Although Allāh loves 'Alī more than 'Uthmān, the latter's eminence is based on the fact that he was the third caliph and 'Alī the fourth. It should not be forgotten that sometimes kings award robes of honour to an inferior before giving them to a superior.

In some respects 'Alī is even superior to the first two caliphs. Firstly, the number of 'Alī's followers is very large. Secondly, from 'Alī's own time to the present day and even in the future all higher *sūfī* stages such as those of *qutb*, *ghawth* and *abdāl* had been and would be made available to great *sūfī*s only through 'Alī. 'Alī's hand in the elevation of the kings and nobles to their exalted positions is also well known to those who have travelled through the angelic world, although some of 'Alī's descendants were not able to seize political power and kingship despite their efforts. The majority of *sūfī silsilas* also originate from 'Alī. All those factors mean that on Judgment Day 'Alī's cavalcade will be so impressive and grand that everyone will be bewildered. These facts have misled the pseudo-*sūfī*s, and they are confused with regard to the superiority of Abū Bakr and 'Umar and their firm Sunnī belief has been shaken. Although the Prophet's companions are superior to the entire Islamic community by virtue of the honour of the companionship of the Prophet they enjoyed, some eminent members of the Islamic community are superior to them in disseminating true Islamic teachings. However, the latter venerate the Prophet's companions in the same way as a son, who, despite excelling his father in knowledge and wisdom, shows respect to him.⁸⁷

85 *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, pp. 58-63.

86 *Qur'ān*, II, 165.

87 *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, pp. 63-67.

Some other Rāfidi innovations which have become popular throughout India are the mourning ceremonies and the preparation of *ta'ziyas* in Muharram. It is presumed that these ceremonies manifest love for Imām Husayn. These innovations are of different types. Respect towards the *ta'ziyas* or the replicas of original graves is an act of idol worship. Even real graves should not be worshipped, let alone the fictitious ones. The prostration and circumambulation before the *ta'ziyas* by the Rāfidis make them polytheists. None should be scared to destroy them, for those who break them and humiliate their architects earn Allāh's love. Should it prove impossible to destroy them physically, these practices at least should be condemned in one's heart and considered sinful. However fearless destruction of the *ta'ziyas* is most meritorious.

Wailing and the tearing of clothes are not permitted in any case, and those who indulge in such practices are sinners. On the death of dear ones lawful enjoyments can be abandoned. For example men may refrain from putting on smart garments, using scent and enquiring after other's welfare. Women may also abandon decoration and ornaments. These restrictions can be followed for three days although it is desirable that no grief be exhibited. A woman should mourn her husband's death for four months and ten days or else she will be sinning. Those who intentionally don good clothes in the first ten days of the Muharram also commit serious sins. These ceremonies should also be fearlessly stopped.

Assemblies discussing the martyrdom of Imāms Hasan and Husayn can be organised, moving the audience to tears. Nevertheless these assemblies are not commended. In the face of misfortune, Muslims are called upon to be patient as the following verse of the Qur'ān recommends :

“Who say, when a misfortune striketh them : Lo ! we are Allāh's and lo ! unto Him we are returning.”⁸⁸

The Shi'is consider that their mourning is prompted by their love for Imāms Hasan and Husayn but this is absolutely incorrect. Imāms Hasan and Husayn would never be pleased at the endemic retelling of the story of their misfortunes. In fact the temporary hardships of Imām Husayn and the other martyrs of Karbalā are the source of their spiritual distinction and greatness. The occasion is a matter of satisfaction and pleasure. Imām Husayn and his associates exhibited great courage and sacrifice in re-establishing the shari'a laws which Yazid had thrown overboard. Those who indulge in unlawful acts in the name of love for *Ahl al-Bayt*, in fact follow Yazid. People know that the Imāms would not have approved of making *ta'ziyas* and crying and wailing for them. Those who are

really interested in pleasing the Imāms should spend their money in helping the poor Sayyids and showing them respect. Many Sayyids of impeccable lineage die of hunger, but the people who indulge in *ta'ziya* celebrations do not even care for them. In short, true love for Imām Husayn can be expressed only by sacrificing life and property for Islam, by fostering the development of the shari'a, by enforcing lawful acts and prohibiting unlawful one, and by carrying on open hostilities against infidels, sinners and innovators.⁸⁹

The work goes on to condemn Muslim extravagances in organising circumcision and marriage parties. Expensive burial ceremonies are also organised and heavy debts are incurred as a result. Those who do not pray are not criticised, but the lives of those who omit worldly ceremonies are made impossible for them. It should not be presumed that giving food and reciting *fātiha* for the dead are objectionable ; but what is needed is that, after the burial of the dead, simple condolences should be expressed. Food may be given subject to the availability of finance ; no particular date for that purpose should be fixed. Similarly for weddings, only a feast (*walīma*) should be organised. In short, ceremonies and customs originating from Hind, Sind, Fārs and Byzantine which are not authorised by the Prophet or his eminent companions, should be abandoned.

The most evil of all the customs which the Muslims have adopted is the prohibition on widows remarrying. The widows in families should remarry and those who oppose this should be socially boycotted. The descendants of Sayyids and *pīrs* (sūfī saints) are so proud of their noble descent that, in the hope that their forefather's intercession will save them on Judgment Day, ignore obligatory religious duties and commit sins. They should be deemed as misguided and sinners.

The concluding section of the chapter deals with some important ethical values of Islam. It condemns envy, jealousy, avarice, presumption, back-biting, malevolence, hypocrisy, lying, greed and cupidity. Those Muslims who cleanse their hearts of these vices obtain untold rewards. Courage, contentment, generosity and purity appear only after cleansing the heart and when man is satisfied with the divine will. The performance of *namāz* punctually each night makes Muslims alert, smart and industrious. Fasting, *zakāt* and *hajj* should also be strictly undertaken. Special attention should be paid to *jihād* which occupies a central place in Muslim religious life.⁹⁰

Obedience to the four schools of jurisprudence known throughout the Islamic world is very commendable, but knowledge about the Prophet should not be deemed to be confined to one particular school of juris-

89 *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, pp. 68-75.

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 75-77.

prudence. It was disseminated throughout the world and was received by different people at different times. When books were written knowledge concerning the Prophet became popular. Facts which are supported by clear and incontrovertible *ahādith* should be accepted, and no rulings of the *mujtahids* should be, where they contradict *ahādith*, followed. The guidance should be obtained from *Ahl-Hadīth* and they should be deemed as the custodians of the Prophet's knowledge.

Rulers, noblemen and government officials can acquire *sūfī* spirituality by adhering to the *sharī'a* and dispensing even-handed justice. For them justice is the best form of worship. They should follow the pattern of the justice meted out by the Prophet's first four caliphs and not the tradition of past sultāns.

While the first four caliphs established a successful government, they did not ignore the faith and paid full attention to religious duties. Kings and noblemen wrongly think that their dignity and majesty depends on pomp and show, grandeur and military strength, whereas true majesty and divine favour depend on purity of faith. The *Sirāt-i mustaqīm* enjoins Muslims to absolve themselves from pride and insurrection. The latter is of different forms. It may be confined to a family, it may extend to a town or to one or more *iqlims* (climatic regions of the world). It may extend for decades and centuries. The insurrection of those who rioted to kill 'Uthmān became endemic in the community. Insurrections are of different types, and killing a just and effective ruler is far more culpable than killing a competent leader who looks after the social and economic development of a locality. Similarly killing an outstanding 'ālim who solves the problems of a very large section of the community, who is the *marja'* (rendezvous) for both high and low and has become the Imām Abū Hanīfa or the Bukhārī or the Ghazālī of his time, is worse than killing the architect of a mosque who makes it possible for some Muslims to assemble for prayers in that mosque. Undue interest in others' faults is also equivalent to homicide.

Muslims should not indulge in tyranny for the motive of tyranny is pride or fear of insurrection. Belief in Allāh depends on recognising His Omnipotence and in being satisfied with His Decree. Many people claim to love Allāh, but the real lovers are those who meet a martyr's death for their faith. The Qur'ān says :

"Whatever of good befalleth thee (O man) it is from Allāh, and whatever of ill befalleth thee (O man) it is from thyself. We have sent thee (Muhammad) as messenger unto mankind and Allāh is sufficient as a witness".⁹¹

91 Qur'ān, IV, 79.

"Whatever of misfortune striketh you, it is what your right hands have earned. And He forgiveth much."⁹²

Muslims should be kind and merciful to all created beings, but kindness does not amount to pleasing everyone. Muslims pray for the guidance of both fellow Muslims and infidels. However, Allāh's special mercy should be sought for Prophet Muhammad's *umma*.⁹³

The *Sirāt-i mustaqīm* discusses *jihād* in considerable detail. It says that the benefits of *jihād* are universal. Not only are they shared by believers devoted to Allāh, but by infidels, rebels, sinners and hypocrites, in short the entire community of human beings, genii, the animal world and vegetation reap its benefits.

Experience shows that the justice of administrators, the integrity of businessmen (*ma'āmalāt*), the generosity and liberality of rich people and the honesty of common men result in timely rainfall, abundance of crops, prosperity in business, warding off of calamities and the appearance of talented and gifted people. Likewise celestial rewards and the dissemination of the shari'a ordinances take place because of the power of true faith, the rise and conquests of pious kings and the strength of the army of true believers. At present the conditions in India can be compared with conditions in Turkey and Turkistān in matters relating to celestial rewards. The condition of India is worse for, at present (1233/1817-18) the greater part of India has become *dār al-harb*. One may compare the India of two or three centuries back with the present-day India. In earlier days celestial rewards and the appearance of eminent *awliyā'* (sūfīs) and great 'ulamā' were endemic, but now they have declined. The special benefits of *jihād* that accrue to the martyrs of the true faith, the Muslim *ghāzis*, mighty rulers and brave warriors are indescribable.

Jihād enables spiritualistic sūfīs to rise to the position of eminent saints (*wilāyat*) by simple spiritual exercises. *Jihād* enables the 'ulamā' to disseminate the true faith and to promote an increase in religious education. The 'ulamā' holding the positions of *qādīs*, *muftīs* and *mujtahids* are able to propagate the faith to the common people. This elevates them to the status of spiritual *imāmat* (*imāmat-i bātina*) and they rise to the position of vicegerents to the prophets.

Jihād promotes the honour of pious people and piety itself and wicked people lose their prominence. Obedience to Muslim rulers, reverence for the 'ulamā' and respect for sūfīs lead to large-scale conversions to Islam. *Jihād* makes the intentions of the common believers sound. The dissemination of divine mercy and the radiation of the light of faith step up

92 *Qur'ān*, XLVII, 30.

93 *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, pp. 77-82.

the common believer's love of prayer. Obedience to the shari'a, although it might be based on *taqlid* (imitation) is very important. The rain of celestial blessings, the justice of mighty rulers and the munificence of liberal people improve the economic conditions of the people.

Ultimately these benefits make an impact on the rogues and sinners ; either they begin to abate their evil-doing or, through fear of legal punishment and the reproaches of their relations and friends, abandon their wickedness. Fear of death and the decline in the numbers of stubborn of sinners lead hypocrites to choose the right path. They refrain from openly entering infidel groups, and ultimately the light of true faith, celestial blessings, the dominance of the Muslims and their devotion to the teachings of eminent *sūfis* and 'ulamā' brighten their (hypocrites') hearts.

Celestial blessings improve the economic condition of even the *dhimmi* infidels. The rulers' justice eradicates theft and robbery. The association of infidels with pious Sunnis and the promotion of Islamic customs and administrative laws may induce infidels to become Muslims. Those who are killed fighting against the Muslims also benefit because their death reduces the time they would have remained adamant in their infidelity, and therefore the burden of their punishment grows lighter. Their families also benefit for they become the slaves of the Muslims and their association with them may prompt them to embrace Islam.

The death of some Muslims who seek to prevent *jihād* and oppose the *mujāhids* and *ghāzis* because of their own wickedness and love for infidels, does not undermine the general benefits of *jihād*; for example, rain benefits all creation but floods destroy only a few houses.⁹⁴

The third chapter, dealing with the road to *wilāya* discusses *dhikr* (the invocation of one of the Names of God); *murāqaba* (concentrated attention on God) and other meditational exercises in the Qādiriyya, Chishtiyya and Naqshbandiyya orders.⁹⁵ The fourth chapter deals with the mysticism of the road to the Prophethood. Its meditational mechanism is different from that of the conventional *sūfic* orders but its spiritual significance is far-reaching. Sayyid Ahmad's followers believe that he was a born follower of the path to the prophethood ; and that the *bay'a* with Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz only sharpened his propensities. However, Chapter Four indicates that this path can be acquired even by the spiritualist. The first step calls upon the spiritualist to firmly establish the importances of the Qur'ān in his heart. With the Qur'ān as mediator, the spiritualist should become firm on the path of asceticism, renouncing even those objects permitted by the shari'a. He should remain steadfast to his vow of *tawba* (repentance from sins) and should never forget his pledge of piety

94 *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, pp. 105-6.

95 *Ibid*, pp. 143-154.

to God. Although the Qur'ān is the real *pir* (spiritual guide) of the seeker of this path, he should make an external *bay'a* with a pious Shaykh who steadfastly adheres to the shari'a. The *dhikr* of this *tariqa* makes it obligatory upon the seeker to learn the translation of the Qur'ān as well as traditional invocations from such 'ulamā' as specialise in explaining the Arabic classical texts in accordance with the parlance of the Arabic scholars of the Prophet's day. They should ignore the subtle controversies of the later scholars of literature and philosophy. This spiritual exercise is called by the Sayyid *dhikr-i imānī* (*dhikr* of belief). The *murāqaba* of this *tariqa*, known as the *murāqaba-i samadiyyat* (the meditation of Lordship), involves seeing and meditation on the divine wonders and might. Although rain and agriculture benefit the whole of mankind, people are not inclined to meditate on their benefits and to realize the might of God. The seekers are therefore advised to meditate on such divine benefits as are specially bestowed on them. They are advised to combine the *murāqaba-i samadiyyat* with the *dhikr-i imānī*.

The spiritual path of sainthood (*wilāyat*) as well as the path of prophethood call for abnegating one's own wishes. Perfect seekers of both the prophethood and sainthood begin to consider themselves inanimate objects in God's hands, but among the seekers of the prophethood, the spirit of 'ubūdiyyat (servitude) and of seeking divine pleasure are predominant. The final stage of the road to prophethood is the *inkishāf-i wajh-Allāh* (the revelation of the divine face). Those who reach this stage are the true vicegerents of Allāh. Their consciousness does not need any sensory power to sight divine light, for they are overwhelmed by it.⁹⁶

Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd also wrote short Persian treatises such as the *Tanbih al-ghāfilin* (admonitions to the negligent), *Risāla dar namāz wa 'ibādat* (a treatise about prayer and worship) and the *Risāla dar nikāh-i 'aqd-i biwagān* (a treatise dealing with widow remarriage). Two Hindi-Urdu treatises were also written by him. An exegesis on the *Fātiha* chapter of the Qur'ān was delivered by him in the form of lectures given at Lucknow in 1235/1819-20.⁹⁷ Two years later this was published in Calcutta. The *Haqiqat al-salāt* (Realities of *salāt* or *namāz*) is also based on a lecture by the Sayyid this time to Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Mawlānā Ismā'il in 1233/1817-18. On 7 Dhu'l-hijja 1242/2 July 1827, the Sayyid wrote a short treatise in the Persian containing the details of *dhikr* and the mystical practices of the Qādiriyya, Chishtiyya and Naqshbandiyya *silsilas*. It repeats the description given in the *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*. The treatise concludes with the Sayyid's own spiritual genealogical tree in the above-mentio-

⁹⁶ *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, pp. 155-74.

⁹⁷ Muhammad 'Abd al-Halīm Chishtī, *Tafsīr Sūra-i fātiha*, *al-Rahīm*, September 1965, pp. 263-64.

ned orders. An Urdu translation of the treatise has recently been published by the Maktaba-i Mahmūdiyya, Lahore. It is entitled *Risāla-i ashghāl*.⁹⁸

The Sayyid's disciples also produced a *corpus* of missionary literature in Urdu to reinforce the puritanical Sunni revivalism of the Sayyid and his *hijrat* and *jihād* ideologies. The most prominent spokesman for the Sayyid was Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd.⁹⁹

From his youth the Shāh was an inveterate enemy of accretions and innovations to Islam, and Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd sharpened his zeal for puritanical revivalism. It would seem that about the time he compiled his teacher's *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, Shāh Ismā'il had himself written a treatise in Arabic containing the Qur'ānic verses and the *ahādīth* designed to condemn *shirk* (polytheism) and the Hindu customs which Muslims were practising in violation of the shar'ī'a rules. Entitled the *Radd al-ishrāk*, this work is divided into two chapters. It seems to have been finalized during Shāh Ismā'il's stay in Mecca and Medina and is deeply influenced by the *Kitāb al-tawhīd* by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the first chapter of which was translated into Urdu by the Shāh himself as the *Taqwiyat al-imān*. It was completed in India on 15 Muharram 1240/9 September 1824. The second chapter of the *Radd al-ishrāk* was translated into Urdu by one of his disciples, Muhammad Sultān, in 1250/1834 as *Tadhkir al-ikhwān*.

The *Taqwiyat al-imān* is divided into five sections. The introduction, dealing with *Tawhīd* and *shirk*, says that *shirk* is rampant and that true *Tawhīd* is scarce. The majority of Muslims do not understand the distinction between *Tawhīd* and *shirk* although they profess to be believers. People invoke the blessings of *pīrs*, prophets, imāms and *shahīds* (martyrs) and make offerings in their name to overcome their problems. These pseudo-

98 *Risāla-i ashghāl*, Lahore 1978, pp. 32-47.

99 Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd, the son of Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī, was born on 12 Rabī' II, 1193/29 April 1779 in Phalet in Muzaffarnagar. Along with his studies he also concentrated on developing his physical strength. He also learnt wrestling and spent considerable time on swimming and training himself as a soldier. When he was about twenty-two years old he began to practise delivering fiery lectures to the gatherings of 'ulamā', sūfīs and common Muslims. In his lectures he trenchantly condemned Muslim worship of graves (both real and fictitious) of *pīrs*, martyrs, demons, fairies and Hindu gods and goddesses. He did not have any inhibitions about visiting the prostitutes in order to convert them to being true Moslem women. He also visited the imperial palace to sermonise. Mawlānā Fadl-i Haqq Khayrābādī's opposition to Shāh Ismā'il's articles and lectures failed to undermine the Shāh's enthusiasm. A petition signed by 1500 Muslims requesting the English to ban Shāh Ismā'il's lectures are also said to have failed. The story of his travels to the Panjāb in disguise in order to make personal investigations of the atrocities of Ranjīt Singh seems to be mythical, for information about Panjāb was readily available in Delhi and no travel in disguise was called for. (Mīrzā Hayrat Dihlawī, *Hayāt-i tayyiba*, Lahore 1976, pp. 41-98).

Muslim practices do not differ from those of the idol-worshipping Hindus. The Shāh refuses to accept the Muslim plea that they do not regard prophets, *pīrs*, *shahīds* and *sūfīs* as God's partners but believe that they were created by Him. According to them, they sought such *shifā'at* (intercession) mainly because they were the spiritual élite and dear to God. The Shāh says that the arguments of *pīr* worshippers were similar to those given by the infidels to the Prophet Muhammad. Consequently the following Qur'ānic verses condemn them :

"They worship beside Allāh that which neither hurteth them nor profiteth them, and they say : These are our intercessors with Allāh. Say: Would he inform Allāh of (something) that He knoweth not in the heavens or in the earth ? Praise be He and high exalted above all that ye associate (with Him)! "100

"Surely pure religion is for Allāh only. And those who choose protecting friends beside Him (say) : We worship them only that they may bring us near unto Allāh. Lo! Allāh will judge between them concerning that wherein they differ. Lo! Allāh guideth not him who is a liar, an ingrate."101

Shāh Ismā'il goes on to say that in the Prophet's days the infidels also believed that none could compete with God and considered idols their intermediaries with God. Allāh says :

"Say: In Whose hand is the dominion over all things and He protecteth while against Him there is no protection, if ye have knowledge ?"

"They will say: Unto Allāh (all that belongeth). Say: How then are ye bewitched ?"102

Muslims are required to believe that no living being enjoys any power or authority over the world. The Prophet was commanded :

"Say (unto them O Muhammad) : I pray unto Allāh only, and ascribe unto Him no partner."

"Say : Lo! I control not hurt nor benefit for you."103

The popular belief that neither have the saints, prophets, *imāms* and *shahīds* power to interfere in the administration of the world, but that

100 *Qur'ān*, X, 19.

101 *Qur'ān*, XXXIV, 3.

102 *Qur'ān*, XXIII, 88-89.

103 *Qur'ān*, LXXII, 20-21.

Allāh's previous decrees and respect for the shari'a keep them quiet, is absolutely wrong. Allāh says :

"And cry not, beside Allāh, unto that which cannot profit thee nor hurt thee, for if thou didst so then wert thou of the wrongdoers."¹⁰⁴
 "Say (O Muhammad) call upon those whom ye set up beside Allāh ! They possess not an atom's weight either in the heavens or the earth, nor have they any share in either, nor hath He an auxiliary among them."
 "No intercession availeth with Him save for him whom He permit-teth. Yet, when fear is banished from their hearts, they say: What was it that your Lord said ? They say: The Truth. And he is the Sublime, the Great."¹⁰⁵

Those who call upon someone for help have their wishes fulfilled in two ways : either the person called upon is himself a master or he is a partner to the master who is under his influence as in the case of noblemen whose recommendations are accepted by kings because they are scared of them. Sometimes kings also accept, either willingly or unwillingly, the recommendations of their wives or daughters whom they love. These analogies do not apply to Allāh. Those who call upon people other than God must note that they are not masters of even a tiny atom in heaven or earth nor do they share authority with God. People other than God are neither members of His Government nor are they His supporters. God would never accept their recommendations because he feared them. So Almighty is God that all become nervous and terrified when He issues His commands. Everyone submits to divine commands and no one can make any recommendation.¹⁰⁶

Shāh Ismā'il goes on to say that people should carefully note that having misunderstood the meaning of intercession (*shifā'at*), they tend to ignore Allāh. Intercession means recommendation, of which there are different types. For instance an influential minister or nobleman is able to save a thief by his intercession because the king instead of upsetting an important nobleman prefers to excuse the thief in his political interest. Such recommendations are known as *shifā'at-i wijāhat* (intercession because of influence). No such intercession is possible with Allāh, who is so Omnipotent that were He to will it, in a single moment, by pronouncing "Be",¹⁰⁷ He

104 Qur'ān, X, 107.

105 Qur'ān, XXXIV, 22-23.

106 Taqwiyat al-imān, Karāchī 1976, pp. 19-38.

107 A Qur'ānic verse says, "He it is Who created the heavens and the earth in truth. In that day when He saith: Be! it is." Qur'ān, VI, 73. The divine command *kun* (Be) is the command to create; a change which seems impossible to men is also understood by the word *kun*.

could create millions of prophets, saints, *jinn* (genii) and beings equal to Gabriel and Muhammad. In a moment He could revolutionise the entire universe from heaven to earth. Everything comes into existence merely by His will, and He is not influenced by any pressure. Were all the preceding and succeeding generations of human beings and *jinn*s to become like Gabriel and the prophets, the splendour of the rule of that Master of Kingdoms (Allāh) would not be increased. Were everyone to become devils and *dajjāl* (anti-christ), the splendour of His kingdom would not be diminished.¹⁰⁸

The second form of intercession is influenced by love. For example, if a king is influenced by the recommendation of a prince, a princess or a queen or a beloved and does not punish a thief, this intercession is *shifā'at-i mahabbat* (intercession because of love). In the divine court even this type of intercession is not possible. Those who consider that Allāh is moved by *shifā'at-i mahabbat* are *mushrik*. That Master of Kingdoms (Allāh) infinitely honours His slaves; He gives His chosen slaves the titles of *habīb*¹⁰⁹, *khalīl*¹¹⁰, *kalīm*¹¹¹ and *Rūh-Allāh*¹¹². He makes some of his chosen slaves benevolent prophets, another is made *rūh al-quds* or *rūh al-amīn* (Gabriel). Nevertheless the Master remains master and the slave remains a slave. As people are filled with joy by divine munificence so they are terrified of His anger.¹¹³

The third type of intercession is the following. Take for instance there is a thief whose crime is proved, but he is not a habitual or professional thief. He is sorry for the crimes which his carnal self led him to perform. He is obedient to the king's rules and considers himself guilty. He does not try to flee from the king or seek the protection of some minister or nobleman. The king takes pity on him but does not wish to forgive him without any pretext for fear of devaluing his regulations. Knowing the king's predicament, some minister or nobleman intercedes for the thief, and the king is able to accept the recommendation as honouring the nobleman. The nobleman in this case does not make the recommendation out of friendship for, or relationship to, the thief but because of the king's own wishes. Had he made this recommendation because he was the thief's supporter, he would himself be counted a thief. Such intercessions are known as *shifā'at bi'l-idhn* (intercession by permission). These types of recommendations can be made in the divine court. The intercessions by the prophets and saints mentioned in the Qur'ān or hadīth are of this

108 *Taqwiyat al-imān*, pp. 35-36.

109 Beloved or Prophet Muhammad.

110 Sincere and intimate friend of Allāh, Abraham.

111 One who speaks to God, Moses.

112 Allāh's spirit, Jesus.

113 *Taqwiyat al-imān*, pp. 36-37.

type. This means that all of his slaves should call upon Him, pray to Him and fear Him. They should consider Him both master and supporter.¹¹⁴

Shirk fi'l 'ibadat (polytheism in worship) is committed by those who prostrate or show humility before graves, whether true or imitation, sacrifice animals and make other offerings. Shāh Ismā'il gives a long list of Muslim polytheistic practices which had been adopted in order to ward off calamity and disease, and to obtain material prosperity and spiritual blessings. This he calls *shirk fi'l 'ādāt* (polytheism in customs and practices).¹¹⁵

Muslims should not say that a certain action will be performed if God and the Prophet are willing. Everything depends on divine will and nothing is done by the Prophet's will.¹¹⁶ All human beings are brothers to each other. Those who are spiritually great are elder brothers and should be honoured as elder brothers. Allāh is the master and everyone is his slave. According to the hadīth, the saints, prophets, imāms and their descendants, *pīrs* and *shahīds* and other people near to God are still human beings and helpless slaves. They are our brothers but since Allāh has made them eminent, they are our elder brothers. We have been commanded to honour them, but as human beings are honoured, not as God is. The Prophet said that one day he would also die and his dead body would disintegrate into dust, hence none should prostrate themselves before him but only before God. Consequently none should prostrate themselves before a living being or before any grave.¹¹⁷

The *Tadhkīr al-ikhwān* includes a more detailed discussion on *īmān* (faith) and *shirk*. *īmān* (faith) is discussed in several sections, in which it is said that unless a man loves the Prophet more than he does his parents and children, in fact, more than he does the whole of creation, he is not a believer.¹¹⁸ The distinctive features of loving the Prophet are obedience to his commands and readiness to ignore the orders of all the *pīrs*, *faqīrs* and dervishes. The Qur'ān urges Muslims to firmly believe in the shari'a, considering it a straight road. No attention should be paid to the paths and bypaths of *bid'ā* (innovations) which sprout from the straight road of the shari'a. Those who revive the dead items of the shari'a are highly rewarded.¹¹⁹

The *Tadhkīr al-ikhwān* also spiritedly condemns Muslim polytheistic practices, and the Jewish, Christian and Hindu beliefs which the Muslims had assimilated into the Qur'ān and *ahādīth*. It also underlines the superio-

114 *Taqwīyat al-īmān*, pp. 37-38.

115 *Ibid*, pp. 41-52.

116 *Ibid*, p. 55.

117 *Ibid*, pp. 56-57.

118 *Tadhkīr al-ikhwān*, Karāchī 1976, pp. 90-91.

119 *Ibid*, pp. 94-96.

rity of the Arabs over the rest of mankind. It goes on to say that the Prophet ordered Muslims to love Arabia and the Arabs ; the reason being that he was an Arab and the Qur'ān was revealed in Arabic. Love for the Arabs was instrumental in inculcating love for Arabic customs and the Arabic language. It guaranteed safety from *bid'ā* (innovations) and unlawful practices.¹²⁰

As an enthusiastic supporter of the Shāfi'i practice of *Rafa' al-yadayn* (raising hands in *namāz*) which the Hanafīs rejected, Shāh Ismā'il wrote the *Tanwīr al'-aynayn fi ithbāt rafa' al-yadayn* in Arabic. The work is designed to justify the *rafa' al-yadayn* which Shāh Ismā'il himself practised but abandoned at the request of his *pīr* in order to pacify the Afghān tribes. However, it does not condemn the Hanafīs for not practising *rafa' al-yadayn*. Like the Shāfi'īs, the Hanafīs did not pronounce *āmin* (amen) loudly in their prayers.

The tone of the work is conciliatory, in marked contrast with the *Taqwiyat al-imān* and another treatise entitled *Idāh al-Haqq al-sarih al-ahkām al-mayyit wa'l-darih*. The latter work vigorously condemns those who visit graves, light lamps on them and make *ta'ziyas*.¹²¹

The '*Abaqāt* by Shāh Ismā'il is an impressive Arabic treatise. It offers a commentary on Shāh Walī-Allāh's *Lamhāt* and *Sata'āt*. Like Shāh Walī-Allāh's *sūfic* works, the '*Abaqāt* also seeks to demonstrate that there is no conflict between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabi and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* of Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī. The controversial statements by the Mujaddid relating to the hierarchy of spiritual realities have been glossed over.¹²² The work discusses subjects such as various forms of *Tajalli* (mystical illumination or revelation), *Hadarāt al-Quds* (the Holy Fold), *wilāya* (sainthood), and the reality of creation on the basis of Shāh Walī-Allāh's works.

Shāh Ismā'il wrote the *Mansab-i imāmat* in order to justify Sayyid Ahmad's claims to be an imām. The contradictions between the Ghazālīan theory of kingship to which the Sunnīs adhered and the *imāmat* of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd were so marked and deep that no contemporary ruler was convinced. However, the *Mansab-i imāmat* by Shāh Ismā'il endeavours to perform the uphill task of differentiating between an imām and a ruler who happened to seize power by fair means and foul.

The *Mansab-i imāmat* tells us that the imām is a deputy of the prophet and the *imāmat* is the shadow of prophethood, acquiring a complete resemblance to the prophet's achievements. The *imāmat* is a divine gift, and it

120 *Tadhkīr al-ikhwān*, p. 151.

121 Muhammad Bashīr, Shāh Ismā'il in *Burhān*, July 1978, pp. 34-37; *Burhān*, August 1978, pp. 87-89.

122 Shāh Ismā'il, '*Abaqāt*, Karāchī 1380/1960-61, pp. 9-10, 42.

is through the imām that Allāh introduces his commandments and institutions in that same way as He introduced them through the prophets. Nearest to Allāh is the Prophet, but next to the Prophet is his vicegerent, the imām. The Prophet has observed :

“On the Day of Judgment nearest to Allāh and His beloved would be the just imām. One who does not recognise the imām of his age dies the death of ignorance.”

Islam originated with the Prophet Muhammad but it would be made perfect by the Mahdī. God promised the Prophet Muhammad that He would enable him to annihilate Chosroe and Caesar and would make him the master of their wealth, but the fulfilment of this promise only took place in the days of the Righteous Caliphs. The imām is like the Prophet's fortunate son: the leaders of the community (*umma*) and the grantees of the nation (*millat*) resemble his servants and devoted slaves. It is incumbent upon the community leaders and the nation's grantees to honour an exalted prince.¹²³ The friendship of such a prince is the cause of felicity and war against him is faithlessness. To rebel against the imām of the age is an act of arrogance and amounts to challenging the Prophet's authority. It also amounts to accusing God of appointing an incompetent person as a perfect being's deputy. The Prophet observed :

“‘Alī's friendship is righteousness and sins do not harm ‘Alī's friends, conversely enmity with ‘Alī is a sin and no righteousness benefits such a sinner.

Carefully note that my *Ahl al-Bayt* are like Noah's ark to you. Those who are able to find place in it are saved, the rest are ruined.”¹²⁴

The *Mansab-i imāmat* defines different types of imāms, righteous caliphs and sultāns. The word imām according to the Shahīd, means “one who is responsible for running a government”. In the present work the word imām applies neither to the righteous caliphs who are so eminent that none like them can be found, nor does it apply to demoniac and misguided rulers, blood-thirsty tyrants or irreligious despots. Imām in the *Mansab-i imāmat* means *sāhib-i da'wat* (one who invites), who raises the standard of *jihād* against the enemies of the faith and invites the Muslims to fight under his banner. He is steadfast in promoting the shari'a and the *summa* of the Prophet Muhammad. Rulers of different territories fight against their enemies for personal and political reasons. A *sāhib-i da'wat*, however,

123 Shāh Ismā'il, *Mansab-i imāmat*, Delhi n. d., pp. 54-55.

124 *Ibid*, pp. 56-58.

fight only against infidels ; his only motivation is to promote Islam. Should someone make these claims, obedience to him is inevitable for all Muslims. According to the *sunna*, Muslims have no business questioning the motives of a *sāhib-i da'wat*. In carrying out his administration, the *sāhib-i da'wat* adheres to the divine ordinances and the shari'a laws. To violate the decisions of the *sāhib-i da'wat* or the imām is not permitted, and all Muslims are duty-bound to fight *jihād* under him.¹²⁵

If a *sultān-i 'ādil* rules justly he may be called *sāhib-i da'wat* in his administrative capacity, but in waging war and concluding peace he is not necessarily a *sāhib-i da'wat*. The latter fights only to promote Allāh's faith. Although a *sultān-i 'ādil* also annihilates infidels and innovators, his motives are imperialistic. Although nationalistic wars are not forbidden by the shari'a and do not reduce the status of the *imām-i 'ādil*, such wars are not *jihād fī sabil'illāh* (war in the way of God). However, it is imperative for Muslims to help the *sultān-i 'ādil* in his wars, for his victory makes Islam dominant and his defeat undermines Islam's glory, and Islamic territories are thereby destroyed.¹²⁶

The *Mansab-i imāmat* also goes on to say that the *sultān-i jābir* (tyrannical ruler) is neither included in, nor excluded from the category of *sāhib-i da'wat*. Consequently those who maintain that a *sultān-i jābir* is not an imām and therefore obedience to him is not imperative, are right, and those who believe that tyranny does not disqualify an imām from his position, and that obedience is essential, are also correct. The different *ahādith* on the subject are not contradictory. Likewise the conflicting views of the Hanafī and Shāfi'i 'ulamā' are also not contradictory. For example, the Hanafī 'ulamā' say that sultāns who are sinners and tyrants should be overthrown, while the Shāfi'i 'ulamā' think that they cannot be deposed. In fact, Shāh Ismā'il says, when an imām does not perform his obligatory duties of implementing the shari'a laws and his tyranny deprives the *umma* of the benefits for which he has been appointed, and sins and lewd practices predominate, the justification for having an imām is lost. In these circumstances he is overthrown or deserves to be overthrown. However should the aims of appointing an imām be realized, he should not be overthrown, irrespective of the fact that he is evil-minded and a sinner. In short, the imām's duties relate to government and not to spiritual leadership (*imāmat-i bātina*).¹²⁷

In his conclusion, Shāh Ismā'il says that although earlier works on imāms do not mention the fact that an imām should also be a *sāhib-i da'wat*, the conditions laid down for the appointment of an imām imply this.

125 *Mansab-i imāmat*, pp. 99-106.

126 *Ibid*, pp. 106-9.

127 *Ibid*, pp. 109-112.

However, as discussed earlier, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's claim to be an imām and *sāhib-i da'wat* failed to convince the tribal leaders, and after Yār Muhammad's death open hostilities against the Sayyid broke out. In a letter, Amīr Dūst Muhammad Khān of Kābul wrote:

"This man (the Sayyid) is a man-eating wolf in the garb of a lamb. He appears like an angel but he is a devil (*iblis sifat*)."¹²⁸

Amīr Dūst Muhammad had originally shown considerable interest in the *jihād* but later became one of the Sayyid's inveterate enemies.

Challenges to the works of Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd

Sayyid Ahmad's *Sirāt-i mustaqīm* did not arouse much hostility among the Hanafīs. The Shī'ī Musharraf 'Alī, believing Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy as the author of *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, accused him of being imbued with Wahhābī thoughts,¹²⁹ but it was not until the publication of the *Taqwiyat al-imān* that the Sunnis accused Shāh Ismā'il and his associates of being Wahhābīs. Very strong exception was taken by the Hanafī majority of India to Shāh Ismā'il's definition of *Tawhid* and *shirk*, which to all intents and purposes meant that all Indian Hanafīs were *mushriks* (polytheists). Even the most senior disciples of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz such as Muftī Sadr al-Dīn Āzarda, 'Allāma Muhammad Fadl-i Haqq Khayrābādī, were shocked to read Shāh Ismā'il's remarks about the Prophet Muhammad, which they considered sacrilegious. However, before condemning him as an infidel and irreligious, Muftī Sadr al-Dīn and 'Allāma Fadl-i Haqq Khayrābādī wrote short tracts on some of Shāh Ismā'il's comments. They ignored his tirade against what the Shāh dubbed "sinful innovations", but challenged him to justify his remarks about God's ability to create someone equal to Muhammad. Fadl-i Haqq also wrote a detailed refutation of Shāh Ismā'il's views on the *shifā'at* of Prophet Muhammad.

Sadr al-Dīn wrote that Shāh Ismā'il's view that Allāh could create millions of Muhammads was contrary to accepted Islamic beliefs. The creation of someone else like Muhammad was impossible for Allāh. Were He to create someone equivalent to Muhammad he would be a prophet. But the prophethood came to an end with Muhammad. The Qur'ān says:

"Muhammad is not the father of any man among you, but he is the messenger of Allāh and the Seal of the Prophets ; and Allāh is Aware of all things."¹³⁰

128 *Maktūbāt-i Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd* (Tonk Collection no. 136).

129 *Izāhat al-ghayy*, ff. 19a, 22b.

130 *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 40.

Belief in Allāh's power to create a second Muhammad, Sadr al-Dīn goes on to say, implies that He was lying in the Qur'ān. God is free from all imperfections and could not lie. God's inability to create something which was inherently impossible did not conflict with the Qur'ānic verse saying, "Lo Allāh is able to do all things".¹³¹ The authors of all Qur'ānic exegeses assert that by God's ability to do all things, only possible things were meant. The existence of a second Muhammad was impossible. Consequently God did not have the power to create a second "mercy for the peoples" (Muhammad). Belief in the creation of a second Muhammad undermined belief in the seal of the prophethood and opened the flood-gates for apostasy. Not only were Muslims shocked by the analogies made by the author of the *Taqwiyat al-imān*, those who did not believe in the prophethood were also appalled.¹³² A short treatise written by Shāh Ismā'il in his own defence is called *Yak rūzī*. According to him the creation of a second Muhammad belonged to the sphere of divine power as such and not to the sphere of actual creation. Only in the former sense was the existence of a second Muhammad conceivable. On Judgment Day the Prophet would be brought to life. That event was within the sphere of divine power as was God's power to create a second Muhammad. Since no one had questioned the fact that Allāh could not create a second Muhammad, hence his (Shāh Ismā'il's) view was not contrary to accepted Muslim belief.

God's omnipotence means not that lying is beyond His power but that it is contrary to His wisdom. It is wrong to consider the inability to lie as one of Allāh's attributes. Such an inability in dumb persons or stones is not regarded as an achievement on their part. The inability to lie is obviously only creditable when it is resisted despite the power to tell lies. To refrain from lying because of dumbness or a confused mind does not deserve any credit.

Shāh Ismā'il then says that the critics of the *Taqwiyat al-imān* did not understand his allegorical language. For example, when describing the power of rulers, it was invariably observed that were such and such a ruler to wish it, he could in a moment slaughter all of his ministers and nobles or could destroy a particular town. Such statements were made, although the people knew that the ruler was just and wise and could not perform such an action. The Shāh repeatedly reiterates that in no way did he wish to cast aspersions either on the Prophet or on God.¹³³

The Shāh's defensive treatise and the glosses of his supporters did not convince the non-Wahhābis. 'Allāma Fadl-i Haqq wrote a book entitled

131 *Qur'ān*, II, 109.

132 India Office, Delhi Persian Ms. 198d.

133 India Office, Delhi Persian Ms. 198e.

the *Tahqīq al-fatwa fi ibtāl al-taghwā* (*Fatwa* elucidating the truth about the refutation of arrogance of Shāh Ismā'il). The *fatwa* is dated 18 Ramadān 1240/6 May 1825. Along with Sadr al-Dīn and Muhammad Rashīd al-Dīn, it is signed by fifteen other eminent 'ulamā'. The *fatwa* says :

"According to the illustrious sharī'a the author of these frivolous discussions (Shāh Ismā'il) is undoubtedly an infidel and irreligious. In no way is he a believer and a Muslim. The sharī'a condemns him to execution. Whoever is doubtful of his (Shāh Ismā'il's) infidelity or whoever considers these (Shāh Ismā'il's) insulting remarks as trivial, is himself an infidel, irreligious and abominable..... Similarly, whoever openly or tacitly supports the author's (Shāh Ismā'il's) formulations and tries to gloss over his (Shāh Ismā'il's) assertions in order to save his prestige, is also guilty of insulting the Prophet."¹³⁴

The *Tahqīq al-fatwa* spiritedly refutes Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd's observations about *shifā'at* in the *Taqwīyat al-imān* and his defence of God's power to create a second Muhammad. The 'Allāma goes on to say that intercession occurs both for the pardoning of sins and for elevation of status. The *Shifā'at-i wajāhat* means that the person who makes the recommendation has been granted a high position at court. The court does not suffer any loss by rejecting a recommendation which however militates against the respect and favour which the court had already granted the eminent personality making it. Acceptance would not be through fear of any loss, since recommending and dictating are two different things. A court which accepts recommendations through fear is reduced to a servile status. A court does not accept its favourite's recommendations from fear, but only to please the important favourite. A weak court might accept a recommendation for fear of losing its power but this does not apply to the strong courts. The *wajāhat* in the following verse, according to the exegesis author Baydāwī, is prophethood in this world and in the hereafter it is intercession.¹³⁵

"(And remember) when the angels said : O Mary! Lo! Allāh giveth thee glad tidings of a word from Him, whose name is the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, illustrious in the world and the Hereafter, and one of those brought near (unto Allāh)."¹³⁶

134 *Tahqīq al-fatwa*, pp. 434-37.

135 *Tahqīq al-fatwa*, pp. 265-66.

136 *Qur'ān*, III, *Tahqīq al-fatwa* 45.

The acceptance of a beloved's recommendation does not occur from fear of annoying the beloved, but it is accepted by the lover because of his love for the beloved. So far as servility is concerned, all human beings, angels, prophets, their communities, kings and servants are dependent on Allāh. None is His partner in sovereignty and power. Neither does human satisfaction enhance the splendour of His sovereignty nor does human dissatisfaction undermine His government. However, His creatures are endowed from their birth with differing status, some are born eminent and chosen, others mean, contemptible and misguided. The chosen ones have been granted eminence and affection in the divine court according to their status. God accepts the recommendations of His chosen ones according to the respect and honour they enjoy in His sight. In the past people achieved their objectives through the recommendation of such chosen ones; now, and in the future, too, people will continue to benefit from their recommendations. Similarly, by annoying the chosen ones, people in the past spoilt their worldly life and their life hereafter, as they would in the present and future. Authentic *ahādīth* works show that the Prophet's intercession was a source of felicity in this world and the hereafter for a large number of people. Similarly, a large number of people who annoyed the Prophet have been consigned to the lowest hell.

Further, 'Allāma Fadl-i Haqq identifies intercession with invocations, and asserts that the belief that invocations neither confer benefit nor help overcome perdition is sacrilegious and contrary to the Qur'ānic injunctions and *sunna*. Those who consider that invocations to the prophets, saints, the pious and holy-minded are as effective as to infidels, rascals and monsters, are themselves infidels and heretics. The 'Allāma then quotes verses from the Qur'ān and passages from the *ahādīth* showing the superiority of invocations to the prophets and holy men over those to the rest of mankind. He then quotes Qur'ānic verses and *ahādīth* in support of the universally accepted Muslim belief that intercession by the Prophet Muhammad, because of his eminence and position as God's beloved, is most acceptable to the Almighty.¹³⁷

The 'Allāma also refutes Shāh Ismā'il's definition of *shifā'at bi'l idhn*. According to 'Allāma Fadl-i Haqq this type of intercession does not mean that the ruler himself wishes to forgive the criminal, for then intercession would be meaningless. However, if the crime is of such a nature that intercession by the ruler's favourites is acceptable, any influential person may intercede on the criminal's behalf. This does not make the favourite the criminal's accomplice.

137 *Tahqīq al-fatwa*, pp. 270-275.

The 'Allāma accuses Shāh Ismā'il of defining terminologies incorrectly in order to mislead illiterate people. The Qur'ān says :

“On that Day no intercession availeth save (that of) him unto whom the Beneficent hath given leave and whose He accepteth.”¹³⁸

The above verse expressly reiterates the scope of the acceptance of intercession. According to 'Allāma Fadl-i Haqq, Shāh Ismā'il was the enemy of both prophets and ordinary Muslims. Consequently the following Qur'ānic verse applies to him :

“Thus have We appointed unto every Prophet an adversary—devils of human kind and *jinn* who inspire in one another plausible discourse through guile.”¹³⁹

On Shāh Ismā'il's defence of his statement relating to God's power to create millions of prophets, saints, *jinn*, angels, Gabriels and people like Muhammad, the 'Allāma says that the Shāh does not refer to Allāh's creation of another human being like Muhammad but refers to a holy personality who is identical to Muhammad in all his perfect qualities. Shāh Ismā'il in his defence is incredibly audacious, he says. Knowing that lying is reprehensible he asserts that it is possible to attribute lying to God. This means that Shāh Ismā'il unequivocally admits that God is full of defects and faults. In these circumstances there is no point in blaming him for despising the Prophet Muhammad, the angels, other prophets and the saints. The 'Allāma accuses Shāh Ismā'il of trying to be rational in his writings without having even an elementary perception of rational thinking. The 'Allāma goes on to say that the belief that God does not lie or, that He cannot create a second Muhammad, does not mean that belief in God's power of creation is questioned, making Him impotent. Helplessness or impotence means the inability to create something which is endowed with the capacity for being created. The inability to create something which does not have that capacity does not undermine God's omnipotence. For example, the statement that Allāh is unable to create a second Allāh does not mean that Allāh's omnipotence is doubted.¹⁴⁰

The concluding chapter of the *Tahqīq al-fatwa* deals with the distinctive features of love for the Prophet. Those who love the Prophet Muhammad must love each and everything associated with him. They should love the members of his family, his companions and objects associated with

138 Qur'ān, XX, 109.

139 Qur'ān, VI, 113; *Tahqīq al-fatwa*, pp. 276-80.

140 *Tahqīq al-fatwa*, pp. 352-62.

him. Those who believe that the Prophet's footprints should be left in a place where they might be trampled on by the public are infidels and heretics. Similarly, insulting remarks about the Prophet's dress and shoes are heretical and sacrilegious. The 'Allāma tells stories illustrating how the Prophet's companions respected the hair of his head and the objects associated with him.¹⁴¹

The departure of Shāh Ismā'il and Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd for *jihād* in the Afghān regions did not end the controversy provoked by the *Taqwiyat al-imān*. Shāh Ismā'il's followers in India, and those who returned from the tribal regions, continued to fight ideological battles against the Shāh's enemies. Shāh Ismā'il's enemies dubbed him and his followers "Wahhābis" while Shāh Ismā'il's followers nicknamed their opponents "grave-worshippers". To the Hanafis, who constituted the majority of the Indian Sunnis, reverence to the Prophet's relics and the graves of the sūfis was an integral part of their belief. Although Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz had also advocated the militant destruction of *bid'at* objects,¹⁴² stories of the destruction of the vaults over the graves of the Prophet's family, of his companions and the sūfi saints, and the wanton desecration of the holy monuments and the indiscriminate slaughter of Muslim families in Mecca and Medina by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his followers in their bid for political control, filled the Hanafi's hearts with hatred for Shāh Ismā'il and his Wahhābism.

The Indian Hanafis naturally feared for the safety of the sūfi graves and the relics of the Prophet. The controversy sparked off by the *Taqwiyat al-imān* did not remain confined to ideological conflict, but divided the Sunnis into two irreconcilable and actually warring groups of Hanafis and Wahhābis or *Ahl-i Hadith*.

The Dār al-Harb Fatwa of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and Sayyid Ahmad's Jihād Movement

We have already discussed in chapter four a number of *fatwas* by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz in which he affirmed that India under the English was a *dār al-harb*. His *fatwas* also explain the Muslim code of conduct in a *dār al-harb*. However, the Shāh also declared that, although India under the English was a *dār al-harb*, *hijrat* from it was not obligatory.¹⁴³ Neither Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwa* nor his *malfūzāt* indicate that the Shāh ever conceived or discussed plans to expel the British from Delhi. Neither Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's letters nor the contemporary literature suggest that the Sayyid's *jihād* was inspired by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwa*. The

141 *Tahqīq al-fatwa*, pp. 415-35.

142 *Supra*, p. 196.

143 *Supra*, pp. 236-237.

jihād movement was planned by Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, 'Abd al-Hayy and Ismā'il Shahīd, and was discussed by them in Rae Bareilly and Lucknow before their departure on pilgrimage.¹⁴⁴ The fame of the Wahhābī wars in Mecca and Medina strengthened the determination of the Sayyid and his party to fight *jihād* with the help of the North-West Frontier tribes.

However, modern scholars invite us to believe that the *jihād* movement of Sayyid Ahmad was the practical facet of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwa*. Mawlānā 'Ubayd-Allāh Sindī, an Indian revolutionary and the celebrated interpreter of Shāh Wali-Allāh's political and religious philosophy says :

"In fact Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz is the first imām of the Wali-Allāhī movement who, on the principles of Hakim al-Hind Shāh Wali-Allāh, laid the foundation of a national government. Shāh Wali-Allāh had taught his sciences to the upper classes of Delhi and had obtained some political success in co-operation with the noblemen of the (Mughal) government. It has now been established that Nawwāb Najīb al-Dawla was Shāh Wali-Allāh's protégé and he and his friends, invited Ahmad Shāh Abdālī to come from Qandahār at Shāh Wali-Allāh's instigation.¹⁴⁵ In fact, Shāh Wali-Allāh's spirituality was the motivating force behind the invitation to Ahmad Shāh; Najīb al-Dawla was only an instrument. However, the administration of Delhi had become so rotten that no (Mughal) nobleman could take advantage of the victory at Pānīpat and save the centre of Islamic government in India from disintegration and destruction. Only some noblemen were able to carve out independent governments. Consequently, apart from some provincial governments, Muslims ruled in name only over the rest of India.¹⁴⁶

In India Ahmad Shāh Abdālī's invasion shattered the Marāṭha power. After their crushing defeat at Pānīpat, they could not dream of ruling from the throne of Akbar and 'Ālamgīr. However, the English were rapidly expanding their power..... In Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's time the Sikhs had seized the Panjāb and the English had become the rulers of Delhi. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz planned to invite the powers of Kābul and Qandahār to India. Were the noblemen of Kābul and Qandahār fail to exhibit courage, competent leaders from the commoners were to be approached for help. It was therefore essential to establish the centre of an *amir* (commander) there. As a matter of fact, of the Muslim communities of India, only the Afghāns were warriors and endowed with bravery and intrepidity. Were they to organise, they could form a strong army for Muslim national government..... The first step which Imām 'Abd al-

144 *Supra*, p. 485.

145 See S. W. T., pp. 301-3.

146 *Shāh Wali-Allāh aur unki siyāsī tahrīk*, pp. 70-71.

'Aziz undertook was to eradicate Muslim misunderstanding about their beliefs and morals. The practical side of the programme was to make the common people forsake other spiritual leaders and 'ulamā' and to make them rally round him in order that rival groups should be rendered ineffective. The second stage of his plan was to establish a centre for the revolutionary mission. Its members were Ismā'il Shahīd, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd and Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz nominated Shāh Ishāq his successor. We believe that the leader of the new party was Shāh Ishāq and Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd was the leader of the revolution or *da'wat* (missionary propaganda) and *jihād*. Imām Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz intended that in future this group should overcome the feebleness of the kingdom of Delhi. In other words, this was a provisional government. It is obvious that the political climate of Delhi was not favourable for the success of this plan. As a Sayyid's leadership is very soon established among the Afghāns, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd was chosen the leader of the party, and Mawlānā Ismā'il Shahīd and Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy were made his viziers. The following were the steps that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz took to implement his plan successfully:

First of all Imām 'Abd al-'Aziz issued a *fatwa* that those parts of India which had been seized by non-Muslims were *dār al-harb* irrespective of the fact that some of them were nominally ruled by the Emperor of Delhi. According to Imām 'Abd al-'Aziz, nominal government of the king of Delhi could not make the country *dār al-Islām*. Consequently, according to Imām 'Abd al-'Aziz, it was the duty of the stronger Muslim communities either to migrate from India or establish a new Islamic government by fighting against their enemies. In other words, were the Islamic government unable to fight against their powerful enemies, it was incumbent upon the Muslim community as a whole to start a war and negligence towards this duty was unlawful from the shari'a point of view. Imām Wali-Allāh had taught his sciences and thoughts to the upper classes of Delhi, but Imām 'Abd al-'Aziz awakened the middle classes of the community and made the common people aware of the real state of affairs..... Shāh Wali-Allāh had made his descendants realise that to revive the Qur'ānic revolution it was essential to inject into economics and society as a whole those ethical values which were the hallmark of the teachings of the Prophet and his companions."¹⁴⁷

In 1231/1816 Imām 'Abd al-'Aziz directed Ahmad Shahīd and the members of his board, Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Mawlānā Ismā'il, to make a tour of the country in order to obtain *bay'at-i tariqat* (the *sūfic bay'a*). In 1236/1820-21, this board was directed to make a tour

147 *Shāh Wali-Allāh awr unki siyāsī tahrīk*, pp. 73-74.

to obtain the *bay'a* of *jihād*. Later they were ordered to go with their caravan on pilgrimage to Mecca in order to obtain further training in organizational matters. In 1239/1824 when the caravan returned, Imām 'Abd al-'Aziz died. Before his death he had transferred the control of his seminary to Mawlānā Muhammad Ishāq and had made him his successor...¹⁴⁸ When the Sayyid's caravan returned from Mecca, its members accepted Muhammad Ishāq as their imām. In the seminary Mawlānā Ishāq would act as the chief guide, but in the assemblies outside the seminary the Sayyid would act as president.¹⁴⁹

Sindī's thesis was deeply disappointing to Mawlānā Mas'ūd 'Alī Nadwī, a traditional scholar of considerable merit. According to him, no other Muslim revivalist movement or revolution on earth could match the Sayyid's movement in universal appeal and organization. Save the movement of the Prophet's companions, no movement had been initiated either in India or elsewhere that was so deeply reconcilable with Prophet Muhammad's traditions.¹⁵⁰ According to Nadwī, Sindī gave only secondary importance to Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's leadership and was wrong in assuming that he was chosen to head the movement simply because he was a Sayyid whose leadership would be most acceptable to the Frontier tribes.¹⁵¹ Sindī showed that 'Abd al-Hayy and Ismā'il were appointed as supervisors of the Sayyid's work. According to Nadwī, Sindī misinterpreted and belittled the Sayyid's movement.¹⁵²

According to Mawlānā Husayn Ahmad Madanī, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's party emerged on the basis of the revolutionary party founded by Shāh Wali-Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwa* suggests that he wished to save both Hindus and Muslims from British oppression. According to the Shāh, having a Muslim majority was not sufficient to make a country *dār al-Islām*. The *sine qua non* of the *dār al-Islām* was the respect accorded to Muslims there. Thus, if the political control of a country was in the hands of non-Muslims but the Muslims were their partners in government and Muslim religious worship and rules were respectfully treated, that country was a *dār al-Islām*. According to the shari'a Muslims living in those countries were called upon to consider it as their own and should be its loyal citizens and well-wishers.¹⁵³

148 *Shāh Wali-Allāh aur unki siyāsi tahrīk*, pp. 102-3.

149 *Ibid*, p. 105.

150 *Ma'ārif*, II, 51, p. 100.

151 *Ibid*, p. 108.

152 *Ibid*, p. 110.

153 Husayn Ahmad Madanī, *Naqsh-i hayāt*, Deoband 1954, II, p. 11. Mawlānā Husayn Ahmad Madanī was known as "the Shaykh al-Islām" and as a great Muslim nationalist.

Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad Miyān, an important leader of the Jamīyat al-'Ulamā' of India and a follower of Mawlānā Madani, interpreted the theories of Sindi and Madani in his own way. He wrote that although Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwa* was couched in religious language, its spirit was political. It underlined three principal issues :

1. The Christians were the sole legal authority in India.
2. Respect for religion had ended.
3. Citizens were no longer independent.

Consequently, according to the *fatwa*, says Mawlānā Muhammad Miyān, it was a patriotic duty to declare war against the foreign power, for unless that power was driven off life there was unlawful from the religious point of view.

The Mawlānā goes on to say that after the death of Najaf 'Alī Khān in 1782, the Marāthas were completely in control of Delhi, but for twenty years the Shāh and his party did not declare their homeland a *dār al-harb*, although the Shāh, in his Arabic and Persian writings, sharply criticised the Marātha excesses. During those twenty years the Shāh neither issued any *fatwa* of independence nor urged Indian Muslims to emigrate. The Rohella Pathāns (the Muslim martial race) were deeply devoted to the Shāh and were very friendly to the Marāthas. It should also not be forgotten that, according to the literature, it was during the regime of Najaf 'Alī Khān, a British pensioner and protégé, that Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz endured great hardships.

Under a sub-heading "The impact of the *fatwa*", the Mawlānā says that common Muslims, who were bewildered by the rapid expansion of the British and who were thus unable to plan any campaign against them, now found a course of action open to them. The immediate impact of the *fatwa* was to unite the courageous, warrior sections of the Muslims at various points with the powers who had been fighting the British. At that time, only the Marāthas were at war with the British.

Consequently, during this period the old Marātha-Muslim wars came to an end. Not only did the Muslims in the Marātha territories join the Marātha army to fight the British to the bitter end but the Muslims from Northern India joined the Marāthas. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz deputed his own favourite disciple and devotee, Sayyid Ahmad to join the army of Amīr 'Alī Khān Sambhālī who, in collaboration with Jaswant Rāo Holkar, was engaged in guerrilla wars against the British.¹⁵⁴ The Mawlānā goes on to say that from the period beginning with Amīr Khān making peace with the British in 1816 to the end of 1818, all the states of India big and small had surrendered. From the Khyber Pass to Cape Comorin,

¹⁵⁴ Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad Miyān, *'Ulamā'-i Hind kā shāndār mādī*, Lahore 1977, II, pp. 81-83.

and from Bombay to Assam and Burma the British flag was planted. None dared challenge the British. There was only one force which was not prepared to surrender. It was fostered by Shāh Walī-Allāh and its aim was *Fakk kull nizām* (that all organisations should disintegrate).¹⁵⁵ In other words it meant a universal and perfect revolution. In this dark age of disappointment the aged commander of Shāh Walī-Allāh's vision named Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, despite his age, chronic illness and blindness, did not waver but stepped forward to make a complete programme for revolution and assigned duties to his disciples commensurate with their ability and competence.

Under Sayyid Ahmad's leadership a group was formed with Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy and Mawlānā Ismā'il as its pillars, as well as the Sayyid's principal advisers. The sub-committee composed of the three leaders was assigned the following duties:

1. To make a tour of the country and arouse the spirit of revolution.
2. To enrol volunteers and give them military training.
3. To collect funds.
4. To make contacts with foreign countries.
5. To make preparations for war.

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz himself controlled the second group consisting of his senior disciples. The duties of this group were :

1. To control central administration.
2. To continue the programme of education and training initiated by Shāh Walī-Allāh for the success of this universal revolution.
3. When the first group had reached the battle front, this second group was required to create a favourable climate (for *jihād*) and to collect funds and recruit volunteers.

Besides Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, the following were important members of the second group:

Mawlānā Shāh Muhammad Ishāq Delhi
Mawlānā Shāh Muhammad Ya'qūb Delhi
Mufti Rashīd al-Dīn Delhi
Mufti Sadr al-Dīn Delhi
Mawlānā Hasan 'Alī Lucknow
Mawlānā Husayn Ahmad Malihābād (Lucknow)
Mawlānā Shāh 'Abd al-Ghani Delhi ¹⁵⁶

According to Mawlānā Muhammad Miyān, the Sayyid's decision to go on a pilgrimage was political and was designed to further the cause of

155 S. W. T., p. 218.

156 'Ulamā'-i Hind kā shāndār māḍī, II, p. 90.

unity among Asian nations for political revolution. A Muslim was not allowed to go on a pilgrimage until his finances were sound and there was sufficient provision for his family not to starve. However, for a revolutionary objective all sacrifices were welcome. Although the political objective of arousing the revolutionary spirit among Asian nations could have been achieved by deputing some chosen representative to go to Mecca, the Sayyid travelled there himself with his eight hundred followers to generate a social revolution.¹⁵⁷

We have quoted lengthy abstracts from Mawlānā Sindī, Mawlānā Madani and Mawlānā Muhammad Miyān, for their views have also influenced western-trained historians. Among modern Indian scholars, Tārā Chand writes :

"His (Shāh Walī-Allāh's) son, Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz (1746-1823), who was a witness to the British occupation of Delhi in 1803, did discover that the foundations of Islam had indeed been destroyed because liberty of conscience and opinion and civil liberty had been denied, and India had, therefore, been converted into *dār al-harb* (land of war)."¹⁵⁸

To K. A. Nizāmī, on the political level, the Shāh's *fatwa* "declaring all land under British occupation as *Dāru'l harb* meant religious sanction to carry on the struggle against the establishment of foreign rule in India." He goes on to say :

"Sayyid Ahmad of Rae Bareilly, the central figure of the Mujāhidin movement, was selected by Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz to organise a *jihād*, struggle against the British power and give a practical shape to his and his father's teachings for political regeneration. As a token of his own participation in the struggle, Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz put his family members, Shāh Muhammad Ismā'il (nephew) and Maulvi 'Abdul Hayy (son-in-law), under him. The movement had a twofold programme : resurgence of political power through active struggle and all-out effort to improve the moral tone of Muslim society and revive true religious spirit. The latter was considered a necessary adjunct to achieve the first. Thus Bālākot was, for all practical purposes, a translation into space-time forces of the abstract ideas of reform and regeneration propounded by Shāh Waliyullāh in his *Hujjatullāhil Baligha* and *Izālatul Khafā* (*sic*) and a sincere attempt to implement the *Fatwa* issued by Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz."¹⁵⁹

157 *'Ulamā'-i Hind kā shāndār mādt*, p. 132.

158 Tara Chand, *History of freedom movement in India*, New Delhi 1961, p. 208. Tara Chand's views are influenced by Mawlānā Muhammad Miyān's theories.

159 K. A. Nizāmī, "Socio-religious movement in Indian Islam" in S. T. Lokhandwalla (ed) *India and Contemporary Islam*, Simla 1971, p. 103.

The Pākistānī scholar I. H. Qureshī says of Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz : "He could not concentrate upon educational and religious work to the exclusion of political matters which were causing grave anxiety to all thinking Muslims. The Muslim power was gone, but the Muslims were still confused because the legal fiction of the Mughal emperor's sovereignty was kept up. Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz removed this confusion by declaring unambiguously that the emperor was utterly helpless; the real power was in the hands of the British; they had only found it politic to refrain from establishing their administration in certain areas. The subcontinent was no longer *dār-ul-Islām* a land where the faith could consider itself in power or even free ; the fact that the British did not interdict the practice of certain Islamic rites made no difference; the Muslims were now living in *dār-ul-harb*, an area where Islām had been deprived of its authority... Mere rulings could not serve the purpose and something more active had to be undertaken ; but such an activity could be based only upon popular support. The Muslim princes were too subservient to the British to be of any great use. If the movement was to be popular, it had to be organized and planned with great circumspection and placed under the leadership of trustworthy and capable leaders. The ground had to be prepared carefully, support had to be canvassed, a network of centres for raising funds and volunteers had to be established, feasible objectives had to be defined, and when this had been achieved, the movement was to be publicly launched. When it is taken into consideration that communications were slow, the distances long, and the means of publicity extremely restricted, the media of mass contacts available today being in those days mostly non-existent, the amount of work involved in such a project is seen to be stupendous. Yet slowly and patiently, Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz and his associates overcame these difficulties. Their tact and methods deserve praise for circumspection because they gave no excuse for the British to interfere. If the movement was to take the shape of an armed conflict a military leader had to be found or trained for this purpose. He had to be a man of spiritual attainments, honest, sincere, brave and devoted passionately to Islam and the cause. The remnants of the degenerate Muslim nobility could not provide such a man; he had to come from a class still immune to the common social maladies of the environment...When Amir Khān settled down as the feudatory ruler of Tonk, there was little left that the Sayyid could do in his service. He then returned to Delhi in 1817. He had matured a good deal; he had acquired invaluable military experience; his progress as a mystic had been remarkable. Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz asked his nephew, Shāh Ismā'il, and his son-in-law, Mawlānā 'Abdul-Hayy, to accept Sayyid Ahmad as their spiritual guide. This throws some light upon the relations between the house and school of Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh Ahmad, which have been obscured a little

because of the legends which have naturally grown around the personality of the latter. It seems legitimate to draw from these happenings the conclusion that Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz had an important role in preparing the Sayyid for the leadership of the new movement. There are strong reasons to believe that Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz had given considerable thought to the question of a *jihād* and had evolved some plan in his mind."¹⁶⁰ 'Aziz Ahmad, another prominent Pākistānī scholar says:

"This verdict (India being *dār al-harb*) is not purely a legal one. Its overtones are broadly political. A ruling by his disciple, Shāh 'Abd al-Hayy, is even more explicit: 'Calcutta and its dependencies are "Country of the Enemy."' These rulings are the angry reactions of the orthodox 'ulamā' to what they considered to be undue interference with the inherited tradition and practice of Hanafī law.

"Lively controversy has raged since 1870 as to whether the militant objectives of the fundamentalist-reformist movement of the *Mujāhidīn* (holy warriors) led by 'Abd al-'Aziz's dynamic disciple Sayyid Ahmad Barelwī, whose chief supporters 'Abd al-Hayy and Muhammad Ismā'il were scions of the house of Walī-Allāh, was directed primarily against the British as much as against the Sikhs on India's north-western frontier. Twentieth-century Muslim historiography in India and Pākistān invests Barelwī with an anti-imperialist role, basing its case mainly on his unpublished correspondence with the rulers of Afghānistān and Bukhārā without fully evaluating the diplomatic latitude and import of these letters. There is little doubt, however, that after the liquidation of the Sikh state in the Punjab, the British inherited from it the problem of the persistent hostility of the *Mujāhidīn*."¹⁶⁰

Muhammad Mujib, an Indian scholar adopts a different line, however. He says :

"It seems incredible that a person like Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz should regard the degenerate and unhonoured figure seated on the throne of Delhi as *Imām al-Muslimīn*. But logically he had no choice. Orthodox thought had so bound itself with injunctions regarding obedience to the ruler and been so consistently careful to avoid placing restraints upon his liberty that it was forced to speak on his behalf. But since nothing could be expected from the Emperor at Delhi, orthodoxy

160 I. H. Qureshī, *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, The Hague 1962, pp. 194-97.

161 'Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan*, Oxford 1967, p. 20.

could save its face only by means of an unequivocal declaration that India had become a *dār al-harb*.... But the declaration that India was a *dār al-harb*, led to many complications. The Christian rulers had to be equated with *kāfirs*, infidels, which could not be done without stretching the letter of the law or, in fact even after stretching it to the utmost. It had to be proved that they restrained the Muslims by force from the practice of their religion. It had to be proved that other restrictions, such as those mentioned in the *fatwa* above, were something new, that the rulers whom the Christians had displaced showed greater regard for freedom of trade and travel, and provided greater security. This could not be done in the face of all the memories of the recent past and all the contemporary evidence to the contrary. And if that could not be done, if it could be argued from the opposite side that India was ruled by people who were not idolators, who were indifferent, but not actively hostile to Islam, and that therefore India was not technically *dār al-harb*, then the orthodox automatically became guilty of rebellion."¹⁶²

The questions raised by Mujib are interesting but it was not essential to equate Christian rulers with infidels in order to declare India a *dār al-harb*. Conquest of a *dār al-Islām* by non-Muslims of any description converted it into a *dār al-harb*. As pointed out by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz himself, the *fatwas* on the circumstances which connected a *dār al-Islām* with a *dār al-harb* were conflicting. In any case India under the British, according to him, did not belong to the category which called for *hijrat*.¹⁶³ The question of *jihād* was never directly or indirectly raised in the *Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*. The East India Company Resident had appointed the Shāh's disciples, including Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy, as law officers to give *fatwas* relating to the shari'a and therefore British interference with the shari'a which would have enabled India to be declared a *dār al-harb* on a legal basis, could not be proved. On the basis of the classical authorities Muslim scholars of the second half of the nineteenth century issued *fatwas* that India under the British was not a *dār al-harb*. There is no historical basis for connecting the *jihād* movement of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd with Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and Shāh Walī-Allāh. The theories of traditional and modern scholars which transform Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz into revolutionaries, is unfortunately undocumented and merely the figment of their imagination. In fact, Ahmad Shāh Durrāni did not invade India at Shāh Walī-Allāh's invitation. He like Mahmud of Ghazna wished to establish a strong Afghān empire in his homeland

162 M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London, p. 391.

163 *Supra*, pp. 236-37.

out of rich Indian loot. Durrāni was unable to consolidate his rule even over the Panjāb and Kashmīr. After his death Afghānistān was also plunged in confusion and chaos. Constant Sikh raids in the Gangetic *doāb* and on Delhi itself had appalled Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. Although the British occupation of Delhi had dismayed the Shāh, the favours showered by the British on him and on his followers had softened his attitude towards them. He did not encourage even *hijrat* (migration) from the British territories, let alone organizing openly or secretly a *jihād*.

Organizational Aspects of the Jihād Movement

The ideas of *jihād* in the sense of war against the infidels seems to have crystallised in Sayyid Ahmad's mind after he decided to leave Amīr Khān, although, after his initiation by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, as a *sūfī*, he had plunged himself into *jihād-i akbar* (the great *jihād*) against his carnal self. As pointed out earlier, the *Sirāt-i mustaqīm* discusses the merits of *jihād*¹⁶⁴ and its benefits for both Muslims and non-Muslims. During his tour of the districts from Delhi to Rae Bareilly with Shāh Ismā'il and Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy, he used to discuss with them and others the merits of *jihād* as a religious duty. The *Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya* by the Sayyid specifically told neophytes that readiness for *jihād* was one of their important duties. In Mecca the Sayyid obtained *bay'a* for *jihād* at Mina. After their return to Rae Bareilly, *jihād* against the Sikhs was declared. The Sayyid's followers who had accompanied him on the pilgrimage, welcomed the decision. The *khalifas* whom the Sayyid had appointed during his tour of northern India from Delhi to Calcutta, popularised the *jihād*, recruited volunteers and collected funds. According to the Sayyid himself, suggestions were made to him to start *jihād* in Indian territory; promises were made to supply him with arms and men, but he did not accept for he wished to follow the rules of the Prophet's *sunna* for fighting *jihād* and not raising an insurrection. One of his Afghān disciples urged that the Sayyid should make the tribal region on the North-West frontier the centre for *jihād*. There hundreds of Muslims would wholeheartedly support him, specially since the ruler, Ranjit Singh, had made their life impossible. He therefore decided to move from India to the North-West frontier.¹⁶⁵

The Sayyid rightly believed that *jihād* against the British in any part of India would be no more than a riot. It was not possible to recruit an adequate number of volunteers from the British territories to fight the English. A *jihād* against the Shi'is of Awadh could not be advocated as Awadh was a British protectorate. A considerable number of soldiers from the disbanded armies of Nawwāb Amīr Khān and other petty chiefs were un-

164 *Supra*, pp. 506-507.

165 *Sirāt*, I, p. 329.

employed. Opportunities for Muslims to find suitable work in British India had been declining. Nevertheless Shāh Ismā'il and Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy's call to recruit volunteers for *jihād* did not meet with much success. The Sayyid's hopes of getting help from the chiefs of Sind, Balūchistān and Kābul were also in vain, but some orthodox Muslims did enter the *mujāhids*' army. After reaching the Afghān tribal regions, Sayyid Ahmad deputed some important disciples to go to Haydarābād in the Deccan to enlist recruits and remit funds from India. Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī Rāmpūrī was sent to Haydarābād. Later he was transferred to Madras, and Mawlānā Wilāyat 'Alī of Patna took his place. Mawlānā 'Ināyat 'Alī of Patna was sent to Bengal, and Bombay was made the centre of Mawlānā Muhammad Qāsim Pānīpatī. Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan's father, Mawlānā Sayyid Awlād Hasan Qannauji, and Sayyid Hamīd al-Dīn were deputed to enlist recruits in different parts of U.P.¹⁶⁶ The money raised was remitted through *hundis* (bills of exchange) by Shāh Muhammad Ishāq and his brother Shāh Muhammad Ya'qūb to Peshāwar bankers. When the Peshāwar bankers stopped paying money to the Sayyid on their chief's orders, the *hundis* were sent to Manāra bankers. They charged twelve per cent commission. In a letter to Mawlānā Muhammad Ishāq, the Sayyid wrote that a *hundi* of Rupees 7950 had been received but nothing had been paid to him.¹⁶⁷ Mawlānā Ishāq instituted legal action in the civil court and the verdict was given in his favour. However, the Muslim opponents of *jihād* were also active. Mawlānā Mahbūb 'Alī, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's disciple, who was highly respected for his piety and independence, was an inveterate enemy of *jihād*. According to an important authority, Mawlānā Mahbūb's sermons against the movement did far greater damage to *jihād* than any Sikh or Durrānī enemy of the Sayyid. The Mawlānā's propaganda stopped a caravan of recruits from departing. The members of the *mujāhid* army sent a number of letters condemning Mawlānā Mahbūb 'Alī's nefarious actions, but it was only after considerable efforts by Mawlānā Muhammad Ishāq and Mawlānā Muhammad Ya'qūb that recruits and funds began to leave for the Frontier.¹⁶⁸ The response from Mufti Sadr al-Dīn, Rashīd al-Dīn Khān and Fadl-i Haqq Khayrābādī could not have been favourable to *jihād*. Indeed the movement was weakest in Delhi.

The *mujāhidin*'s publicity section in the tribal regions was quite active. The Sayyid's letters were generally written by Shāh Ismā'il and the correspondence shows that strenuous efforts were made to allay the

166 Mihr, *Jamā'at-i mujāhidīn*, Lahore n.d., pp. 58-61.

167 *Makātīb*, f. 144b.

168 'Ulamā'-i Hind kā shāndār mādī, II, p. 250.

suspensions and fears of the tribal leaders and the local rulers and kings of Kābul and Transoxiana. These letters were designed to arouse support for the *jihād* and the Sayyid's *imāmat*. The tribal leaders were reminded of Ranjit Singh's atrocities, but the ruler of Bukhārā was told of the threat of British colonisation. The letter to Hindū Rāo, the Rāja of Gwālior, which the Sayyid wrote from Peshāwar, says that the foreigners had become the masters and the merchants had become the rulers. Between them they had destroyed the honour and prestige of the heads of Indian states. As the heads of state retired "to the nook of obscurity" (became inactive), some *faqir* and poverty-stricken people (*mujāhids*) had girt their loins in the service of Almighty God. They did not wish to obtain any position from the worldly powers. They had not started the war out of greed for wealth, for their principal objective was to serve God. When the foreign power was expelled from India and the *faqir's* objectives were attained the existing government officials could continue in the service of their masters. The *faqirs* urged the rulers and their noblemen to serve Islam sincerely and not to be concerned about their rule as such. Although the *faqirs* did not have worldly riches, they were satisfied with the Almighty's protection and did not wish to seize any worldly power, prestige or wealth. Those heads of the old states, who helped the *derwishes*, would have their rule confirmed.¹⁶⁹

The Sayyid also wrote to Ghulām Haydar Khān, a dignitary under Hindū Rāo, saying that although the treachery of certain hypocrites had undermined *jihād*, he himself was confident of its success. However, better plans had been drawn up. The earlier stage had been based on the *mujāhids'* intrepidity, but the second stage was dependent on the availability of funds. Should the latter be obtained, victory in the *jihād* would be attained without much trouble. All the other arrangements had been made, only the finances with which to launch the struggle were awaited. The funds from Mawlānā Muhammad Ishāq were being gradually remitted, and some had already been received. In these circumstances it was advisable that he (Ghulām Haydar) should bring home to Rāja Hindū Rāo that most of the Indian territories had fallen into the hands of the foreigners who had everywhere unleashed tyranny and oppression. The heads of the Indian states had become spineless; none had the strength to face the foreigners. Everyone accepted their mastery. It was because of the inability of the heads of state to fight the foreigners that some insignificant, feeble people (*mujāhidin*) had girt their loins (to drive the foreigners out). It was in the interests of the heads of states, who had been ruling for many long years, to make strenuous efforts to assist these insignificant people (*mujāhids*), whose efforts they should regard as a source of strength

169 *Makātib*, f. 79b.

for the foundations of their own states. Others did not understand the *faqīr* (the Sayyid) well but he (Ghulām Haydar) was fully aware that the *faqīr* did not have any ambitions to seize power, sovereignty or worldly riches. To him, associations with anything other than Allāh were polytheism. God was his (the Sayyid's) witness that, apart from promoting the furtherance of Allāh's words (Islam) his battles had no other objective. As soon as the foreigners who had been the enemies of the faith were driven out of India and his objectives were attained, government posts would be filled by those who yearned for them. The *faqīr* (the Sayyid) was the Almighty's slave and not a despotic ruler. Were the heads of the Indian states unable to join the resourceless feeble people (*mujāhids*) in fighting, they certainly had the power to assist them with bread and water (funds). It was imperative for them to consider themselves participating (in the *jihād*) actively by performing that duty (paying money). In short, the Sayyid pointed out that Ghulām Haydar should make them (*Rāja Hindū Rāo* and other *Rājas*) understand that their assistance at that time was going to pay them heavy dividends, for God had destined that that insignificant person (the Sayyid) should succeed. Although, for the time being, the signs of victory were not visible, they would appear soon.¹⁷⁰

These letters were written to raise funds from Gwalior and other Indian states since the *mujāhidīn*'s earlier plan had failed and they were desperately in need of financial assistance. They promised the rulers their thrones in return for funds. It is wrong to presume that Sayyid Ahmad Shahid was concerned only to drive the British out of India and intended to leave power in the hands of the Indian heads of states, as Husayn Ahmad Madani and other nationalist Muslims invite us to believe. Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī Nadwi rightly says that those who thought that after the expulsion of the British, the Sayyid intended to hand over supreme power to the Indian heads of states and non-Muslims were unaware of the Sayyid's life's mission and emotions and the spirit of his movement. He would never have allowed an Indian secular, or a united Hindu-Muslim, rule which did not make Islam or Islamic law predominant and where the control of the states or the sovereign authority was not in Islamic hands. His letters themselves are clear evidence against this popular myth.¹⁷¹ In fact, the Sayyid's *jihād* was designed to destroy both the Sikhs and the British and to make India a *dār al-Islām*. Those Hindu heads of state who helped him were guaranteed their throne and a *dhimmi* (protected subjects) status; the future for the others in the Sayyid's *dār al-Islām* was bleak. By no stretch of imagination his *jihād* was the war for Indian independence.

170 *Makātīb*, ff. 80a-b.

171 *Sīrat*, I, pp. 324-25.

The Failure of the *Mujāhidin*

Mawlānā 'Ubayd-Allāh Sindī considers the *mujāhidin's* departure from the revolutionary guidelines of Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz as the principal reason for their failure. He says that initially the *mujāhidin* were under the control of the Delhi centre which followed Shāh Walī-Allāh's guidelines, but after Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy's death, they began to rebel and they installed a provisional government on the river Indus as a rival to the Delhi centre of control. Shāh Walī-Allāh's principles of government were thrown aside and the imām (leader) of the board was replaced by a dictator. Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd became the Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-mu'minīn*) and the reformer caliph of the Islamic world. On the one hand the Afghān tribal leaders were expected to consider their obedience to him a religious duty, but on the other hand, the rulers of Bukhārā, Turkey and other countries were also expected to be submissive to the Sayyid. To the *mujāhidin*, Shāh Walī-Allāh's Hanafī fiqh was no longer important. The Indian followers of the Najdī¹⁷² and Yamānī¹⁷³ schools of thought did not even consider adherence to the Hanafī fiqh imperative. This caused religious enmity between the Afghāns and the *mujāhidin*.¹⁷⁴ The Hindustānī *mujāhidin*, who had not taken their families on the campaign, began to force Afghān girls to marry them.¹⁷⁵ Those who were not trained in Walī-Allāh's school of thought and in their fanaticism refused to obey their commander's order, were the most prominent in marrying Afghān girls. In fact, on the day, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd became a commander, and gave this group latitude the fire of Afghān rebellion was lit.¹⁷⁶

Mawlānā Mas'ūd 'Alī Nadwī and his followers sharply disagree with Sindī's analysis. However, apart from condemning Afghān perfidy, and betrayal, they themselves do not offer any alternative theories. In fact, Sayyid Ahmad had not made any military plans in advance for the war in the tribal regions; nevertheless the early response of the Afghān tribes to fight under him (the Sayyid) was impressive. Although Shāh Ismā'il gave up the custom of raising the hands when praying (*rafa'-yadayn*) and the Sayyid tried to convince the Afghāns that he and his followers were

172 Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's school.

173 Imām Shawkānī's school.

174 *Shāh Walī-Allāh aur unki siyāsī tahrīk*, pp. 109-10.

175 Both Sayyid Ahmad's wives were in Sind. The Sayyid had given his second wife, the widow of his brother, his word that he would not marry a third wife without her consent. The poison administered at Yār Muhammad's instance made the Sayyid very sick and he was advised to marry again. Permission was obtained from his second wife and the Sayyid took his third wife at Kharr (*Sawānīh*, II, p. 64).

176 *Shāh Walī-Allāh aur unki siyāsī tahrīk*, pp. 109-10, 116-17.

devoted Hanafis, they could not overcome the enemy propaganda that they were following anti-Hanafī Wahhābi rules. The Sayyid could not end tribal jealousies and feuds. His religious tax (*'ushr*) and desperate hurry to reform Afghān matrimonial customs dealt a death blow to the movement. His assumption of the status of imām was irreconcilable with traditional Sunni political thought and he was unable to convince the tribal chiefs and neighbouring rulers of his sincerity.

Puritanism and Jihād in Bengal

Early nineteenth-century Bengal was dominated by Sunni political movements and the Muslim peasants' defensive war against the oppression and tyranny of the Hindu *zamindārs* who were aided by Indigo planters and the English police. The leader in West Bengal was Mir Nithār 'Alī, also called Titū Mir. He was born in 1782 in a humble village family in Chāndpūr near Narkulbaria in the Barāset district. He does not seem to have received any higher education. In about 1815 he became a professional wrestler in Calcutta. The Hindu *zamindārs* of Nadia employed him to extort illegal taxes from their ryots. He was imprisoned after a fight over tax collection. After his release he became an attendant to a member of the Delhi royal family and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. There, in about 1822, he became Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's disciple and was imbued with his *pir's* zeal for puritanical and Sunni revivalism. In 1827 he returned to Bengal and settled in Hardiārpūr near Narkulbaria. Very soon some three or four hundred disciples gathered round him ; while his former royal employer continued to pay his salary.

His teachings were an amalgam of those of *Sirāt-i mustaqīm* and the *Taqwiyat al-imān*. He concentrated particularly on reforming Bengālī customs regarding dress and food. The Hindus wore their *dhotīs* (about two or three yards of cloth) wrapped around the waist with one of its ends passing between the legs, and tucked in at the waist at the back. The Mir ordered that the end should not be passed between the legs. He also urged his disciples to grow beards and eat only in the company of reformed Muslims. The Sunnis had no objections to dining with Hindus and resented the Mir's restrictions. The Bengālī Muslims, who deeply revered the tombs and relics of both legendary and actual sūfis and organized *ta'ziya* processions, grew hostile to the Mir's puritanism.

His opponents also sought support from the local *zamindārs* who were frightened by the growing unity among the Muslims and decided to nip the movement in the bud. In 1830, the *zamindārs* initiated several law-suits against the Mir's followers. The police supported the *zamindārs* and their suits were successful. As Titū Mir's followers were bearded, Krishna Deva, one of the *zamindārs*, introduced a special tax of Rs. 1½ per beard known as "the beard tax" and collected it ruthlessly. In the middle of

1831, Krishna Deva attacked a village inhabited by Titū Mir's followers, ransacked their houses and burnt the mosque. The Mir was unable to obtain redress from the local court, consequently his followers retaliated by slaughtering a cow and desecrating the temple in Krishna Deva's own village of Purwa. The local police were not particularly interested in restoring peace, but the Europeans were greatly alarmed and wrote to the government. Meanwhile the villagers stormed two factories of the Indigo Planters and destroyed them. A body of native infantry, some horse artillery and a detachment of the Governor-General's bodyguard hastened from Calcutta and made short work of the followers of Titū Mir who himself fell during the fighting. Hunter and Rehatsek's suggestion that "the capture of Peshāwar in 1830 by the Fanatic Hoste (Sayyid Ahmad) emboldened Titū Miyan (Mir) to throw off all disguise, and the petty oppression to which the Hindu landlords subjected his followers, placed him at the head of an infuriated peasant rising, the object of which was to overthrow the Company's rule",¹⁷⁷ is unrealistic. Titū Mir had sought justice from the local court and resorted to arms only when he did not get it.¹⁷⁸

In West Bengal the puritanical movement petered out, but it was more effective and permanent in East Bengal, where it was known as the Farā'idī movement. Its founder, Hājji Shari'at-Allāh, was born in 1781 in a village in the Madāripūr subdivision (Farīdpur district from 1873). When he was eight years old he was orphaned but received an elementary education in Arabic, Persian, the Qur'ān and Sunnī theological works. In 1799 he and his teacher, Mawlānā Bashārat 'Alī, left for Mecca. Shari'at-Allāh returned to Bengal in 1818 and did not come into contact with Sayyid Ahmad at any stage of his career. He studied in Mecca and Medina under the Bengālī and Indian teachers domiciled there. He is said to have lived in Cairo for about two years, but the available evidence does not suggest that he was a formal student in the celebrated Azhar University. His teachers were not followers of Shaykh Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb, but Hājji Shari'at-Allāh was impressed with the Wahhābī puritanism and hostility to *sūfī* practices. Hājji Shari'at-Allāh is believed to have made another short visit to Mecca later. From 1820 until his death in 1840 he successfully preached his own version of Wahhābism. The inscription on his grave describes him as :

"the learned of all learned, the exponent of Divine Law in eloquent and elegant tongue, the source of all guidance in the lands of Hind

177 Quoted from the *Calcutta Review* by A. Bari, "The Reform Movement in Bengal" in *A history of the freedom movement 1907-1947*, I, Karāchī 1957, p. 554.

178 W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, pp. 45-46 ; A. R. Mallick, *British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal*, Dacca 1961, pp. 76, 81-87, 90-92 ; M. A. Khan, "The struggle of Titū Mir, a re-examination", *Journal Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, IV, 1959, pp. 113-33.

and Bengal, defender of religion against the menaces of the Shi'ahs and the disbelievers and against all misguidance, valiant fighter for righteousness against all falsehood and vanity, deliverer of Islam (which) was covered by darkness like the sun enveloped in clouds, whose words in truthfulness were like mountains in the open field."¹⁷⁹

Twenty years of absence from Bengal had convinced Hājji Shari'at-Allāh that the traditional Bengālī Islam called *sābiqī*, was Hinduised and corrupt. It was pervaded by unholy *pīrs* (sūfī guides) and *murids* (disciples), by Hinduised mystic cults of local sūfism and by Shi'ī popular practices. The Hājji declared all of them polytheistic and, in order to purify themselves, his Farā'idī converts first performed *tawba* (repentance) and then took a vow rejecting *pirimuridi* and mystic cults. The Bengālī Muslims were devoted to innumerable *pīrs* such as Panch Pīr, Mānik Pīr, Ghora pīr, Satya Pīr, Kunbhira Pīr, Madārī Pīr, Pīr Badr, Khwāja Khidr, Zinda Ghāzi and Shaykh Saddū. In order to undermine belief in those legendary and mythical *pīrs*, the Hājji and his lieutenants called themselves *ustāds* (teachers) instead of *pīrs*. Their disciples were known not as *murids* but as *shāgirds* (pupils). The Hājji also condemned the *pūthīs* (treatises in prose and verse describing the achievements of the Prophet's family composed by the Bengālī Muslims). *Mawlūd sharīf* and the celebration of the Prophet's birthday were given up. The tragedy of Karbalā in Muharram was commemorated by Bengālī Sunnis with wailing and crying. *Ta'ziya* processions filled the streets. The Hājji declared all these celebrations to be polytheistic. The Farā'idīs stopped many Hinduised customs which the Muslim Bengālīs observed at childbirth, marriage and death. The superstitious worship of Shitlā Devī, the Hindu-goddess of small-pox, which the Bengālī Muslims had never abandoned in an effort to ward off that terrible disease, was also prohibited. All these customs, according to the Hājji, were incompatible with *Tawhīd* or the Unity of God. *Imān* (faith) was not possible without rejecting all polytheistic practices in daily life. To the Farā'idīs, the sūfī custom of the *murid* clasping the hands of his *pīr* was against early Islamic practice. The Farā'idī *ustād* administered *tawba* orally to the *shāgird* who sat in front of him.

The Farā'idīs were called upon to adhere only to the obligatory duties of Islam : the profession of *kalima*, the performance of five daily prayers, fasting during the month of Ramadān, paying *zakāt* and going on pilgrimage. Their most distinctive departure was the abandonment of Friday and 'id congregational prayers. They argued that under Hanafī law prayers were permitted only in the *misr-i jāmi'* or in those towns where Muslim *amīrs* (administrators) ruled and the *qādis* were appointed by lawful

179 Khān, M. A., *History of the Farā'idī movement*, Karāchī 1965, p. 40.

Muslim sultāns. India, ruled by the British, did not fulfil these conditions.

The Farā'idī arguments were, however, irreconcilable with the Sunni duties detailed in Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwa* declaring India a *dār al-harb*.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, many eminent Sunni 'ulamā' launched a counter-Farā'idī movement but, not until the creation of Pākistān did the Farā'idīs change their interpretations on congregational Friday and 'id prayers. Following the Arab custom of eating locusts, which did not exist in Bengal, Hājji Sharī'at-Allāh urged his followers to eat grasshoppers as he thought they resembled locusts. Titū Mīr neither followed the Farā'idī teachings on congregational prayers nor ordered his followers to eat grasshoppers. However, both adopted the same style of wearing the *dhoti*.

The Farā'idī movement rapidly spread to villages in Dacca, Farīdpūr, Bāqirganj and Mymensingh. However, opposition from both traditional Muslims and Hindu *zamīndārs* to the movement was formidable. From 1831 onwards the Farā'idīs had to fight on both fronts. Their war against the Hindu *zamīndārs* was socio-economic rather than purely religious. It started with the Hājji's opposition to the illegal taxes which the *zamīndārs* imposed on the Muslims in connection with the celebration of Hindu idolatrous festivals such as *Kālī vritti* (tax for *Kālī pūjās* or worship), *Durgā vritti* (tax for *Durgā pūjā* or worship). The *zamīndārs*, however, accused the Muslims of the non-payment of legal revenue and alleged that they had united to establish their own rule.¹⁸¹ There was some fighting between the Farā'idīs and the *zamīndārs*, but it was Hājji Sharī'at-Allāh's son, Muhammad Muhsin, known as Dūdū Miyān (1819-1862), who, after his return from Mecca in 1837, led the Farā'idīs in skirmishes with the Hindu *zamīndārs*. He succeeded his father when Hājji Sharī'at-Allāh died in 1840. In 1841 and 1842, Dūdū Miyān's followers fought bravely against both the *zamīndārs* and their allies, the European indigo planters. Dūdū Miyān was also involved in many law suits, and those Muslims opposed to the Farā'idī movement made common cause with his other enemies. In 1844, he was tried for abduction and theft but was acquitted for lack of evidence. In 1857 he was imprisoned in Calcutta to prevent him from inciting rebellion but was released two years later.¹⁸² The British administrators considered the Farā'idīs less dangerous than Sayyid Ahmad's Wahhābī followers and believed that their revolutionary views did not extend beyond disputing their landlords' claim for rent.

Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī of Jawnpūr, an important disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, who stigmatised the Farā'idīs as the Khārijīs of Bengal,

180 *Supra*, pp. 229-30.

181 *British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal*, pp. 67-78, 91 and 92 ; *History of the Farā'idī movement*, pp. 1-22.

182 *History of the Farā'idī movement*, pp. 23-59 ; *British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal*, pp. 81-87, 90-92.

travelled through many districts of eastern Bengal and Assam between 1835 and 1873. He gave the Farā'idīs no peace, engaging their leaders in endless polemics and writing many pamphlets condemning their beliefs. The Mawlānā advocated purist sūfī beliefs and denounced the Bengālī accretions and cult worship. He was also opposed to the Bengālī Sunni's Muharram celebrations and *ta'ziyas*. His followers were known as Tayyūnis (adherents of a particular school of fiqh and order of sūfism). The Tayyūnis exercised a deep influence on the life of the Bengālī Sunnis.¹⁸³

183 *History of the Farā'idī movement*, pp. 89-115.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Puritanical and Polemical Works of Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān's Disciples

The literary legacy of Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān was very meagre, only a small collection of his letters and a *diwān* (collection of *ghazals*) survive. The Mirzā's main concerns were to train his disciples in the teachings of Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni and to promote Sunnī puritanism and orthodoxy. His successors, however, wrote works on all branches of knowledge including Qur'ānic exegesis, jurisprudence, hadīth and sūfism.

These works largely corroborate the teachings of Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and his brothers, but in some respects, Mirzā Mazhar's disciples differed sharply from the Shāh Walī-Allāh's school. Even during Mirzā Mazhar's lifetime, and at his instigation, in 1184/1770 his talented disciple Mawlānā Ghulām Yahyā had written the *Kalimāt al-Haqq*, concerning the controversy over the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. Ghulām Yahyā presented the treatise to Mirzā Mazhar who wrote the following comments :

"The head of the learned 'ulamā', the compendium of scholars, expert in traditional and rational sciences, Sayyid Ghulām Yahyā... who has been admitted to a brotherly relationship with the Naqsh-bandiyya order by this perfectly ignorant one (Mirzā Mazhar), has written a small treatise on the principles of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* and presented it to me. Although it is very concise it is most valuable and incisive. However, there was no need to refute the reconciliation of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* effected by Shāh Walī-Allāh. Although the reconciliation of the divine inspiration received by the two sages (ibn 'Arabī and the Mujaddid) is not free from artificiality, it is designed to promote good will."¹

1 Ghulām 'Alī, *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, Delhi 1892, p. 80.

Ghulām Yahyā and Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn

Ghulām Yahyā, the son of Najm al-Dīn, was born in a village near Patna. In acquiring learning, he memorized the Qur'ān and then he studied advanced religious texts in the *Madarasa* Mansūriyya of Mawlānā Bāb-Allāh of Jawnpūr. He also undertook some study in Lucknow. After completing his higher education he became a teacher and wrote commentaries on the textbooks of higher learning in metaphysics and logic. He was also initiated into the Qādiriyya order. He then went to Delhi and became the disciple of Mirzā Mazhar. For six months his progress was very disappointing, but persistent application and effort made him a distinguished sūfi of the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya order. When he died in 1186/1772, Mirzā Mazhar wrote in a letter that this was an irreparable loss and a heart-rending tragedy.²

The preface of the *Kalimāt al-Haqq* shows that the material and arguments presented in the treatise were based on Mirzā Mazhar's discourses. Mawlānā Yahyā says that the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* tenets do not belong to the basic articles of faith, consequently, *imān* (faith) and Islam are not based on them. Both these doctrines explain the connection between hādith (the temporal) and *qadīm* (the eternal). The Qur'ān and *sunna* (the Prophet's traditions) tell us that the universe is hādith and that Almighty God, its Creator, is eternal. The shari'a does not tell us whether Creator and created are one single "essence" or whether one excludes the other. It is only through mystical allusions that these two doctrines can be gleaned from the works in the shari'a. However, fundamental Islamic beliefs should not be based on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* in such a way that the impression is created that they are indispensable articles of faith. Both these doctrines are based on the divine inspiration of eminent sūfis. In the course of their mystic journey the truth of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was revealed to some sūfis, and that of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* to others. There are some allusions to the problems raised by these two doctrines in the statements by the companions of the Prophet and their successors, as well as in those made by ancient sūfis who had achieved complete self-control, but no one is known to have discussed them openly. From the time of Shaykh-i Akbar (ibn al-'Arabī), books and treatises investigating the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* have been written by his contemporaries and followers. A group of pseudo-sūfis was so miserably misled by the growing popularity of this principle that they identified belief in the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* with belief in Islam. The same thing is happening now among sūfi impostors, according to Ghulām Yahyā. They have no real perception of its theories and are devoted only to some external ceremonies which they consider its essence. They do

2 *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, pp. 79-81.

not know that obedience to the shari'a is the only way to become a perfect member of the Prophet's *umma*. The *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* was formulated originally by Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnāni and further clarified by the Mujaddid. Ghulām Yahyā writes that the seekers after truth should consider as an elixir association with a perfect sūfi whose outward life is compatible with the Qur'ān and *sunna* and whose heart is spiritually awakened. They should devote themselves only to those principles which are imparted by their chosen spiritual guide and should approach all the protégés of God (*awliyā'-Allāh*) with the conviction that the truth resides within both *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. When a competent sūfi guide has been discovered by a seeker, the latter should dedicate himself to his guide's specific teaching. However, rival views should not be vilified, although the devotee should accept as correct whatever criticism his guide makes of others, for a sūfi guide's teachings are based on his own perceptions. He is not a blind imitator. It is true that those principles which do not violate the shari'a or reason are acceptable to all mature minds and unnecessary argument is unwarranted. Neither is the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* nor the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* contrary to the shari'a or reason. There is no doubt that some sūfis in their treatises have discussed the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* rationally and presume their reasoning to be final. However, those who are expert in rational thinking know that Being can be rationally proved to be non-existent. These arguments are not acceptable even to the Khattābiyya³, let alone can they be deemed conclusive. In short, the spiritual meaning of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* is dependent on mystical states and not on rational arguments. To discuss them logically is only a waste of precious time.⁴

The author then summarises the main points of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. Any refutation of Shāh Walī-Allāh's *tatbiq* (reconciliation) of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* was opposed by his sons, other relations and disciples as fiercely as they fought against the Shi'i beliefs.

Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn wrote a voluminous book called the *Damgh al-bātil*, first quoting a sentence from the *Kalimāt al-Haqq* and then presenting a detailed rebuttal of that sentence. Sometimes the refutation of a single sentence runs into several pages in which his father, Shāh Walī-Allāh's standpoint is defended. In his preface, Shāh Rafi' al-Dīn says that he was educated by his father, Shāh Walī-Allāh, and elder brother, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. He developed a taste for researching disciplines based on divine revelations and his studies of the works of eminent sūfis and those of his father, Shāh Walī-Allāh, had made his perceptions about spiritual discip-

3 An extremist Shi'i sect founded by Abu'l-Khattāb (killed in 138/755).

4 Mawlānā Ghulām Yahyā, *Kalimāt al-Haqq*, Rāmpūr Ms., ff. 1b-2b.

lines very clear. Around 1184/1770, he was informed that one of his contemporaries who had been suffering from "the disease of confusion and perturbation, and had been entangled in war of strife and conflict",⁵ had written a treatise according to which the differences between ibn al-'Arabi and the Mujaddid were real. The study of this treatise upset many true sūfis and spiritualists who urged him (Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn) to write a book explaining the true nature of the controversy. As his teaching duties left him little leisure, it took the Shāh some time to complete his book, the *Damgh al-bātil* on the controversy. He writes that Ghulām Yahyā's book contains nothing but discourses on falsehood and is wrongly called the *Kalimāt al-Haqq* (Discourses on truth). He states accordingly that he will not concern himself with contradicting all the lies and misstatements in the *Kalimāt al-Haqq*, but will refute only the attacks on his father's (Shāh Wali-Allāh's) theories of the *tatbiq* (reconciliation) between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. The Shāh gives two reasons for not contradicting Ghulām Yahyā's description of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. Firstly, he writes, the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* theory is universally known, while not much research has been done on the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*, and it has not been properly assessed by the rationalists. Secondly, Ghulām Yahyā's analysis of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was borrowed from the treatise by Sayyid Sharīf al-Dīn, a distinguished disciple of Shāh Wali-Allāh. The Sayyid, according to Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, was a leading sūfī. So far as the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* was concerned, it had been analysed by incompetent scholars like Ghulām Yahyā and was full of errors.

Although it was clearly stated in the *Kalimāt al-Haqq* that the discussions in the treatise were based on the discourses of Mīrzā Mazhar, Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn attacked it harshly.

Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn asserts that the faith of the spiritual élite is not complete without perception of these two principles.⁶ The Qur'ān and the *sunna* confirm the truth of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. So far as the requirements of faith are concerned, it is imperative to know the relationship between God and universe. This connection is described in terms such as *ihāta* (enclosing), *ma'iyat* (association) and *qurb* (proximity). The question is asked whether "enclosing" by Being is through *zill* (shadow) which emanates from the shadow itself, or through some other way. The founder of the sharī'a only lays down the basic principles and the details have been worked out from the Qur'ān and the *sunna* by distinguished 'ulamā'. They draw upon their entire fund of knowledge, which comes from the teachings and beliefs of the companions of the Prophet and their successors, and comprehend the reality of every principle through divine light, thus protecting the faith from the intrusions of innovators who are controlled

5 Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hamīd Siwātī (ed.) *Damgh al-bātil*, Gujrānwāla, 1976, pp. 100-1.

6 *Ibid*, p. 103.

by the devil. The process keeps the door of learning open. In the beginning, it was not essential to discuss a large number of problems ; now discussion of them has become imperative.⁷ Research into the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* removes innumerable doubts as regards faith and belief. Khwāja Abū Nasr Pārsā, son of Khwāja Muhammad Pārsā,⁸ said that according to his father, the *Fusūs al-hikam* can be identified with the human soul, and that the *Futūhāt al-Makkiyya* (by ibn al-'Arabī) can be identified with the human heart. Whoever is able to understand the *Fusūs al-hikam* has his obedience to the Prophet reinforced. The perception of the stages of self-determination of Being is the *sine qua non* for comprehension of the nature of closeness to God.

Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn says that Mawlānā Yahyā's description of the Creator and the created is grossly misleading. for the Qur'ānic verses and innumerable *ahādīth* (traditions) of the Prophet also show the importance of *ihāta*, *ma'iyat* and *qurb*. Those who deny the validity of these concepts are guilty of negating the essentials of faith. In fact, the principal motive of the *shārī'* (law-giver) is to teach the nature of *qurb* (proximity). The prophets were sent primarily to destroy polytheism (*shirk*) and to tear away the veils that separated the Creator from the created. It was wrong to assume that Almighty God was far removed from His slaves who, like worldly rulers, had appointed governors to rule on God's behalf. Human beings became slaves of these governors who could be likened to idols. The governors initiated forms of worship and devotional exercises, and obeyed God's commands in order to protect the positions granted them by Him. The subjects' aim was to please their governors in order to obtain positions of their own and the fulfilment of their desires from Almighty God. It was believed that the governors were Almighty God's agents who would fulfil the needs of His subjects and intercede on behalf of sinners. This type of polytheism, the Shāh asserts, is eradicated in the *sharī'a* through principles such as *qurb*, *ma'iyat* and the *ihāta* of Being, Attributes and Theophany.⁹

Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn goes on to say that the *sharī'a* literature is not silent on the relationship between Creator and created. The statement that this relationship was only alluded to mystically was slanderous. The basic principles, rather the essence, of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* is based on *qurb* and *ma'iyat* and cannot be pushed into the realm of allusions and hints. No other principles of Islamic belief and action could be proved from the Qur'ān and hadith, the Shāh asserts. Only the Ismā'īlīs used the mechanism of allusions to the Qur'ānic verses and they rejected the *sharī'a*.¹⁰ To consider the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*

7 *Damgh al-bātil*, pp. 105-67.

8 *Ibid*, pp. 118-24

9 *Ibid*, p. 114.

10 *Ibid*, p. 119.

which form the basic articles of faith, simply as *sūfi* revelations, is preposterous and amounts to rejecting the fundamental realities of faith. The protégés of God (*awliyā'-Allāh*) were compendiums of exoteric and esoteric knowledge and were experts on the shari'a and rational sciences. They weighed their revelations on the scales of the shari'a. Endeavouring to belittle the importance of the revelations of eminent *sūfis* who were also *mujtahids* (legal experts) in their day, is a departure from the path of truth and rectitude.¹¹ Sounding a note of warning on aspects of different types of revelation, the Shāh says that attempts should not be made to assign priority to the revelations received by one eminent *sūfi* over those of others, and both should be accepted as correct.

The Shāh goes on to say that it was not possible for the Prophet's companions and their successors or for the ancient *sūfis* to ignore the clear shari'a injunctions about the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. Indeed the Prophet's companions and their successors had discussed the Unity of Being, but there is no evidence to prove that Being is farthest removed from creation.¹² The Shāh does not agree that the concept of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was initiated by ibn al-'Arabi and asserts that it is clearly mentioned in the Qur'ān and Prophet Muhammad's speeches. As with all the other principles of faith, contemporaries and near-contemporaries of the Prophet did not involve themselves in analysis and research into the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, nor did they bother to invent technical terms and detailed arguments. In the days of Muhammad Ghazālī, of his brother Ahmad Ghazālī (d. 520/1126) and of 'Ayn al-Qudāt Hamadānī (492/1098-520/1126), however, a considerable number of treatises were written and deep research was done on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. It was ibn al-'Arabi who was destined to finalise its basic and subsidiary principles. Later scholars only drew upon his contributions. In short, the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* is identical with the *Tawhīd-i imāni* (Divine unity as described in faith). Just as over-valuation and under-valuation of the various religious principles are undesirable so it is of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, which is the essence of gnosis.¹³ Accusing Ghulām Yahyā of misunderstanding the teachings of the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* by Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī and the Mujaddid the Shāh says that neither of the two great Shaykhs had advocated the principle of the remoteness of the created being from the Creator. Both of them interpret certain basic terms differently from the *Wujūdiyya* but the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* does not contradict the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*.¹⁴ The Shāh also advocates the necessity for associating with a perfect *sūfi* saint but adds that it was undesirable to refute the mystic revelations of

11 *Damgh al-bātil*, pp. 125-26.

12 *Ibid*, pp. 128-29.

13 *Ibid*, pp. 134-35.

14 *Ibid*, pp. 141-42.

other *sūfis* (Shāh Walī-Allāh) as Ghulām Yahyā had done even though he was certainly inferior to them. The Shāh goes on to say that it was absolutely wrong to contradict an eminent *sūfi* (Shāh Walī-Allāh) who, on the basis of his mystic revelations, had made *tatbiq* (a reconciliation) between the revelations of two eminent *sūfis* (ibn al-'Arabī and the Mujaddid) and then to be proud of one's own revelations as Ghulām Yahyā had done. Devotion to one's own *sūfi* guide, the Shāh states, does not mean that the principles adopted by the majority of *sūfis* should be contradicted.¹⁵ Khwāja Muhammad Pārsā had advised *sūfi* novices to obtain instruction from two guides simultaneously and claimed that all the protégés of God were equally important; all hands were only one hand. All followed the same goal. The differences were only in the outer form. It was wrong to dedicate oneself to one's own guide and reject another. The favourite of one particular *sūfi* guide should be the favourite of others. To see double was a characteristic of squint-eyed people. The Shāh says that Mawlānā Ghulām Yahyā's statement discouraging the practice of condemning rival views was good but he blames the Mawlānā for ignoring the rule himself. All eminent *sūfis* had urged that *tatbiq* be made. If devotion to one's own *sūfi* guide made it essential to vilify rival views, one's own *sūfi* guide should be abandoned.¹⁶ The Shāh takes strong exception to Mawlānā Yahyā's pronouncement that treatises which attempted to prove the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* rationally were useless. He goes on to say that the authors alluded to by the Mawlānā were Shāh Walī-Allāh Dihlawī and Sayyid Sharīf al-Dīn. The former had written the *Maktūb-i Madanī*¹⁷ and the latter wrote the *Qawl al-fasl fi irjā' al-fara' ila'l-usūl*. The Shāh then gives a long list of scholars beginning with Ghazālī and ending with his grandfather, Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm (father of Shāh Walī-Allāh) and Sayyid Sharāf al-Dīn, who had proved the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* rationally. Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn then quotes the rational arguments made by Shāh Walī-Allāh in the *Maktūb-i Madanī* and presents his own logical proof.¹⁸ Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn concludes his preface with a long note saying that discussion on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* was not a waste of time. Both mystical observation and reason were imperative for the understanding of these two principles.¹⁹

15 *Damgh al-bātil*, pp. 143-145.

16 *Ibid*, p. 147.

17 The *Maktūb-i Madanī* (The Madīna Epistle) was written by the Shāh in response to Ismā'il Āfandī. Shāh Walī-Allāh in this epistle contended that there was no real difference between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*. The disagreements were mainly semantic. Nevertheless he followed the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* himself (S. W. T., pp. 223-24, 264-67).

18 *Damgh al-bātil*, pp. 149-192.

19 *Ibid*, pp. 192-93.

No work refuting the *Damgh al-bātil* was written. Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn's nephew, Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd, wrote the '*Abaqāt*'²⁰ defending Shāh Walī-Allāh's pro-Wujūdiyya sūfism. However, Mirzā Mazhar's disciples were not converted, and did not spare Shāh Walī-Allāh in their letters and speeches. For example, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī remarked that Shāh Walī-Allāh had made *tatbiq* (a reconciliation) between statements by ibn al-'Arabi and Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī, thinking that the dispute between them was a matter of words only. Shāh Walī-Allāh, Ghulām 'Alī acknowledged, was a great sage and had indicated a new line of thought. However, his views on the controversy were not correct. He had forced the mystic state (*hāl*) into the realm of discussion (*qāl*) to make his *tatbiq*. The mystical states of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* were clearly different from each other. Those who had some perception of the Mujaddid's spiritual contributions (*ma'ārif*) knew that the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* was experienced in the initial stages of the *sūfic* journey and belonged to the realm of the *sayr* (journey) to *latifa-i qalb* (refinement of the heart), while the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* was the *sayr* to *latifa-i nafs* (refinement of the soul). The Mujaddid's *ma'ārif* (mystical knowledge or gnosis) was far beyond these two stages, however. The mystical knowledge of ibn al-'Arabi was only a drop, while that of the Mujaddid was an ocean. Had ibn al-'Arabi been alive in the Mujaddid's day and been able to consult the Mujaddid's *ma'ārif*, he would have learned a great deal from it.²¹

According to Ghulām 'Alī, it was wrongly claimed that all the eminent sūfis (*awliyā'-Allāh*) were devoted to the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*; on the contrary, 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī, among the classical sūfis and Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī among the more contemporary ones, were opposed to it. Many sūfi devotees had sat at the feet of each of these two great sūfis. This shows that there was no unanimity on the question. Even the works of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī were opposed to the principles of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. According to the Shaykh, Mansūr Hallāj had gone astray in his *sūfic* perceptions. Had he been alive during Hallāj's time, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir would have helped him. The Shaykh lamented that there was no outstanding sūfi in Hallāj's age who could have enlightened him.²²

Shāh Ghulām 'Alī

Shāh Ghulām 'Alī Dihlawī, son of Shāh 'Abd al-Latif of Batālā in the Panjāb, was born in 1156/1743,²³ and arrived in Delhi with his father in 1174/1760-61. He devoted four years to studying at the feet of eminent

20 *Supra*, p. 514.

21 Ra'ūf Ahmad Mujaddidī, (ed.), *Durr al-ma'ārif*, n. d., pp. 153, 158.

22 Muhammad Iqbāl Mujaddidī (ed.), *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa*, Lahore 1878, p. 164.

23 *Durr al-ma'ārif*, p. 252. According to the *Damīma* (Appendix) to the *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, the letters of Mazhar-i Jūd (1156) yield the date of his birth, p. 1.

sūfis of different orders. Under Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz he studied hadith works, particularly the *Sahih* by al-Bukhārī. In 1178/1764-65 he became Mirzā's disciple, and was later appointed *khalīfa* (successor), by him. During his early career he lived a very hard life of poverty and asceticism. When the number of his visitors from outside and of disciples from foreign lands greatly increased, he bought several houses adjoining his own for about Rs. 7,000-8,000 from *futūh* (unsolicited gifts) and built an extensive *khānqāh*²⁴ in what is now Old Delhi. He refused to accept any regular grant for his *khānqāh* and even rejected an offer of financial assistance towards its upkeep from Nawwāb Amīr Khān of Tonk.

According to Shāh Ghulām 'Alī's disciple, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, disciples flocked to his *khānqāh* from Samarqand, Bukhārā, Ghaznī, Tāshqand, Hisār, Qandahār, Kābul, Peshāwar, Multān, Kashmīr, Lahore, Sirhind, Amroha, Sambhal, Bareilly, Rāmpūr, Lucknow, Jā'is, Bahrā'ich, Gorakhpūr, 'Azimābād, Dacca, Bengal, Haydarābād and Pūna. They were trained in groups of thirty after morning and afternoon prayers.²⁵ Comparing himself to Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', the Shāh is said to have stated that Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn had sent his *khalīfas* (deputies) to the Deccan but God had inspired him (Shāh Ghulām 'Alī) to send his *khalīfas* to Kābul, Bukhārā and Qandahār.²⁶ Once Shāh Ghulām 'Alī observed that it was not possible for him to thank God enough, for, despite his incompetence, seekers after the Almighty flocked to his *khānqāh* from Baghdād, Samarqand, Bukhārā and Tāshqand.²⁷ Of his non-Indian *khalīfas*, the most prominent were Mawlānā Khālid Kurdī Rūmī and Mawlānā Sayyid Ismā'il Madani.

Shāh Ghulām 'Alī was proudest of Mawlānā Khālid Kurdī Rūmī. The Shāh said that it was Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh's good luck to have as *khalīfa* a sūfi of Imām Rabbānī's (the Mujaddid's) fame. The Mujaddid's good luck provided him with the eminent Shaykh Ādam Banūrī as his *khalīfa*.²⁸ Mawlānā Khālid received his education at Shahrzūr in Kurdistān and had specialised in hadith. Returning from his *hajj* (pilgrimage), he was informed by one Mirzā Rahīm-Allāh Beg of the eminence of Ghulām 'Alī. Mawlānā Khālid immediately left for India via Īrān and Afghānistān, visiting on the way the tombs of many eminent sūfis. In 1225/1810, he reached Delhi. Shāh Ghulām 'Alī took a keen interest in

24 *Durr al-ma'ārif*, pp. 85, 109. In 1919, the *khānqāh* was enclosed by four walls and closeby were some small rooms. The graves of Mirzā Mazhar, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī and his successor, Shāh Abū Sa'id were also there. *Wāqī'āt-i dār al-hukūmat-i Dihlī*, II, pp. 153-55.

25 Ra'ūf Ahmad (ed.), *Makātīb-i sharīfa*, 1334/1915-16, letter No. 22, p. 31.

26 *Durr al-ma'ārif*, p. 106.

27 *Ibid*, p. 144.

28 *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa*, p. 162.

the Mawlānā's spiritual progress and made him a perfect *sūfī* in less than one year. The Shāh appointed him his *khalīfa* in Kurdistān and the Turkish region. A specialist in hadith himself, Mawlānā Khālīd was deeply impressed by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's knowledge in this field. He remained in touch with Shāh Ghulām 'Alī and his *khalīfas* in India throughout his life. Shāh Ghulām 'Alī also wrote to him regularly.²⁹ The Mawlānā popularized Mujaddidiyya puritanism in Turkey and Egypt, and the treatises he wrote on the Mujaddidiyya teachings were widely read there. Mawlānā Khālīd died in 1242/1826-27.³⁰

Mawlānā Sayyid Ismā'il of Medina received an invitation to enter the Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyya order from Mawlānā Khālīd, but later went to Delhi and obtained an invitation from Shāh Ghulām 'Alī. Mawlānā Ismā'il's criticisms of the relics in the Delhi Jāmi' mosque greatly upset Shāh Ghulām 'Alī and he wrote a strong letter of protest to Emperor Akbar II urging him to have them removed :

"Sayyid Ismā'il Madani has come to me from Medina to learn the *sūfī* teachings of Hadrat Mujaddid. Last night he visited the holy relics in the Jāmi' mosque. After his return he reported that he felt the darkness of idol worship there. His revelation is based on his light of faith. He is not aware of the contents there.³¹ The fact is that pictures of Prophet Muhammad, the Imāms of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and eminent *sūfīs* have been preserved there. Neither hanging of their portraits nor preservation of them is permissible under the *sharī'a*'. Prophet Muhammad broke with his own hands the picture of Abraham. The preservation of pictures of the Prophet, *sūfī pīrs* and 'Alī amounts to idol worship. The stone bearing the alleged footprint of Prophet Muhammad is also an idol. Alas ! Alas ! the spirit of Islam has

29 *Makātib-i sharīfa*, letters No. 23, 38, 210.

30 *Damīma*, pp. 26-35, Muhammad Iqbāl Mujaddidī, Introduction to the *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa*, pp. 26-29.

31 The following relics are recorded in *Wāq'āt-i dār al-hukūmat-i Dihlī*, II, p. 110.

- a Some sections of the Qur'ān transcribed by 'Alī ;
- b Some sections of the Qur'ān transcribed by Imām Hasan ;
- c Some sections of the Qur'ān transcribed by Imām Husayn ;
- d Some sections of the Qur'ān transcribed by Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq ;
- e The holy hair of the Prophet ;
- f The Prophet's slippers ;
- g The Prophet's footprint ;
- h The cover of the Prophet's grave ;
- i The print of 'Alī's palm ;
- j Fātima Zahrā's scarf ;
- k The cover of Ka'ba.

According to Bashīr Ahmad, these relics were deposited in the Jāmi' mosque in Awrangzib's reign.

disappeared from the Muslims and their ruler. I am filled with tears. It is duty of the Emperor to stop this idol worship. The dominance of the infidels over Muslims has taken place because of their dependence on idol worship and dissimulation. May Allāh guide them. The Jāmi' mosque and the fort are the seat of the Muslims. Should my strength return, I may move out of the town."³²

In a letter to a Chishtiyya sūfi, Khwāja Hasan, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī wrote that a *Qādi* from Turkey had come to train under him. He was deeply concerned at the *bid'at* (innovations) which the Indian Muslims practised. An authentic tradition of the Prophet urges Muslims to speak out against those who indulge in *bid'at*. If this were not possible the innovator should be condemned secretly in the heart. This would absolve Muslims from the sin of associating with the violation of the shari'a. Sinners and innovators should not be honoured and it was imperative for the Muslims to migrate from places where they flourished.³³

In his assemblies, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī told anecdotes to show that the Shī'is were damned to perdition. One anecdote related to one of the Shāh's disciples, who was a staunch Shī'i, as were his ancestors who used to curse the Prophet's companions. This disciple became involved in a most difficult situation and there seemed no way out of the impasse. However, one night he was told to distribute food in the name of Abū Bakr. He did this and his problem was solved. As a result of the miracle he became a staunch Sunnī. A different anecdote deals with a Sunnī Afghān from Qasūr who set out on a pilgrimage. On his way to Mecca and Medina he stayed in a mosque whose Imām also was actually a Shī'i, although the Afghān thought he was a Sunnī, and became his fast friend. When the Afghān was ready to leave, the Imām requested him to go to the Prophet's tomb and say that the Imām of such and such a locality was very keen to visit the Prophet's tomb, but that two of the Prophet's enemies who were with him (Abū Bakr and 'Umar who are buried in the Prophet's tomb), prevented him (the Imām) from doing so. The Afghān complied with his friend's request and that night saw a vision of the Prophet with his companions. 'Alī, who was not there initially, appeared then and greeted the Prophet who did not respond. 'Alī was very upset. The Prophet condemned 'Alī for not killing that rascal (the Imām) who was the enemy of the Prophet's companions. 'Alī went out and in a short time returned with the Imām's severed head. The Prophet now responded to 'Alī's greetings and was very pleased. The Afghān, seeing the Imām's head, realised his mistake. On his return journey he stayed

³² *Makātīb-i sharīfa*, letter No. 60.

³³ *Ibid.*, No. 79.

in the same mosque where he was told that a mysterious hand had appeared out of the wall and decapitated the Imām. The Afghān thereupon narrated his own vision, and the villagers immediately abandoned Shi'ism and became Sunnis.³⁴

However, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī did not express any opinions about cursing Yazīd. He told a disciple that he himself deserved to be cursed and the disciple could abuse him to his heart's content. If he were interested in further enquiries he should see Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz who was expert in answering such questions. According to Mawlānā Ghulām Yahyā Qasūrī, the compiler of Shāh Ghulām 'Alī's *Malfūzāt*, this answer confirmed the hadith which says that the person who ignores others' faults is rewarded accordingly. Yahyā Qasūrī goes on to say that the Sunnis were divided into several factions over this controversy. One faction cursed Yazīd, the second was neutral and the third tried to prevent Yazīd being cursed. Imām Ghazālī belonged to the second faction, because he thought that ultimately Yazīd would be forgiven by God. According to the Mujaddid, the Sunnī authorities considered that the tongue should not be polluted by cursing Yazīd (although he was worse than an infidel who should be cursed), because his sins were so heinous that no Christian or Jew even would ever dare commit them. Thousands and thousands of curses should have been heaped upon him.³⁵

Shāh Ghulām 'Alī did not hesitate to contradict his spiritual guide's views on the Vedas.³⁶ In a letter, the Shāh observed that it was exceedingly disrespectful to criticise the views of one's mystical guide; nevertheless, he himself thought that no spiritual truths were recorded in Hindu religious works.³⁷ However, the sincere devotion of the Hindu ascetics did not fail to impress the Shāh. The pilgrimages they made which involved prostrating themselves on the ground at each step were bewildering to the Shāh. Soon, however, he was reminded of his puritanical Islamic thought and begged forgiveness from Allāh for praising a Hindu ascetic. He told his disciples how the great sūfī Ibrāhīm bin Adham (d. 161/777-8) offered two *raka't* (genuflexions) of *namāz* at each stop on his way to Mecca. The Mujaddid's *khalīfa*, Ādam Banūrī, had also made similar prostrations in Medina on his way from the Qaba mosque to the Prophet's mosque.³⁸

However, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī sometimes felt compelled to praise Hindu asceticism and devotional exercises. One day he observed to the compiler of the *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa* that purging the heart of everything but God and

34 *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa*, pp. 150-52.

35 *Ibid*, pp. 153-54.

36 S. W. T., pp. 532-35.

37 *Durr al-ma'ārif*, p. 199.

38 *Ibid*, p. 196.

complete dedication to the Absolute were very effective preparations for the perception of the divine light. For example, the Shāh stated that in a bazaar temple he saw a Hindu wholly immersed in repeating a Sanskrit name for God, possibly the name "Hari". The Shāh turned to Mawlawis Muhammad 'Azim and Karam-Allāh who were also present, and said, "I must mention this although the Mawlawis may be upset". However, on that occasion, the Shāh did not follow up his remarks ; but on another day, he said, "Although the Mullās may mishandle me I will not hesitate to say that Hindu devotion to the Absolute had produced divine blessings in the temple."

Later still, the Shāh again remarked that repetition of the divine name was effective, even though the devotee might be a Hindu. Each word the Hindu repeats stimulates devotion to Allāh. However, the repetition of the Beautiful names of God as taught in the shari'a are more effective. Discussing the manifestation of divine light, spiritual emotions, feelings, nearness to the divine and the union with Being, the Shāh said that one day a Hindu requested him to teach him something to enable him to meditate on God. The Shāh asked him to repeat the name "Allāh" two thousand times early in the morning. The Hindu refused to do so. Thereupon the Shāh suggested that he might repeat "Only Thou" two thousand times, purging the heart of other thoughts. In a few days this repetition directed the Hindu's attention towards Allāh and he was converted to Islam.³⁹

Shāh Ghulām 'Ali was strongly opposed to any association with the English. As mentioned earlier, he wrote to ask Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz to stop Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy from seeking service with them.⁴⁰ Unlike Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, he refused to allow the English to call on him. Once Shāh Ghulām 'Ali went to a party to recite *fātiha* (the first chapter of the Qur'ān) at the residence of one Nawwāb Shāh Nizām al-Dīn, a *kotwāl* in Delhi. Charles Metcalfe, the Resident of Delhi, also went there. Those who were present stood up to receive him but the Shāh remained seated. When Metcalfe sat down the Shāh turned his back on him and began to talk with others in order to avoid seeing his "accursed" face. Metcalfe proceeded to kiss the Shāh's feet, but the Shāh, smelling liquor in Metcalfe's breath, was very angry and drove him from his presence. Again Metcalfe tried to talk to the Shāh, but he responded in the same angry manner. Returning home, Metcalfe told one of his servants that in the whole of India he saw only a single lone Muslim—Shāh Ghulām 'Ali.⁴¹

Shāh Ghulām 'Ali celebrated the anniversary of the Imāms and eminent

39 *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa*, pp. 155-56.

40 *Supra*, pp. 237-400.

41 *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa*, pp. 127-28.

sūfī saints. On 3 Ramadān, the anniversary of the death of Imām Hasan, the second Imām, was celebrated. A special rice pudding was prepared and the *fātiha* was recited over it. On Imām Hasan's anniversary someone questioned the difference between *imāma* and *wilāya* and their respective eminence. The Shāh answered that *wilāya* could be obtained by all sūfis, but *imāma* was a spiritual function. All Imāms were *walīs* but all *walīs* could not be imāms. God gave *wilāya* to all who achieved nearness to Him, but *imāma* was only conferred on the most perfect one; for example, only the Prophet's first four caliphs and the twelve Imāms were included in the category of *imāms*.⁴²

However, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī was also strongly opposed to the growing devotion among the Sunnī dervishes to the Muharram ceremonies. In a letter he wrote :

"Dervishes in this town recite names (divine names) and write amulets in order to make people their devotees. They believe that 'Alī was superior to the first three caliphs. They make *ta'ziyas* and listen to elegies. They also promote instrumental music."⁴³

In another letter he wrote that distinguished Chishtiyya and Qādiriyya sages did not listen to instrumental music, or make *ta'ziyas* and pictures, and had advised their disciples not to indulge in these activities.⁴⁴ Another time, he wrote that the preparation of *ta'ziyas*, listening to elegies, painting portraits of the sages, worshipping the Prophet's footprint in a stone, devotion to music, cock-fighting and other ludicrous amusements and indulgence in yogic practices, were not permitted by the earlier sages and the Prophet's companions.⁴⁵

The Shāh's puritanism was based on the Mujaddid's teachings and was not compatible with those of Sayyid Ahmad of Rae Bareli or Shāh Ismā'il. For example, the Mujaddid felt that the grave of his eldest son, Khwāja Muhammad Sādiq, was filled with a divine radiance of unique type.⁴⁶ Another son of the Mujaddid, who was his successor, Khwāja Muhammad Ma'sūm (d. 1079/1868), wrote that Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni received a divine message saying that his holy tomb, in the old courtyard, was a garden of paradise. The Mujaddid had received a divine revelation to the effect that if a handful of dust from his tomb was thrown into someone else's grave, a glorious future was guaranteed for the dead body in that

42 *Durr al-ma'ārif*, p. 211.

43 *Makātib-i sharīfa*, p. 161.

44 *Ibid*, p. 149.

45 *Ibid*, p. 159.

46 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, II, letter No. 22.

grave.⁴⁷ Shāh Ghulām 'Alī held similar beliefs about the grave of his *pir*, Mirzā Mazhar. Qasūri says,

“After *'id al-adhha* prayers he (Shāh Ghulām 'Alī) went to the holy tomb of Mirzā Mazhar. He picked up some dust from the grave near the feet of the dead body and rubbed it for some time on his cheeks and heart. Standing near the legs of the dead body he said, ‘O your Holiness ! I have become so feeble that I cannot stand to pray and cannot even read the Qur‘ān. You have brought me up very fondly all my life. May Allāh, by your intercession make a happy ending of mine.’”⁴⁸

Shāh Ghulām 'Alī died on 22 Safār 1240/16 October 1824. In accordance with his will, his bier was taken to the Jāmi' mosque and *namā* was performed. It was then taken near the holy relics of the Prophet while prayers were said, begging the Prophet's intercession for his soul. Finally the corpse was buried near the grave of Mirzā Mazhar in the *khānqāh*.⁴⁹

The *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, which gives the biography of his *sūfī* guide, Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān, including his character and discourses, and the letters of, and biographical notes on, the Mirzā's disciples, is the most important of his works. He also wrote about half a dozen short treatises on the Mujaddid's Naqshbandiyya practices. The available biographical works on him and his disciples suggest that Shāh Ghulām 'Alī wrote a book on the Mujaddid's *sūfī* achievements. He also produced a work refuting the objections levelled against the Mujaddid. Shāh Ghulām 'Alī wrote a rebuttal of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haq's objections to the Mujaddid's *sūfī* claims, although no new ground was broken in it. Even before the publication of the first volume of the letters to the Mujaddid in 1025/1616-17, non-Naqshbandiyya *sūfīs* had started criticizing the Mujaddid's teachings and *sūfī* claims. The Mujaddid replied to some of these objections but the opposition to him did not subside.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Haq Muhaddith Dihlawī was prompted to write a letter to the Mujaddid after the publication of letter No. 87 in the third volume covering the period between 1028/1618 and 1031/1621-22. Not only did the Shaykh criticize letter No. 87, but he also dismissed claims made by the Mujaddid in his previous letters, condemning them as irresponsible. During Awrangzīb's reign, agitation against the Mujaddid mounted inordinately and many *fatwas* condemning him were written.

47 *Maktūbāt-i Ma'sūmiyya*, Karāchī, n. d. i, letter no. 70.

48 *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa*, p. 143.

49 *Damīma-i maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, pp. 15-16.

In 1090/1679 Awrangzīb banned teaching on the basis of the Mujaddid's letters in Awrangābād which was one of the strongest centres of the anti-Mujaddidiyya movement. The 'ulamā' of Mecca and Medina also wrote *fatwas* vilifying the Mujaddid,⁵⁰ while his descendants and disciples wrote refutations of the works of his opponents. The Mujaddid's *khalifas*, as we have already seen, did not even accept Shāh Walī-Allāh's efforts to reconcile the differences between the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd*.

However, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq's letter to the Mujaddid was very embarrassing to the Naqshbandiyyas, including Shāh Ghulām 'Alī, who had joined in the debate to defend the Mujaddid enthusiastically in his treatises. He also wrote letters on the subject and tried to gloss over the controversy in his discourses. In a letter he wrote :

"Hadrat ^vMujaddid in his letters himself refuted the objections raised against him by ignorant people. There was no need for others to write their refutations. The Mujaddid's sons, grandsons and other disciples have also written replies to the objections, such as the Mujaddid's son Shāh Yahyā, and his grandsons, Muhammad Farrukh and 'Abd al-Ahad. Mīrzā Muhammad Beg Badakhshi in Mecca, Shāh Walī-Allāh Muhaddith, Qādi Thanā'-Allāh and other sūfi and sincere disciples of the Mujaddid have clarified the position. Those who interpret the Mujaddid in the light of *sūfi* beliefs and practices can raise no objections. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, who was prompted to write his indictment on the basis of the objections of idle talkers, penned his epistle after the style of the exoteric 'ulamā'. There is a vast difference between the exoteric and esoteric."⁵¹

Informing Khwāja Hasan Mawdūd Chishtī of his own treatise rebutting Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq's epistle, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī said: "I wrote a refutation of the treatise of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq which he had written on the reports of idle talkers. In it the Shaykh raised objections to the Mujaddid's writings and made indictments. God be praised ! There is no comparison between an illiterate like me and Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq. This reveals the superficiality of the objections and shows that they have no weight if an illiterate person like me can refute them. After reading my treatise, Hakīm Dhakā'-Allāh remarked that it had done full justice to the objections of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq. The latter himself in a letter to Mīrzā Husām al-Dīn, the *khalifa* of Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh, wrote, "God has revealed to my

50 'Abd-Allāh Khweshgī Qasūrī, *Ma'ārij al-wilāya*, Panjāb University Ms.; Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī*, McGill 1971, pp. 94-99; M. R. M., pp. 268-71; S. A. A. Rizvi, *History of sufism in India II* (in print), chapter on the Naqshbandiyyas.

51 *Makātīb-i sharīfa*, letter No. 88.

heart that I should not oppose such a sage. Now I don't have any objections. The letter emanated from my human nature." The Shāh concluded that the Shaykh's objections were the product of human nature and had nothing to do with the propagation of the truth."⁵²

In his discourses, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī made similar statements⁵³ and the Naqshbandiyya sources try to gloss over the Shaykh's epistle in a similar vein. However, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq's letter to the Mujaddid shows that he had studied the whole *corpus* of the Mujaddid's letters very carefully and did not rush to contradict his teachings in an uninformed manner.

Qādī Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī

Qādī Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī also wrote treatises refuting Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq's letters castigating the Mujaddid, and through his writings sought rather to glorify the Mujaddid's teachings. He was an eminent *khalīfa* of Mīrzā Mazhar and was himself an uncompromising purist. He was born in 1138/1725-26 and received his education in hadīth under Shāh Walī-Allāh. First he obtained spiritual training from Shaykh Muhammad 'Abid Sunnāmī (d. 1160/1747-48), a *sūfī* guide to Mīrzā Mazhar, but on Shaykh Muhammad 'Abid's advice he then became the Mīrzā's disciple. The Mīrzā was deeply impressed with Thanā'-Allāh's scholarship, and encouraged him to sharpen his academic discernment by supplying him with books. In a letter, Mīrzā Mazhar urged him to preserve all his treatises in a book.⁵⁴ The Mīrzā was not pleased, however, with Thanā'-Allāh's hard line in promoting Sunnī puritanism. In a letter the Mīrzā wrote :

"Dear brother ! All the visitors from Pānīpat strongly complain about you. I have no knowledge of your behaviour. If your truthful speaking and integrity are troublesome, abandon such honest speech. You should try to tolerate the mistakes of others to please them, and to preserve their honour, for your behaviour defames the *sūfī* discipline and the *sūfī pīrs*."⁵⁵

Thanā'-Allāh's ancestors, including his father, were *qādīs* and Thanā'-Allāh himself served as one, but he was unremittingly dedicated to writing religious treatises and books. He died in 1245/1829, leaving behind him more than thirty works covering all branches of religious learning : for example, Sunnī beliefs, Qur'ānic exegesis, *ahādīth*, *sūfism* and *fiqh*. Of

52 *Makātīb-i sharīfa*, No. 73.

53 *Durr al-ma'ārif*, p. 10.

54 Khaliq Anjum (d.), *Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān ke khutūt*, Delhi 1962, letter No. 79.

55 *Ibid*, letter No. 77.

these, the most outstanding is his *al-Tafsir al-Mazhari* in Arabic. The work is named after Mirzā Mazhar and was commenced after the Mirzā's death. The portion which is in the Radā Library, Rāmpūr, is dated 1202-4/1787-90. The exegesis exhibits Thanā'-Allāh's mastery over classical exegesis, hadith, fiqh and sūfism. He does not hesitate to criticize the classical hadith commentators and the authors of Qur'ānic exegesis. His own conclusions are of considerable interest. Occasionally he buttresses them with the Mujaddid's views. Discussing the mystery of the separate letters at the beginning of some of the Qur'ānic chapters, he says that not only did the Prophet alone know the meaning of these letters, but some of his perfect followers were also aware of it. Mujaddid Alf-i Thāni claimed that Allāh had also taught him the secret, but ordinary people could not explain their meaning and mystery. This statement, the Qādī says, contradicts the view of some exegesis authors that only Allāh knew the secret of these letters.⁵⁶ The Qādī quotes the Mujaddid's views in connection with the verse : "Therefore remember Me, I will remember you".⁵⁷ The Qādī says that sūfis perform the *dhikr* (repetition) of *La Ilāhā illa'llāhu* (there is no deity but Allāh) either with the tongue or mentally, but the Mujaddid preferred the recitation of the Qur'ān for two reasons. Firstly, the Qur'ān's superiority is unquestionable ; secondly, the Qur'ān is the direct manifestation of Allāh's attributes. In other words, it is a rope, one end of which is connected to Allāh and the other to human beings. Those who dissolve their individuality in the Qur'ān do not need any other blessing. The Mujaddid also advocated the recitation of many *nawāfil* (supererogatory *namāz*), for *namāz* is the crown of the believer's glory (*mi'rāj*). However, spiritualists should recite the Qur'ān and *nawāfil* only after the extinction of their ego; initially they should confine themselves to the *dhikr* "*nafi wa ithbat (La Ilāhā illa'llāhu)*". The Mujaddid's teaching is based on the Qur'ānic verse : "Which (the Qur'ān) none toucheth save the purified",⁵⁸ in accordance with which those who have not purged themselves from the filth of the "self", should devote themselves to *dhikr*.⁵⁹

The Qādī discusses the problem of *shifā'at* (intercession) inherent in many verses, such as the following : "It may be that thy Lord will raise thee to a praised estate",⁶⁰ and raised in the exegesis.

The Qādī quotes several important *ahādith* saying how Prophet Muhammad would intercede for his community according to a divine promise to grant his recommendations. The Qādī also refutes the Mu'tazila and

56 *Tafsir al-Mazhari*, Delhi 1971, I, p. 15.

57 *Qur'ān*, II, 152.

58 *Qur'ān*, LVI, 79.

59 *Tafsir al-Mazhari*, I, pp. 250-51; IX, p. 183.

60 *Qur'ān*, XVII, 79.

Khawārij who believed that those who committed serious sins and died without repentance would undoubtedly be consigned to hell. He goes on to say that the traditions confirming intercession were overwhelming. According to one related by 'Uthmān, intercession would first be made by the Prophet and then by the 'ulamā' and martyrs. The Mujaddid however added that *tahajjud* (the night) prayers were also very effective for ensuring intercession.

The following verse, the Qādī says, underlines the superiority of the Mujaddid's followers.⁶¹ It reads : "Along with others, of them who have not yet joined them (*lamma yalhaqū bihim*)."⁶² The last clause in the verse, the Qādī says, refers to Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī and his eminent *khalīfas* who, because of their complete obedience to the Prophet, had obtained the perfection of the prophethood. They had achieved the position of those companions of the Prophet who were the epitome of *khillāh* (friendship) and *mahbūbiyah* (being loved) by Allāh. After the time of the Prophet, none but the Mujaddid and his *khalīfas* could attain the position of the Prophet's contemporaries. Consequently, the status of the Mujaddid and his *khalīfas* was identical to that of the Prophet's companions. Because of them, "the Islamic community had become like a particular rainfall about which it cannot be said whether its beginning or its end was better".⁶³

The exegesis of the following verse makes the Qādī assert that adherence to the *sūfī* path is indispensable : "Allāh tasketh not a soul beyond its scope".⁶⁴ Discussing aspects of the scope of human endeavour, the Qādī concludes that if human beings succeed in eradicating the soul's diseases through pursuing the *sūfī* path (*mujāhada*), denying earthly desires and associating themselves with dervishes, Allāh may pardon their sins of the heart. To the Qādī, devotion to the *sūfīs* and dervishes was as imperative as the recitation of the Qur'ān and learning divine ordinances. The Prophet had stated that he would leave for future guidance of the *umma*, two great things—Allāh's book, and his own family. The Qur'ān is indispensable for understanding divine ordinances, for reforming the character, inculcating ethical behaviour, and for achieving the stages of nearness to Allāh. Devotion to the Prophet's family is indispensable for the purification of the heart and sanctification of the soul.⁶⁵

The exegesis of the following verse led the Qādī to ask the Muslims not to criticize the statements and practices of eminent *sūfīs* : He said : "Lo! thou canst not bear with me."⁶⁶ The Qādī observes that loud *dhikr*

61 *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, V, pp. 75-85.

62 *Qur'ān*, LXII, 3.

63 *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, IX, p. 276.

64 *Qur'ān*, II, 286.

65 *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, I, pp. 446-48.

66 *Qur'ān*, XVIII, 68.

and *samā'* (audition or listening to spiritual music) seem to violate the *sharī'a* but those eminent *sūfis* who practise this should not be condemned, for they probably have strong reasons for their decision. Some eminent *sūfis* pretended to drink liquor in order to drive people away from them so they could devote themselves to *dhikr* in peace. It is essential that the statements of *sūfis* such as ibn al-'Arabi's should be interpreted in a way that is compatible with the *sharī'a* and they should not be made the subject of scandal.⁶⁷

The Qādi refers to the Hindu incarnations of God in connection with the exegesis of the following verse :

"O ye assembly of the *jinn* and humankind ! Came there not unto you messengers of your own who recounted unto you My tokens and warned you of the meeting of this your Day ?"⁶⁸

The Qādi quotes *ahādīth* to the effect that before the advent of Prophet Muhammad, prophets were sent to both *jinn* (genii)⁶⁹ and human beings. The ancient Hindu deities, known as divine incarnations, says the Qādi, may have been these *jinn*s. In fact, a large *corpus* of Hindu religious principles are compatible with the Qur'ān and *sunna*; the remainder are the devil's interpolations.⁷⁰

In the Qādi's world-view, the Rāfidīs are identified with the infidels and Khārijīs. For example, the Qur'ān says : "O ye who believe ! Take not for intimates others than your own folk, who would spare no pains to ruin you ; they love to hamper you."⁷¹ This verse refers to the relationship between the Jews and Muslims and precedes the verses on the battle of Uhud. The Qādi, for his part, says that the verse prohibits developing intimacy with people of an inferior category. Muslims are superior to non-Muslims. The verse also advises Muslims to associate only with men of higher rank and that a retiring life is better than associating with wicked friends. The verse also urges Muslims to avoid intimacy with Rāfidīs and Khārijīs as in the case of infidels.⁷²

67 *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, VI, pp. 51-53.

68 *Qur'ān*, VI, 131.

69 *Jinn*s are referred to in the *Qur'ān* in twenty-two verses. They are believed to have been created several thousand years before Adam from smokeless fire but not from flames. There are both good and bad *jinn*s. The peaceable among them eat, drink and propagate their species, sometimes in conjunction with human beings.

70 *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, III, pp. 324-25.

71 *Qur'ān*, III, 118.

72 *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, II, pp. 119-20.

A Qur'ānic verse says :

"On the day when it befalleth in earnest, and they are ordered to prostrate themselves but are not able."⁷³

Commenting upon the last words "but are not able", the Qādi says that they refer to both those believers who do not perform their personal devotions and those who do not attend congregational prayers. The verse also refers to those who, like the Rāfidīs and other *bid'atis* (innovators), perform *namāz* to dissimulate.⁷⁴ Like Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, Qādi Thanā'-Allāh wrote a book attacking Shi'ism, entitled the *Sayf al-maslūl*. It is to be noted that the motive of destroying the influence of the Shi'as inspired both authors. The Qādi says in his preface:

"At this time the Ithnā' 'Ashariyya faith is predominant. Because of stupidity and ignorance, a large number of people (Sunnīs), specially some people of Pānīpat whose ancestors were Sunnīs and good believers, have strayed from the right path. It came to my mind to write a book refuting the Rawāfid (Shi'is) in simple Persian in order to benefit the common people. It is possible that someone may be able to see the right path and the author may obtain some reward from God. As they (the Shi'is) do not trust the Sunnī works, their doctrines will be refuted on the basis of the Shi'i works themselves."⁷⁵

The Qādi does not give the date of the *Sayf al-maslūl*, but a letter from Mirzā Mazhar to the Qādi says that the *Sayf al-maslūl* had been returned to him.⁷⁶ Unless the *Sayf al-maslūl* mentioned in the Mirzā's letter was a different book, it would seem to have been completed before the Mirzā's death, therefore. However, it would appear that the *Sayf al-maslūl* was written before the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* although it may not have been available to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz at the time of writing the *Tuhfa*. The scope of the Qādi's work is much narrower than that of the *Tuhfa*. He says, "The Ithnā' 'Ashariyyas do not differ from the Sunnīs on problems such as creation, proofs of the Creator, Divine Unity and those attributes which do not undermine the concept of divine transcendence. As these topics are discussed at great length in *kalām* works and the arguments are well known, they are mentioned only in passing in his book, in the interests of brevity." The Qādi goes on to say that Abu'l Nasr Nasir al-Dīn Muhammad (Khawāja Nasr-Allāh al-Hasani, al-Makki al-Madani) (born in

73 *Qur'ān*, LXVIII, 42.

74 *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, X, p. 42.

75 *Sayf al-maslūl*, Delhi 1268/1852, pp. 2-3 Urdu Translation, Multān, 1979, pp. 16-17.

76 *Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān ke khutūt*, p. 204.

Mecca-Medina) and domiciled in Kābul, the author of *al-Sawāqī' al-muhriqa*, had thoroughly studied works on Shī'i exegesis, hadith, fiqh and history and had refuted the principles of the Rawāfid faith on the basis of standard Rawāfid works. In view of the fact that "earth (people living on earth) gets its share from the cups of the generous people", he (the Qādī) had borrowed the Shī'i traditions from the 'Allāma's book. This shows that the Qādī had not himself studied those Shī'i works which he quoted in the *Sayf al-maslūl* and his work is merely a summary of *al-Sawāqī'*. Originally it was written in Arabic but subsequently it was translated into Persian. The *Sayf al-Maslūl* is divided into a preface, seven chapters (*maqāla*) and a conclusion (*khātima*) :

- Preface : Sub-sects of the Rawāfid.
- Chapter 1 : The Refutation of the Rawāfid and proofs of the truth of the Sunni faith.
- Chapter 2 : Sunni beliefs and refutation of Shī'i objections.
- Chapter 3 : A detailed discussion of *imāma*, which is the basic principle of the Shī'i faith and only a subsidiary one of the Sunnis.
- Chapter 4 : Refutation of the Shī'i indictments against the Prophet's first three successors and his companions, and the liberated (from hell-fire) Sunni sect.
- Chapter 5 : The superiority of the Prophet's companions, the need to remember them with piety and to refrain from controverting them. The lawfulness of condemning Yazid.
- Chapter 6 : Refutation of Shī'i absurdities and some related problems.
- Chapter 7 : Some distinctive Sunni principles.
- Conclusion : The noble deeds and dispositions of the Imāms of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and Muhammad Mahdī.⁷⁷

After the publication of the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, the *Sayf al-maslūl* was forgotten and religious and academic efforts were devoted to refuting or defending *Tuhfa*. Although the *Sayf al-maslūl* is a summary of *Sawāqī'* translated into Persian, its conclusion concerning *imāma* is based on the Qādī's sūfī perception. In it he briefly explains the meaning of the term *imām* and then interprets it on the basis of *kashf* (divine intuition) which to him is an additional source of knowledge. According to *kashf* only a single *walī* receives the whole of divine grace. Through that person, other eminent contemporary sūfīs obtain benefits according to their aptitude and competence. No one can become an eminent sūfī without the help of the original recipient of grace. Members of the sūfī hierarchy such as the *aqtāb*, *abdāl*, *nujabā'*, *nuqabā'*, and *awliyā'*⁷⁸ are dependent on him. That favoured personality (the original recipient) or *walī* is known

⁷⁷ *Sayf al-maslūl*, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁸ R. A. Nicholson, *The Kashf al-Mahjūb*, London 1911, pp. 213-14.

as an imām and is the *qutb* (pivot) of guidance, having received his intuition directly from God.

From the time of Adam's appearance, this status had been reserved for 'Ali. Before 'Ali came into the world, all religious communities had achieved the status of *wilāya* (protégé of God) through 'Ali's yet unmanifest pious soul. From 'Ali's time to the death of the Prophet's companions and their descendants, 'Ali was the source of this gift (status of *wilāyat*). After his death, the position was given to Imām Hasan, then to Imāms Husayn, Zayn al-'Abidin, Muhammad Bāqir, Ja'far al-Sādiq, Mūsā Kāzīm, 'Ali al-Ridā, Muhammad Taqī, 'Ali al-Naqī, Hasan al-'Askari.⁷⁹ From Hasan al-'Askari's death in 260/874 to the time of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī (470/1077-8—561/1166), this position (*imāma*) resided in the spirit of Hasan al-'Askari. After the appearance of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir, it was transferred to him and will remain with him until the reappearance of Muhammad Mahdī.⁸⁰ Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir had claimed that his feet were on the neck of Allāh's all *walis* (protégés). The Shaykh had also written the following verse :

"The sun of the ancient *walis* has set,
Our sun will always remain at its zenith and will never set."

When Imām Mahdī appears this position will be assigned to him and will remain with him until Resurrection Day.⁸¹

Qādi Thanā'-Allāh knew that he had tacitly admitted 'Ali's superiority over the first three caliphs. Consequently, he wrote a lengthy defence of his statement. He goes on to say that as *kashf* shows that 'Ali and other ten imām's *wilāya* was perfect and the pivot of spiritual life, it also shows that the Muslim *umma* (community) was endowed with two types of distinction. The first is the perfection of the *wilāya* which all eminent *sūfis* had received and whose doors will remain open until eternity. Because many people received this distinction as the Qur'ān says :

"A multitude of those of old⁸²
And a (multitude) of those of later time".⁸³

79 The eleven personalities from Imāms 'Ali to Hasan al-'Askari are eleven Shī'i imāms; like other Sunnī authorities this *kashf* does not acknowledge the twelfth Shī'i Imām. Mawlānā Muhammad Rafiq Athrī, the Urdu translator of *Sayf al-mastūl*, does not consider the *kashf* valid and is of the opinion that Shī'is and Rafidī *sūfis* (not defined by the Mawlānā) are responsible for impregnating the Sunnī *sūfis* with this idea. Mawlānā Muhammad Rafiq Athrī, *al-Sayf al-mastūl*, Multan 1979, pp. 527-29.

80 Mahdī from the Sunnī point of view ; *Supra*, pp. 115, 160, 515.

81 *Sayf al-mastūl*, pp. 229-30.

82 *Qur'ān*, LVI, 13.

83 *Qur'ān*, LVI, 40.

"The old" refers to the earlier prophets and their communities and "the later time" means Prophet Muhammad's blessed *umma*. The second distinction is the perfection of the prophethood, which all the Prophet Muhammad's companions and their successors had obtained from him. The generations following the Prophet's companions did not obtain that grace abundantly. The Qur'ān says :

"A multitude of those of old,
And a few of those of later time."⁸⁴

Before the Prophet Muhammad, innumerable prophets were sent, the last was the Prophet Muhammad. Another hadīth suggests that near to the time of the Resurrection, the perfections of prophethood may be manifested but there would be no dearth of the perfection of *wilāya*. *Kashf* proves that 'Alī is the *qutb* (pivot) for guidance concerning the perfection of *wilāya*. All the Prophet's companions are dependent on 'Alī for receiving *wilāya*. Although according to Sunnī beliefs persons endowed with *wilāya* believe in the superiority of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, in fact, they are more grateful to 'Alī and are devoted to him.

Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the Qādi goes on to say, had been appointed by the Prophet as his viziers. This shows that they were the *qutb* (pivot) of guidance and the perfection of prophethood. 'Uthmān obtained a share of both the perfection of prophethood and *wilāya*, and was accordingly known as *Dhu'l-nurayn* (of Both Lights). When perfection of prophethood is devoid of the attributes it is known as *tajallī-i dhāt* (theophany of essence), hence it is superior to the perfection of *wilāya*. 'Alī is called the "gateway of knowledge", meaning knowledge of divine attributes. Abū Bakr and 'Umar were elevated to the stage of *sirr* (divine mystery). The Prophet's companions concentrated their attention on the distinction of the prophethood and did not concern themselves with that of *wilāya*. Accordingly all of them, even 'Alī, accepted the superiority of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and a consensus emerged on this point. Men of later generations also accepted this, all of which shows that the Prophet's first three caliphs were superior to 'Alī.⁸⁵

Qādi Thanā'-Allāh also wrote a short commentary on four of the eight points in Shāh Walī-Allāh's testament. The fifth point reads : "We should hold a good belief about the Prophet's companions. We should all praise for them. Two communities have erred regarding this. One community (the Sunnī) believes that the Prophet's companions

⁸⁴ Qur'ān, LVI, 13-14.

⁸⁵ *Sayf al-maslūl*, pp. 531-33.

bore no malice towards each other and that there was no difference of opinion among them. This is a misconception, for irrefutable and clear evidence about their mutual differences exists. A second community (Shī'i) condemns and abuses the Prophet's companions because of their mutual differences. They are perdition damned."

"The *faqīr* (Shāh Walī-Allāh) has been inspired by God with the idea that the Prophet's companions were not *ma'sūm* (impeccable) and although some of them may have acted in the same manner as those people who were not Prophet's companions and may therefore deserve censure, we are duty bound not to comment on them. We have been forbidden to vilify them for, if the floodgate to indictment of them is opened, the link of traditions (*ahādith*) from the Prophet would be severed. This would disrupt the community. By accepting the traditions related by the Prophet's companions, we benefit from a *corpus* based on unbroken links. The shari'a commandments have a firm foundation, and criticism of some narrators including the Prophet's companions do not undermine the importance of the tradition."

"The *faqīr* (Shāh Walī-Allāh) asked the benevolent spirit of Prophet Muhammad his opinion of the Shi'is, who claim to be friends of *Ahl al-Bayt* and who condemn the Prophet's companions. The Prophet, through his spirit, revealed to him (Shāh Walī-Allāh) that the falseness of the Shi'i religion is evident from their interpretation of the term '*Imām*'. When he (the Shāh) returned to his normal condition, he reflected on the term '*Imām*' and realised that the Shi'is believe that the Imām was *ma'sūm* (impeccable). The Imām was sent by God and obedience to him was imperative for the people. According to the Shi'is, the Imām's hearts received *wahī* (revelation through Gabriel). Consequently, they believed that Prophet Muhammad was not 'the seal of the Prophets', although they did not say so outwardly. As it was imperative to hold a good opinion of the Prophet's companions, they (the Sunnis) should think favourably of the *Ahl al-bayt* as well. They (the Sunnis) should exhibit extra reverence to those members of the *Ahl al-Bayt* who were most pious. Allāh hath set a measure for all things."⁸⁶

"This *faqīr* (Shāh Walī-Allāh) had been inspired with the idea that the twelve Imāms were spiritually *aqṭāb* (very high in *sūfī* hierarchy). Sūfism started after their death. However, the religious beliefs in the shari'a could be based only on the traditions from Prophet Muhammad. The function of the imāms as *qutb* was spiritual, and had nothing to do with the shari'a. The generations following the Imāms obeyed their commands because of their position as *qutb*. The functions of the Imāms

emanated from that position and they were able to transmit that (position of *qutb*) to their sincere friends. After some generations, the people examining those commands began to assign a different (wrong) meaning to them.”⁸⁷

In his comments, Thanā'-Allāh says that the falsehood of the Shī'i faith which was revealed by the Prophet Muhammad to Shāh Walī-Allāh, had also been revealed to him (Thanā'-Allāh). That claim was made by him in the *Shamshūr-i barahna* (the *Sayf al-maslūl*) and could be read in that book. Imām-i Rabbānī Qutb-i Samadānī Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī had explained those problems in his commentary on the verse by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir already quoted above !

“The sun of the ancient *walī*'s has set
Our sun shall always remain at its zenith and
shall not set.”⁸⁸

Qādi Thanā'-Allāh goes on to say that he had mentioned that fact in *Shamshūr-i barahna* but the Shaykh (Shāh Walī-Allāh) was not right in believing that malice existed between the Prophet's companions. They had no hatred towards each other. The Qur'ān says,

“And (as for the believers) hath attuned their hearts. If thou hadst spent all that is in the earth thou couldst not have attuned their hearts, but Allāh hath attuned them.”⁸⁹

Authentic traditions reveal only the outward differences among the Prophet's companions and not actual malice. Although some authentic *ahādith* speak of the dislike some of them felt for 'Alī, they are *ahad* (traditions from a relatively small number of transmitters, not enough to make them *mutawātir* or those from innumerable transmitters) and it is possible to gloss over them. Moreover the majority of the Prophet's companions did not differ amongst themselves. The known differences were similar to the errors in *ijtihād* (individual judgment) such as occurred among the founders of different schools of jurisprudence. Were these differences palpable mistakes, Talha and Zubayr, who were killed during the Jamal war,⁹⁰ could not be called martyrs, for rebels were not martyrs. The Qādi also does not agree with Shāh Walī-Allāh's fears that the

87 Muhammad Ayyūb Qādirī (ed.), *Majmū'a-i wasāya-i arba'a*. Haydarābād (Pākistān), pp. 48-50.

88 *Supra*, p. 564.

89 *Qur'ān*, VIII, 63.

90 *Supra*, pp. 331-32, 442-45.

community might disintegrate by criticizing the Prophet's companions, for no real differences did exist among them.⁹¹

The Qādī also does not fully agree with the eighth point in Shāh Walī-Allāh's testament which asks the Muslims to abandon Persian and Hindu customs.⁹² He says that the Shāh's injunction to give up extravagant ceremonies relating to matrimony and death is valid and means that those who partake in them are sinners. However, were the Muslims to put on Arab dress and shoes, as he suggests, they would become a laughing stock. The Prophet has definitely ordered Muslims to refrain from creating such a situation. Muslims should wear the same dress as other people do.⁹³

The Qādī also does not agree with the fourth point of Shāh Walī-Allāh's testament. According to the Qādī, Shāh Walī-Allāh wrongly thinks that the shari'a is different from *fanā'* (the extinction of individuality in essence) and *baqā'* (subsistence), the former of which is indirectly based on the shari'a.⁹⁴ The Qādī asserts that the *fanā'* and *baqā'* of sūfis are directly derived from the shari'a. The principal sūfi object is to purge the heart of everything other than Allāh, extinguishing not only one's own self in *dhikr* (remembrance) of Allāh but also extinguishing *dhikr* itself. In Sūfism, this state is known as *yāddāsht*,⁹⁵ *dawām hudūr* and *fanā'-i qalb*; the shari'a calls it *ihsān*⁹⁶ (virtuous deeds). The Qādī does not agree with Shāh Walī-Allāh's concluding remarks in his testament that excessive indulgence in, and the increasing popularity of, *fanā'* and *baqā'* were a sort of disease which had crept into the body-politic of Islam.⁹⁷

The Qādī's treatises, such as his *Tadhkirat al-mawta wa'l qubūr*, dealing with the rites for the dead and their graves, *Hurmat wa ibāhat-i surūd*, discussing the illegality of music, *Risāla dar hurmat-i mut'a*, dealing with the illegality of marriages for a fixed period, and *Huqūq-i Islām* or *Haqiqat-i Islām*, a discussion of the duties inherent in Islam relating to puritanical Sunnī code of conduct are important contributions to the Sunnī puritanism. The reforms discussed in these treatises are summed up in the *Mā lā budda minhu* and the *Wasiyat-nāma*. The Qādī says that according to a number of traditions in the canonical hadīth (*Sihāh sittā*) the deceased is punished if his relatives mourn him. However, the Qādī adds that the opinions of

91 *Majmū'a-i wasāya-i arba'a*, pp. 65-66.

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

93 *Majmū'a-i wasāya*, pp. 100-101.

94 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

95 According to the *silsila-i Khwājgān*, it is a state of intuitive perception involving a permanent awareness of the divine presence.

96 *Wasāya*, pp. 93-94.

97 *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 64.

the 'ulamā' on this question differ. He himself believes that the deceased is punished only under the following conditions :

1. If the deceased during his lifetime wept for the dead.
2. If he had made a will asking people to cry for him when he died.
3. If he wished his relations and friends to cry for him after his death.
4. If he knew that his relatives would weep for his death and did not forbid them to do so.

Otherwise, according to the Qādī, the deceased was not punished if his relatives wept at his death.⁹⁸ In his *Wasiyat-nāma* (testament), the Qādī wrote that the Prophet had forbidden crying for the deceased for more than three days. After his (the Qādī's) death, the women would be strictly prohibited from crying, for in his own lifetime he had not approved of it.⁹⁹

In his *Mā lā budda*, the Qādī states that men are allowed to visit graves but not women. Prostration before the graves of prophets and eminent sūfis, and circumambulating them, is not permitted. It is illegal to seek their intercession and to accept gifts in their name. Some of these practices made the Muslims infidel. Prophet Muhammad had urged that his grave should not be made an idol.¹⁰⁰ In his own will the Qādī wrote that the rules of sharī'a should be strictly followed when washing and shrouding his corpse, and performing the burial ceremonies. The upper and lower sheet of the quilt which Mirzā (Mazhar) had given him as a gift should be used as a shroud. Ceremonies such as *fātiha* assemblies on the tenth or fortieth day after death, or similar assemblies after six or twelve months, should not take place.¹⁰¹

The Qādī goes on to say that according to Imām Zāhid Abū Bakr, the author of *Dastūr al-quḍāt*, observance of Zoroastrian festivals such as *Nawrūz*, and Hindu ones such as *diwāli* and *dasehra*, made Muslims infidel. The Qādī goes on to say that the views of the 'ulamā' about the infidelity of the Rāfidīs, Khārijīs and Mu'tazilas, who consider themselves Muslim but are opposed to Sunnī beliefs, are not unanimous. Abū Hanīfa says in the *Multaḥḥi* that the *ahl-i qibla* (Muslims) should never be called infidels. Abū Ishāq Isfrāyīnī says that all those who consider Sunnīs infidels should be deemed infidels themselves but those who do not may not be called infidels.

In his *Wasiyat-nāma*, the Qādī wrote that the Rawāfid religion was getting exceedingly popular in his town, however. There the *shurafā'*¹⁰²

98 *Mā lā budda minhu*, Kānpūr 1882, p. 82.

99 *Wasāya*, p. 146.

100 *Mā lā budda minhu*, p. 83.

101 *Wasāya*, p. 146.

102 *Supra*, pp. 174-79.

cared only for the nobility of *nasab*¹⁰³ or economic prosperity, although first preference should be accorded to the faith. Sunni girls should not be married to Rāfidīs or to those who were believed to be Rāfidīs or on account of the nobility of *nasab* and economic prosperity. On the Day of Judgment only faith and piety would help. The Naqshbandiyya sūfīs had gained superiority because of their obedience to the Prophet's *sunna*. The Sunnis should consider them their model.¹⁰⁴

The Qādī wrote that his grandfather, father, brother and he himself had been *qādīs* but none of them could do full justice to their duties. He (the Qādī) in particular was living in a corrupt age, and he was a failure. However, although he was very ashamed, he was satisfied that he had not accepted bribes and was friendly with his contemporaries. This had made him respected not only by the Sunnis, but by Hindus as well, even when no one cared for other 'ulamā' who were far superior to him. If priority was given to faith over material considerations, material prosperity could also be obtained.¹⁰⁵

The 'ulamā' who were contemporaries of the Qādī consulted him on controversial problems of fiqh. Once Qādī Muhammad A'lā Thānawī,¹⁰⁶ the author of *kashshāf al-istilāhāt al-funūn*, wrote a legal opinion on *madad-i ma'āsh*.¹⁰⁷ Muftī Ilāhī Bakhsh,¹⁰⁸ of Kāndhla (Muzaffarnagar U. P.) sent Thānawī's judgment to Qādī Thānā'-Allāh Pānīpatī for comment. His reply, dated 2212/1797, reads :

"If a king assigns *mawāt* land (land lying fallow) which has no owner to some one, and the assignee makes it *ihyā'* (arable), he becomes its owner. After his death his successors inherit it. Such land can be sold and is subject to similar transactions. The king collects the '*ushr*¹⁰⁹ or *kharāj*¹¹⁰ on the land from the assignee and expends it on legally permissible items. If the assignee himself is entitled to obtain the benefit of its '*ushr* or *kharāj*, the king can assign the latter on the assignee. Should the assignee refuse to collect '*ushr* or *kharāj*, the ruler can assign this to someone else. If there is some land which could

103 *Supra*, pp. 176-77.

104 *Wasāya*, pp. 148-49.

105 *Ibid*, p. 148.

106 Mawlawī Muhammad A'lā bin Shaykh 'Alī (d. 1191/1777) was a profound scholar. He was the author of *Kashshāf al-istilāhāt al-funūn*, first published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1830. This is a very useful dictionary of the technical terms used by 'ulamā', philosophers and artisans.

107 *Supra*, pp. 213-16.

108 Muftī Ilāhī Bakhsh (d. 1829) was an important disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and the author of several books.

109 *Supra*, p. 212.

110 *Supra*, pp. 214-215.

be cultivated by (the authorities of the) *bayt al-māl* (Muslim treasury) but the king assigns it to some deserving person such as an *In'ām-i mu'abbad*¹¹¹ (permanent gift) the assignee becomes the owner of that land. The rule for *kharāj* stated above would apply to it. If the king assigns the revenue of that land to some one as *'āriyat* (a loan), the assignee does not become its owner and neither the sale nor the mortgage of that land is legally permissible. If the proprietary rights of some land belong to the *dahqāns* (cultivators) and the king assigns the *kharāj* of that land to some deserving person such as a *madad-i ma'āsh*, irrespective of whether the *'atā* (gift) is *mu'abbad* (permanent) or *ghayr mu'abbad* (temporary) as is customary with the Indian rulers, sale, mortgage and other transactions are permissible, for *kharāj* is a right...¹¹² Accordingly, the assignee becomes the owner of the grain only after he has taken possession of the *kharāj* and not before that; sales, mortgages and similar transactions permissible in the *sharī'a* are not allowed to the *madad-i ma'āsh*. After the assignee's death such land cannot be inherited by his successors. It is under the control of the ruler or his deputy, the *sadr*."

The traditions mentioned in the works of *fiqh* relating to royal gifts cannot be treated as weak (unauthentic). The differences are in the types of land. The legality or illegality of sale and other transactions are quite other issues.

The sale of the *madad-i ma'āsh* in Pānīpat is not based on the *sharī'a* but is dependent on customary law (*rawāj-i 'urfī*). However, sale and other transactions involving the land, by its owner, are permissible.

In a detailed letter to Mufti Ilāhī Bakhsh, Qādī Thanā'-Allāh wrote: "On the basis of the traditions of the *sawād*¹¹³ land of 'Irāq, neither the Muslim rulers nor the ordinary Muslims own land in India. Its original owners hold proprietary rights over it irrespective of their being infidels. According to the *Hidāya*, the proprietary rights of *sawād* land rested with its original owners, who were entitled to sell it or make other transactions. According to the rules, the king, after forcibly acquiring land, allows its owner to retain his possession of it and imposes *kharāj* on it. There would be no change in the proprietary rights to the land itself. The *kharāj* on land is an Islamic right and the Muslim ruler is entitled to collect it and to expend it on items authorised by the *sharī'a*. If the king spends it on other items he is a sinner. Thus the *Fatāwā-i Rahmānī* says that the Imām is not

111 *Supra*, pp. 213-14.

112 Omitted from the printed text.

113 *Supra*, pp. 211-12.

allowed to forbid expenditure on authorised items; nor is he allowed to permit its expenditure on illegal items.

Kharāj is a fictitious (*ma'dūm*) term and ownership of it is not possible.

Rulers award the *madad-i ma'āsh* to a deserving person on the understanding that he will take possession of the *kharāj* and become its owner. *The Fatāwā-i Rahmānī* says, "The 'ulamā' differ on the *in'ām* (gift) which the king awards in the form of *kharāj* to some deserving person. They disagree as to whether the assignee becomes the owner after or before obtaining possession of it." According to some, the assignee does not become the owner before he possesses it; according to others he would already own it. The *fiqh* ruling of the majority depends on the principle that the ownership of a fictitious item and its expenditure cannot be deemed as a right. On this principle the recipient of the *in'ām* is not entitled to sell the *kharāj* or the land nor can his successors inherit it. *Fatāwā-i Ahmadiyya* and similar works say that a deserving person receiving land does not become its owner. He can neither sell it, nor mortgage it, nor can his successors own it. After his death its *kharāj* reverts to the *bayt al-māl*. *Fatāwā-i Tātār-Khāniyya* and *Muhīt* also give the same ruling. Thus, after the assignee's death, the king may transfer the *kharāj* the former enjoyed to his successors if they deserve it, or to someone else. The king may also retain it for the *bayt al-māl*. This right is exercised by the king who makes the award. If the king who made the assignment dies, or is deposed, his successors would not enjoy this right. In short, as the kings were unable to visit all the towns in their kingdom, *sadrs* were appointed, and a *dastūr al-'amal* (administrative manual) formulated. The assignee's successors distribute the land amongst themselves according to the manual. These *dastūr al-'amals* are valid for the lifetime of the king who issued them. The *sadrs* follow these manuals, and the *qādis* implement the orders of the *sadrs* who are the king's deputies. The opinion of Qādi A'lā to the effect that Shāhjahān's *dastūr al-'amal* had been abrogated, but that of 'Ālamgir (Awrangzib) was valid, has no basis. What is valid is the *dastūr al-'amal* of the reigning monarch. Should the ruler be deprived of his power, the *madad-i ma'āsh* would fall into two categories. In the first, *zamindārs* from the Gūjar, Jāt and similar communities own *madad-i ma'āsh* land in the villages and other places and the *kharāj* is collected directly from the *zamindārs*. This *kharāj* can under no circumstances be sold; according to 'urf (custom), people may seize what they can. The second category of *madad-i ma'āsh* land is found in most of the towns. Only *zamindārs* own this land, which can be sold according to the *zamindārī* rules should the owner wish. It is also subject to the laws of inheritance and the divine law. Should there be no reigning monarch, the buyer himself can appropriate the *kharāj* and none can prevent him, for collection of *kharāj* appertains only to the monarch or to his deputy.

In Muhammad Shāh's reign, the *dastūr al-'amal* of 'Ālamgir was confirmed and thus made valid, for a reigning monarch could use a former ruler's *dastūr al-'amal* instead of making one of his own. In short, judgments concerning *kharāj* are not valid without obtaining a fresh order from the newly acceding monarch. At present, as is well-known, the ruler has no power. There are no such *sadr*s as could be called the ruler's deputies. If someone approaches the *sadr al-sudūr* (the chief *sadr*) the latter, upon receiving Rs. 2 as a bribe, gives a letter of authority on the basis of the *dastūr al-'amal*, the king's decree or the merits of the case. However, the applicant's rival can also obtain a similar letter from the *Sadr al-sudūr* by paying him Rs. 2. These letters are not valid.

The *Qādis* are officers of the shari'a courts and deliver judgments on the basis of the shari'a. If someone deserves the *madad-i ma'āsh* and has authority from the *sadr* or the king, the *qādi* can deliver a judgment. The *qādi* on his own authority cannot issue any judgment, either in favour of, or contrary to, the *dastūr al-'amal* for the *qādis* are not the king's deputies."¹¹⁴

Comparison of *Qādi Thanā'-Allāh's fatwas* with those of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz¹¹⁵ show that the shari'a laws rarely applied to land ownership, which was governed by the ruler's decrees and customary law. The stronger *zamindārs* appropriated unauthorised land, and even the *madad-i ma'āsh* holders began to exercise proprietary rights over their grants. *Qādi Thanā'-Allāh's fatwas* clearly show that as late as the end of the eighteenth century authorisation for this was bought by paying petty bribes.

114 Nūr al-Hasan, Rāshid Kāndhlawī, 'Arādī Hind ki shara'i haysiyat,' *Ma'ārif*, Lucknow, April 1978, pp. 279-91.

115 *Supra*, pp. 215-19.

Conclusion

The life's mission of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, his brothers and disciples, was to defend Shāh Walī-Allāh's religious, mystical and political teachings, and to buttress them with their own works. Shāh Walī-Allāh's writings did not stir the Shi'i opposition, but the Sunni *pirzādas* seem to have been shocked by them, and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz had to write an apologetic treatise in order to satisfy the *pirzādas* that Shāh Walī-Allāh was deeply devoted to 'Alī and the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

Shāh Walī-Allāh's efforts to reconcile the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* with the *Wahdat al-Shuhūd* were not acceptable to the Mujaddidiyya Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān, and the treatise containing Mawlānā Ghulām Yahyā's criticism of him provoked Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn to write the *Damgh al-bātil*. The Mirzā's *khalīfas* were not convinced, and resolutely opposed Shāh Walī-Allāh's conciliatory efforts. Thanā'-Allāh Pānipatī did not agree with Shāh Walī-Allāh's interpretation on the nature of the Prophet's companions' differences and considered the Shāh's appeal to adopt Arabian dress as ridiculous.

According to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, the growing fame of the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya* had made some of the Sunnis jealous of him. However, although Shāh Niyāz Ahmad of Bareilly (1173/1759-1250-1834), a distinguished *khalīfa* of Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn, was among the inveterate Sunni enemies of the book, it was not jealousy that motivated him. The following incident told in Shāh Niyāz's *Malfūzāt* indicates his reaction to the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*.

"After his siesta in the ladies' apartments, Hazrat Niyāz used to come to the *khānqāh* before the (*zuhr*) (midday) prayers. Once he did not visit the *khānqāh* until the '*asr* (afternoon) prayers. The *khānqāh* servants were very upset and went to the porch of the ladies' apartments to find out the reason for the change in Shāh Niyāz's routine. The Shāh said that a book had been brought into his *khānqāh* whose contents were detrimental to Mawlā 'Alī. He would enter the *khānqāh* only after it had been removed. One of those present apologised and promised to return the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*

immediately to the friend from whom he had borrowed it to study. Shāh Niyāz entered the *khānqāh* after the book was removed.”¹

The *Tuhfa-i Ithnā‘ Ashariyya* is an important link in the chain of Shī‘i-Sunni refutations and counter-refutations which were written from the reign of Uljāytū Khudābanda (703-717/1304-1317) onwards. By Shāh Walī-Allāh’s time this had grown into a plethora of polemical literature because of the patronage of Sunni and Shī‘i rulers. Both the *Tuhfa-i Ithnā‘ Ashariyya* and the *Sayf al-maslūl* were written to combat the growing Shī‘i popularity and the alleged Sunni ignorance. Their authors were not unaware of British dominance, nevertheless their main concern, and that of their disciples, was to stop Shī‘i proselytisation. The principal source used by both authors was the *Sawāqi‘* by Nasr-Allāh Kābuli. To Qādī Thanā‘-Allāh, the Shī‘i and Sunni beliefs on creation, proofs of the Creator and Divine Unity did not differ from each other. Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz however, laboured to prove that the Shī‘is neither believed in Divine Unity nor considered Prophet Muhammad the last of the Prophets. His arguments were a continuation of those of Shāh Walī-Allāh who asserted that Shī‘i beliefs in the Imāms’ *ismat* (impeccability) amounted to a rejection of the belief that Prophet Muhammad was the last of the prophets. Thus to both Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the Shī‘is were heretics and infidels. Both considered that they themselves were sincerely devoted to the eleven Imāms of the house of Prophet Muhammad.

It was mainly on the basis of divine revelation (*kashf*) received by them, that both Shāh Walī-Allāh and Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz believed that the Shī‘is were not devoted to ‘Alī and his successors, Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz liked to call himself *Shī‘a-i ūla* (Early Shī‘a). Naturally, therefore, except for criticising the twelfth Imām, the Mahdī, who according to the Shī‘is had gone into occultation in his infancy, the *Tuhfa* does not denigrate the Imāms. Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz only takes to task the Shī‘i *ahādīth* and other works on the eleven Imāms. However, this exercise has generally made the Shāh inadvertently critical of all the Imāms.

His harsh language against the twelfth Shī‘i Imām Mahdī and the early Shī‘i scholars gave the Shī‘is who based their faith on *tabarra* (dissociation from the first three successors of the Prophet Muhammad) a heaven-sent opportunity to retaliate in even harsher language on the excuse that “those who throw brickbats must expect to be hit with stones.”

Although Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was not unaware of the earlier plethora of works refuting and counter-refuting each other, it is surprising that he challenged the Shī‘is to rebut his *Tuhfa*. In reply the Shī‘is accused him of plagiarising the *Sawāqi‘*, as well as ruthlessly countering his arguments.

1 Nasir al-Din Husayn, *Rāz wa niyāz*, Badā‘ūn, n. d., p. 69.

Study of the enormous resultant literature from both sects shows that they differed radically from each other and both were heretics from their rival's point of view.

No effort was made to develop mutual understanding although the beliefs uniting the two sects greatly outnumbered those dividing them. Both Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and Qādi Thanā'-Allāh urged their disciples to boycott the Shī'is socially. Bārḥā, the native region of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's mother, was predominantly Shī'i, as were the Shāh's mother's relations, but he did not hesitate to give them food which he did not wish to eat himself. No literary evidence of the Shī'is reaction to their social relationships with the Sunnis exists. However the social boycott was not very successful and matrimonial alliances between the two faiths continued to take place, even in Deoband and its neighbourhood, where Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's teachings seem to have been very popular.²

Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz is known to have fought resolutely against the typically Indian forms of veneration of the tombs of *sūfi pīrs*, including lighting lamps on graves and other innovations, but this campaign was not initiated by either Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, Shāh Walī-Allāh or the Mujaddid. It had started early in the thirteenth century, but in that period Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliya's influence had averted the crises. From the reign of Sultān Fīrūz Tūghlūq, the war against *bid'at* (innovations) grew into a full-scale conflict but the success of the revivalists was very marginal. The growing enthusiasm of both Shī'is and Sunnis for the veneration of *ta'ziyas* in the eighteenth century became a matter of deep concern to Shāh Walī-Allāh, Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and their followers. Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote *Sirr al-shahādātayn* to present an authentic account of the martyrdoms of Imāms Hasan and Husayn. He himself held a mourning assembly on the ninth or the tenth of Muharram, but condemned the veneration of *ta'ziyas* and the superstitious beliefs and practices which *ta'ziya* veneration engendered. He did not hesitate to remind his associates that all forms of *bid'at*, including Sunni ones, should be militantly destroyed or, if that were not possible, should be openly condemned. Should even that be impossible, such practices should be cursed in the heart. Those Sunnis who were converted to Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's and Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd's teaching destroyed their *ta'ziyas* and demolished the platforms on which they were kept, causing considerable Shī'i-Sunni tension.

However, the Sunni *sūfis*, who had very large followings, did not see eye to eye with the Naqshbandiyya purists and revivalists. For example the eminent Qādiriyya *pīr*, Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq Bānswī (d. 1136/

2 Manāzīr Ahsan Gilānī, *Sawānīh Qāsimī*, Lahore 1373/1954, pp. 61-62.

1724), exhibited very deep veneration for the *ta'ziyas*. The *Malfūzāt-i Razzāqī* says:

"Sometimes His Holiness used to go for the *ziyarat* (religious visitation) of the holy *darih* or *ta'ziyas*. Sometimes on the ninth Muharram he used to go to the Kalyani river. Once His Holiness did not go to the *ziyarat* of the weaver's *ta'ziyas* which was on his way to the Kalyani river. However, in a vision His Holiness found himself near this same *ta'ziya*. Imāms Hasan and Husayn were also sitting there. Seeing His Holiness, the Imāms asked him his reason for not visiting their house. His Holiness, kissing the Imāms' feet, said that he did not dare avoid visiting the Imāms' holy houses. From that day His Holiness used to go for the *ziyarat* of *ta'ziyas* on the first ten days of Muharram. He used to say that the *ta'ziyas* should not be considered merely as the pieces of wood and paper used for their construction. Often the holy spirits of Imāms Hasan and Husayn visited them. His Holiness had made it his life's rule to lead the *ta'ziya* procession and bring it to his house where he used to stand with folded hands as long as the *ta'ziya* was not removed from there. In his old age when His Holiness had become very feeble, he used to stand with the support of his stick and the wall. He used to go as far as the river Kalyani where the *ta'ziyas* were immersed in water. After the end of the ceremony he returned home."³

In Delhi, the eminent Chishtiyya *pir*, Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn, also took part in the celebrations,. He used to visit the *imāmbāras*, present a rupee as his offering and arrange for the supply of water and sherbet for the procession which took the *ta'ziya*. Countering Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's objections, the Mawlānā replied that his action prevented the Shi'is from cursing the Prophet's companions. The Mawlānā also informed the Shāh that for the same reason he had made Shi'is his disciples, but he offered to stop this practice if the Shāh advised it.⁴ Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz made no comments on Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn's motives, nor did he ask him to desist from such practices. Indeed, until now the Sunni *ta'ziyas* outnumber the Shi'i ones.

In the realm of politics Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz considered the Sikhs and the British more formidable enemies than the Marāthas. The Shāh's *fatwas* declaring India a *dār al-harb* are undated, but the first one, in a collection of his *Fatāwā* embodying his angry reaction to the British occupation of Delhi, seems to have been issued early in 1804, when Holkar's

3 Muhammad Khān Shāhjahanpūri *Malfūzāt-i Razzāqī*, Lucknow n. d., p. 104.

4 *Malfūzāt*, pp. 29 and 57.

forces had defeated the English and were marching against Delhi. A favourite of the Shāh, Amīr Khān, was Holkar's ally and the Shāh may have thought that Muslim support for the Marāṭha invaders would tilt the balance in their favour. After Holkar's defeat and his failure, and that of Amīr Khān, to obtain help from Mahārāja Ranjit Singh and Shujā' al-Mulk of Kābul, hopes of a successful *jihād* against the British were frustrated. The restoration of the Shāh's property to him by the British also softened his attitude towards them. His later *fatwas* concentrate mainly on offering suggestions regarding usury, and the sale and purchase of slaves in a *dār al-harb*.⁵

The arrangement of congregational prayers in 'a *dār al-harb* was no problem to Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz. One of his *fatwas* tends to suggest that although India under British rule was a *dār al-harb*, it was not imperative to leave it. Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd and his followers exploited Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwa* to their own advantage but their war against the Sikhs was not compatible with Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's *fatwas*. Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd had left India impetuously without adequate preparations and had wrongly assumed that the Afghāns would fight without reservation under his leadership. He had also mistakenly believed that they would relinquish their well-established customs without the need of continual preaching and the creation of the appropriate psychological atmosphere. The puritanism of Shāh Ismā'il which stirred up general Sunnī protest was also not a continuation of Shāh Walī-Allāh's and Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's revivalist movements. Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd's puritanism was better attuned to Wahhābī puritanism, so it is no wonder that even Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's most talented disciples stubbornly opposed it. Although Shāh

5 (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khān says, "In former days two questions agitated the minds of our forefathers in this country ; viz— (1) Was it lawful for Mahomedans to lend money at interest here ? (2) If so, was it allowable for Mahomedans to reside in India ? These two points were referred for decision to Moulvie Abdul Aziz, but not a word was said in the reference about *Jihad*. I would *especially* draw attention to this, as it is on this question that the *Englishman* and even many Mahomedans have fallen into error. Abdul Aziz, in his reply to the first point, said that India, according to the doctrine of Abu Hanifa, (whose followers all Indian Mahomedans are) was not *Dar-ul-Harb*, but that it was so according to Imam Mahomed and Imam Abu Yusuf. He himself ruled that India was *Dar-ul-Harb* as regarded the lawfulness of taking usury. Not a word did he say about the *Jihad*. . . . It is not unlawful for the Mahomedans of India to live in this country, to make profits, and to obey their rulers, so far as their profits and obedience are not against their religious tenets; they are under no obligation to leave the country ; because the Infidels (our rulers) have not as yet prohibited them from reading their prayers and *Azan*, or from the performance of their religious duties. When the rulers of the country do interdict these, as the infidels of Mecca did to our Prophet, then Mahomedans shall be bound to leave the country." *Review on Dr. Hunter's 'Indian Musalmans'*, pp. xi-xii.

Walī-Allāh had been impressed by ibn Taymiyya's teachings, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz was strongly opposed to ibn Taymiyya's *Minhāj al-sunna al-nabawiyya*, which was and is the corner-stone of Wahhābi puritanism.

Both Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and Qādī Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī endorsed the need to apply customary law to the confused land-rights in India. Both considered the *dastūr al-'amal* and the ruler's authorisation very important. Shāh Ghulām 'Alī Naqshband uncompromisingly dissociated himself from the British but Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz had no objections to maintaining a limited association with them, while keeping Islamic interests predominantly in view. He did not think that Muslims should learn English in order to gain favour and to flatter the British. He also considered military service under the British to be illegal but not employment in the police, civil and judicial services. He was reluctant to give the status of *Ahl-i kitāb* to Jews and Christians, as they had persisted in following their respective heavenly books after the advent of Islam and the Qur'ān. *Tashabbuh bi'l-kufr* (infidelity by resembling), Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote, only applied to those articles which were specially associated with Jews and Christians. The use of Christian dress and food, and learning their language and script in order to resemble and flatter them was indeed such an infidelity to the Shāh. His opinions were based on his own interpretations of the Qur'ān and hadith and the Ghazālīan line which called for the judging of foreign sciences in relation to their compatibility with Islamic doctrines. Attempts to read so-called "modernism" into Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz's guidelines on relations with the British is tendentious.⁶ However, the Shāh deserves credit for guiding the Muslims to a reasonable direction, a line which seems to have been of help to Sir Syed Ahmad Khān (1817-98) in leading the Muslim reform movements. These aspects will be examined in the third volume of this series.

6 cf. K. A. Nizāmī, "Socio-religious movements in Indian Islam" in S. T. Lokhandwalla (ed.) *India and Contemporary Islam*, Simla 1971, p. 102.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARABIC

Sunni Tafsīr, Hadīth, Fiqh, Kalām, Devotional and Biographical Literature

- 'Abd al-'Azīz, Shāh, *Sirr al-Shahadatayn*, Lucknow, 1286/1869-70.
- 'Abd al-Barr, Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd-Allāh, *Kitāb al-istifā' fī ma'rifat al-ashāb*, Haydarābād (A. P.).
- 'Abd al-Hayy, *Nuzhat al-khawātir*, Haydarābād (A. P.), 1947-48.
- 'Abd al-Hayy b. al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo, 1350/1931.
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Najdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, Delhi, 1308/1890-1.
- Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, Lucknow, 1900.
- Abū Ishāq b. Nizām b. Mansūr, *Faysal al-tafrīqa bayn al-Tawhīdāt al-sādiqa wa'l-ihādāt al-zanādiqa*, I. O., Arabic MS., Delhi, 925.
- Abū Nu'aym Isfahānī, *Hilyat al-awliyā' wa tabaqāt imām al-asfiyā'*, Cairo, 1932.
- Abū Shaktūr al-sālimī, *al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-Tawhīd*, Cairo, 1338/1919-20.
- Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Farah al-Shāfi'i, *Sharh Manzūmāt ibn al-Farah*, Ivanow Arabic MS., 373.
- Abu'l-Fath Rukn b. Husām al-Mufti an-Nāgawrī, *al-Fatāwā al-Hammādiyya*, Calcutta, 1241/1825.
- Abu'l-Hasan 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī*, Cairo, n. d.
- Abu'l-Mawāhib 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ahmad al-Sha'rānī, *Kitāb al-Mizān*, Cairo, 1306/1888-89.
- 'Adud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Ījī, *Sharh Mukhtasar al-muntahā'*, Buhār Arabic MS., 136.
- , *al-'Aqā'id*, Lucknow, 1895.
- 'Alī Muttaqī b. Husām al-Dīn, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, Haydarābād.
- al-Ash'arī, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī B. Ismā'il, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyya*, Istanbul, 1929.
- Ashraf Mu'in al-Dīn, Mīrzā Makhdūm, b. Sayyid Sharīf. *al-Nawāqid fī'l-radd 'alā al-rawāfīd*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 972.
- , *al-Shuhūb al-thāqiba li'l nāsiba* (Summary of the above), I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 737 d.
- Badawī, 'Abd al-Rahmān, *al-Khawārij wa'sh Shī'a*, Cairo, 1958.
- Baghdādī, Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Qāhir, *al-Farq bayn al-firāq*, Cairo, 1948.
- Baghwī, Abū M. al-Husayn b. Mas'ūd al-Farra', *Sharh al-Sunna*, Buhār MS., 23.
- al-Baydāwī, Nasīr al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar b. Muhammad, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār-al-tā'wīl*, Delhi, 1271/1854-55.
- Bukhārī, Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad b. Ismā'il, *al-Jāmi' al-Sahīh li'l-Bukhārī*, Cairo, 1932.
- Dawwānī, Jālāl al-Dīn M. b. As'ad, *Sharh al-'Aqā'id al-'Adudiyya*, Cairo, 1296/1879.
- , *al-Risāla al-qadīma fī ithbāt al-wājib*, Rāmpūr MS.
- , *al-Hāshiya al-jadīda al-Jalāliyya*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 844.
- al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, Haydarābād (A. P.), 1375/1955.
- , *Mizān al-i'tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, Lucknow, 1301/1883-4.
- Dīnāwarī, Abū Hanīfa Ahmad, *Kitāb al-akhbār al-tiwāl*, Cairo, n. d.

- Fadl B. Rūzbihān Isfahānī, *Ibtāl nahj al-bātil wa ihmāl kashf al-'ātil*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 792.
- al-Farghānī, 'Ubayd-Allāh b. M. al-Farghānī al-'Ibri, *Sharh Tawālī' al-anwār* (of Baydāwī), Rāmpūr MS.
- Ghazālī, Abū Hāmid, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Cairo, 1957.
- , *Tahāfūt al-falāsifa*, Beirut, 1959.
- , *al-Munqidh min al-dhalāl*, Beirut, 1959.
- , *Arba'in*, Lucknow, n. d.
- , (ascribed to), *Sirr al-'ālamayn*, Buhār, Arabic MS., 118.
- Hājji Khalifa, *Kashf al-dhumūn, 'an asāmī al-kutub wa'l funūn*, Cairo, n. d., 2 Vols.
- ibn al-'Arabī, *al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya*, Bulaq, 1293/1876-77.
- , *Fusūs al-hikam*, Cairo, 1395/1975.
- ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Hāmid b. Hibati'l-lāh al-Madanī, *Sharh Nahj al-balāgha*, Beirut, 1950.
- ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī ma'rifat al-rijāl*, Haydarābād (A.P.), 1327/1909-10.
- , *al-durar al-kāmina fī i'yān al mi'at al thāmina*, Haydarābād, (A. P.), 1348/1929-30.
- ibn Hajar al-Haythamī al-Makkī, *al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*, Cairo, 1899-1900.
- , *Fath al-mubīn Sharh Arba'in*, Cairo, 1317/1899-1900.
- ibn Hanbal, Ahmad, *al-Musnad*, Cairo, 1895.
- ibn Hazm, Abū M. 'Alī b. Ahmad, *al-Fasl fi'l-mīlāl wa'l ahwāl wa'n-nihal*, Cairo, n. d.
- ibn Hishām, Abū M. 'Abd al-Malik, *Sīrat Rasūl-Allāh*, Cairo, 1935.
- ibn al-'Imād Hanbalī, *Shadharat al-dhahab fī akhbār min dhahab*, Cairo, 1351/1932-33.
- ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo, 1340/1921-22.
- ibn Khallikān, *Wafiyāt al-a'yān*, Cairo, 1948-49.
- ibn Mājah, M. B. Yazīd, *al-Sunan*, Lucknow, 1898.
- ibn Miskawayh, *al-Fawz al-asghar*, Beirut, 1940.
- , *Tahdhīb al-akhṭāq*, Cairo, 1950.
- ibn Nujaym al-Misrī, Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Ashbāh wa'n-nazā'ir*, Calcutta, 1826.
- ibn al-Qaysarānī, Abū'l-Fadl M. b. Tāhir b. 'Alī al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-jama' bayn rijāl as-Sahihayn*, Haydarābād.
- ibn Qudāma, *Tahrīm an-nazar fī kutub ahl al-kalām*, London, 1962.
- ibn Sa'd, M., *Kitāb al-tabaqāt al-kubra*, Beirut, 1957.
- ibn al-Sarrāj, *Tadhkirah al-madhāhib*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 1951 j.
- ibn Taymiyya, *Minhāj al-sunna al-nabawiyya fī naqd kalām al-Shi'a wa'l Qadriyya*, Bulaq, 1321-22/1903-4.
- , *Kitāb al-Nubuwwa*, Damascus, 1346/1927-28.
- , *Majma' al-fatāwā*, Cairo, 1326-29/1908-12.
- , *Majmū'āt al-rasā'il al-kubra*, Cairo, 1323/1905-6.
- , *Majmū'āt al-rasā'il wa'l masā'il*, Cairo, 1341-49/1922-38.
- Ismā'il, M. Shāh, *'Abaqāt*, Karāchi, 1380/1960-61.
- , *Risāla usūl al-fiqh*, Delhi, 1311/1893.
- , *Tanwīr al-'aynayn fī ithbāt rafa' al-yadayn*, Lahore n. d.
- , *Radd al-ishrāq*, MS. Āsafiyya Haydarābād (A. P.).
- , *Irshād al-'ibād 'ilā sabīl al-rashād*, British Museum MS.
- , *Majmū'āt al-khutab*, British Museum MS.
- Ismā'il Pāshā Baghdādī, *Hadyat al-'arīfīn, Asmā' al-mua'llifīn wa āthār al-musannifīn*, Istanbūl, 1951.
- Jūrjānī, 'Alī b. M. al-Sharīf, *Sharh Mawāqif al-'Ijī*, Lucknow, 1291/1874.
- , *Hāshiya 'alā Sharh al-tajrīd*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 789.
- , *al-Hāshiya al-qadīma al-Jalālīyya*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 826 b.
- Kābulī, Nasr-Allāh, *al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa li ikhwān al-Shayātīn wa'l-dalāl wa'l-zandaqah*,

- I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 9161, alternative title *Sawāqī' al-muhriqa*, Rāmpūr MS., *Sawāqī'*, Āsafiyya Haydarābād MS.
- Kahhāla, 'Umar Ridā, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, Damascus, 1957-61.
- Khayālī, Ahmad b. Mūsā, *Hāshiya al-khayālī 'alā sharh 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*, Lucknow, 1876.
- al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Cairo, 1349/1930-31.
- Khayrābādī, Fadl Haqq, *al-Thawrat al-Hindiyya*, Lahore, 1974.
- al-Khutānī, Sh. Ja'far, *Tahdhīr ahl al-sunnah al-akhyār 'an muwālāh al-rāfidah al-ashrār*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 7099.
- al-Kūrānī, Ibrāhīm b. al-Hasan, *Risāla al-Tawhīd al-mukhtār*, I. O., Delhi Arabic Manuscript, 710 b.
- , *Risāla al-Su'ūd ilā sihāh al-qawl li wahdah al-wujūd*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 710 c.
- , *Jalā' al-nazar fī baqā' al-tanzīh*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 710 i.
- , *'Ujālah dhawī al-intibāh fī i'rāb Kalima Lā Ilāha illā-Allāh*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 710 d.
- , *Ijāb al-Sā'il 'amma istashkalhumīn al-masā'il*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 710 j.
- , *Mashrā' al-wurūd ilā matla' al-jūd*, Delhi Arabic MS., 710 h.
- , *al-Maslak al-jalī fī hukm mastah al-walī*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 710 k.
- Lāhawri, Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn, *Hāshiya Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn (Tajrīd)*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 85.
- Mālik, b. Anas, *al-Muwatta*, Cairo, 1862.
- Maqrizī, Ahmad b. 'Alī, *al-Nizā' Wa't-takhāsum bayn al-Banī Umayya wa Banī Hāshim*, Najaf, 1948.
- Minqarī, Nasr b. Muzāhim, *Wāq'āt Siffīn*, Cairo, n. d.
- Mīr M. Zāhid, *Hāshiya Mīr Zāhid 'alā al-Mawāqif*, Lucknow, n. d.
- Mīrzā Jān Shīrāzī, Habīb-Allāh, *Hāshiya 'alā sharh al-Mawāqif*, Āsafiyya MS.
- , *Hāshiya 'alā'l-Hāshiya al-qadīma (Dawwānī)*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 826 c.
- Muhammad b. M. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar, *al-Muhīt*, Ivanow, Arabic MS., 405.
- M. b. Pīr 'Alī al-Birkawī (Bergillī), *al-Tarīqat al-Muhammadiyya*, Buhār Ar. MS., 124.
- M. b. Tāhir b. 'Alī al-Fatānī (Patānī), *al-Mughnī*, Delhi, 1290/1873.
- M. Mubīn b. Muhibb-Allāh Lakhnawī, *Wasīlat al-najāt*, Lucknow, 1895.
- Muhibb-Allāh al-Bihārī, *Musallam al-thubūt*, 'Aligarh, 1879.
- , *Munhiyāt Musallam al-thubūt*, Kānpūr, 1881.
- Murādī, *Silk al-Durar fī i'yān al-qaran al-thānī 'ashar*, Bulaq, 1301/1883.
- Nawbakhtī, *Firāq al-Shī'a*, Istanbul, 1931.
- Nisā'i, 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Sunan*, Kānpūr, 1299/1881-82.
- Nizām al-Dīn b. Mullā Qutb al-Dīn al-Sihālī, *Sharh Musallam al-thubūt*, Buhār Ar. MS., 140.
- Nizām al-Jīlānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad, *Fatāwā Ibrāhīm Shāhī*, Buhār Arabic MS., 159.
- Qādī Chākan al-Hindī, *Khizānat al-rawāyāt*, Buhār Ar. MS., 156.
- al-Qarshī, 'Abd al-Qādir, *al-Jawāhir al-madīyyat fī tabaqāt al-Hanafīyya*, Haydarābād (A. P.), 1332/1913-148.
- al-Qastallānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū'l-'Abbās Ahmad B. Muhammad b. Abī Bakr al-Khatīb *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya bi'l-mināhī'l-Muhammadiyya*, Ivanow, Arabic MS., 30.
- Qūnawī, Sadr al-Dīn, *I'jāz al-bayān fī ta'wīl umm al-Qur'ān*, Haydarābād (A. P.), 1368/1948.
- al-Qūshjī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. M. al-Qūshjī, *Sharh-Tajrīd al-'aqā'id*, Tehran, 1321/1903.
- Rafī' al-Dīn Shāh, *Asrār al-Mahabbat*, Gujrānwāla, 1383/1963.
- , *Tafsīr Āyat al-nūr*, Gujrānwāla, 1382/1962.
- , *Takmil al-adhhān*, Gujrānwāla, n. d.
- , *Damgh al-bātil*, Gujrānwāla, 1976.
- Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad b. 'Umar, *Mafātīh al-ghayb*, Cairo, 1324/1906-7.
- , *I'tiqādāt al-firaq al-Muslīmīn wa'l mushrikīn*, Cairo, 1338/1919.
- , *al-Munāzarāt*, Haydarābād (A. P.), 1354/1935.
- Rūzbihān, Sadr al-Dīn Abū M., *'Arā'is al-bayān*, Ivanow, Arabic MS., 67.

- Sāghānī al-Hindī, *Mashāriq al-anwār al-Nabawiyya min Sihāh al-Akhbār al-Mustafawiyya*, Lucknow, 1319/1901-2.
- al-Sam'ānī, Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm b. M. al-Tamīmī, *Kutāb al-ansāb*, London, 1912.
- al-Samarqandī, Abū'l-Layth Nasr b. M. b. Ahmad al-faqīh, *Khizānat al-fiqh*, Buhār Arabic MS., 150.
- al-Shahrastānī, *al-Mīlāl Wa'n-Nihl*, Bombay, 1288/1871-72.
- Shams al-'imma Abū Bakr M. b. Ahmad al-Sarkhasī, *al-Masbūt*, Buhār Arabic MS., 151.
- Siddiq Hasan Khān, *Ithāf al-nubalā' al-muttaqīn*, Kānpūr, 1289/1872.
- Sindī, 'Ubayd-Allāh, *al-Tamhīd*, Haydarābād, Sind, 1976.
- Siyālkotī, 'Abd al-Hakīm b. Shams al-Dīn, *Hāshiya al-Siyālkotī 'alā Hāshiya al-Khayālī*, Delhi, 1870.
- , *al-Durar al-ithmīna fī ithbāt al-Wājib*, Rāmpūr MS.
- al-Subkī, Abū Nasr Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyat al-kubra*, Cairo, 1324/ 1906-7.
- al-Sūyūtī, Abū'l-Fadl Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān, *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, Cairo, 1306/ 1888.
- al-Tabarī, Abū Ja'far M. b. Jarīr al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusūl wa'l mulūk*, Leiden, 1879-81.
- , *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Cairo, 1903.
- Taftāzānī, Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar, *Tahdhīb al-mantiq wa'l kalām*, Lucknow, 1869.
- , *Sharh-i 'aqā'id al-Nāsafi*, Lucknow, 1876.
- , *Sharh al-maqāsid*, Constantinople, 1277/1860-61.
- Tayyib b. Abī Bakr al-'Arabī al-Hadramī al-Shāfi'i, *Ihtida al-wāqif ilā'l iqtidā bi'l mukhālif*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 790.
- Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī, *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, Delhi, 1225/1810.
- Thānesarī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Risāla arādī*, 'Aligarh MS.
- Tirmidhī M. b. 'Īsa, *al-Jāmi' al-Sahīh*, Lucknow, 1900.
- Tustarī, Badr al-Dīn M. b. As'ad al-Yamanī, *Sharh Tajrīd al-'aqā'id*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 1496 b.
- Walī al-Dīn M. 'Abd-Allāh, *Mishkāṭ al-masābīh*, Amritsar, 1895-96.
- Walī-Allāh Dihlawī, *Fuyūd al-Haramayn* (Urdu tr.), Lahore, 1947.
- , *al-Budūr al-bāzigha*, Bijnor, 1936.
- , *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha*, Karāchī, n. d.
- , *al-Khayr al-kathīr*, Karāchī, n. d.
- , *al-Muqaddamah al-Saniyyah fī'l intisār li'l firqat al-Sunniyya*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 9399.
- , *Tafhīmāt Ilāhiyya*, Haydarābād, Sind, 1970.
- al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-jinān*, Haydarābād, 1337/1918-19.
- al-Zamakhsharī, Abū'l-Qāsim Mahmūd b. 'Umar, *al-Kashshāfi' an haqā'iq al-tanzīl*, Cairo, 1307/1889.
- Board of 'Ulamā', *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya*, Deoband, n. d.

Shī'a Tafsīr, Hadīth, Fiqh, Kalām, Devotional and Biographical Literature

- Āghā Buzurg Tihirānī, *al-Dhari'a ilā tasānīf al-Shī'a*, Najaf.
- Amīn, Muhsin, *A'yān al-Shī'a*, Beirut.
- Bahā' al-Dīn M. b. Husayn al-'Āmilī, *'Aqā'id al-Shī'a al-ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, Tehran, n. d.
- Bāqir al-Dāmād al-Husaynī al-Astarābādī, *Nibras al-diyā'*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 960 a.
- , *Taqwīm al-īmān*, I. O., Delhi, Arabic MS., 159 i.
- , *al-Khulāsa al-malakūtiyya*, I. O., Delhi, Arabic MS., 1617 b.
- , *Risāla al-khil'a*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 617 a.
- Dildār 'Alī b. Muhammad Mu'in, (Ghufrān Ma'āb), *Imād al-Islām*, Lucknow, n. d.
- Fath-Allāh Shīrāzī (Attributed to), *Hāshiya 'alā sharh al-Tajrīd*, I. O., Delhi MS., 961 a.

- Hā'irī, M. b. Ismā'il, *Muntahā al-maqāl*, Tehran, 1880.
- Hasan b. M. b. 'Alī al-Sahmī al-Muhallabī al-Hillī, *al-Anwār al-Badriya li kashf 'an shubah al-Qadriyya*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 960 c.
- Hillī, Hasan B. Yūsuf, *Minhāj al-karāma fī ma'rifa al-Imāma*, Tehran, 1296/1879.
- , *al-Bāb al-hādī 'ashar*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 676 c.
- , *Nahj al-mustarshidīn*, Bombay, 1303/1886.
- , *Sharh Tajrīd al-'aqā'id*, Tehran, 1310/1892.
- , *Tadhkirat al-fuqahā'*, Buhār Ar. MS., 180.
- , *Kitāb al-Alfayn al-fāriq bayn al-sidq wa'l mayn*, Tehran, 1248/1832.
- , *Nahj al-Haqq wa kashf al-sidq*, I. O., Loth Arabic MS., 437.
- , *Khulāsat al-aqwāl fī ma'rifat al-rijāl*, Buhār Ar. MS., 277.
- al-Hurr al-'Āmili, Muhammad b. Hasan, *al-Īqāz min al-hay'a bi'l-burhān*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 737 c.
- , *al-Risāla al-Ithnā-'Ashariyya fī'l radd 'alā'l sūfiyya*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 719 j.
- Husām al-Dīn M. Sālih b. Ahmad al-Māzandarānī, *Sharh Zubdat al-Uṣūl*, Buhār Arabic MS., 146.
- ibn Bābuwayh al-Qummi, Abū Ja'far Muhammad, *Risāla fī sifat i'tiqād al-Imāmiyya fī'l-Tawhīd*, Tehran, 1300/1883 translated into English by A. A. A. Fyze, Bombay, 1932.
- , *'Ilal al-Sharā'i wa'l ahkām*, Tehran, 1294/1877.
- , *Man La Yahdurhu'l faqīh*, Lucknow, 1306-7/1888-89.
- ibn al-Fakhr, Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Īsa, *Kashf al-ghumma fī ma'rifat A'imma*, Tehran, 1294/1877.
- I'jāz Husayn al-Kintūrī, *Kashf al-hujub wa'l astār*, Calcutta, 1330/1911-12.
- Khawansāri, *Rawdat al-jannāt fī ahwāl al-'ulamā' wa's Sādāt*, Tehran, 1367/1947.
- al-Kulaynī, M. b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq, *al-Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, Tehran, 1977.
- , *al-Furū' al-Kāfi*, Tehran, 1890.
- al-Majlisi al-Isfahānī, M. Bāqir b. M. Taqī, *Bihār al-anwār*, Tehran.
- al-Miqdād, b. 'Abd-Allāh, b. Muhammad al-Suyūrī, *Sharh al-bāb al-hādī 'ashar al-nāfi' yaum al-hashar*, I. O., Delhi MS., 913.
- , *Sharh Nahj al-mustarshidīn*, Tehran, n. d.
- Muhammad Muhsin Kashmīrī, *Najāh al-mu'minīn*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 866.
- Muhsin Kāshī, M. b. al-Murtadā, *Qurrah al 'uyūn fī a'azz al-funūn*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 244.
- , *Mizān al-qiyyāma*, Tehran, n. d.
- Murtadā al-Sharīf, *Durar wa'l Ghurar*, Tehran, 1277/1860-61.
- , *Kitāb al-Shāfi*, Tehran, n. d.
- Najm al-Dīn Khidr b. M. b. 'Alī al-Rāzī, *al-Tawdīh al-anwar li dafa' shubh al-a'war*, Buhār Arabic MS., 111.
- Nūr-Allāh Shustarī, Qādī, *Ihqāq al-Haqq*, Tehran, 1273/1856-57.
- , *al-Sawārim al-muhriqa fī dafa' al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*, Buhār Arabic MS., 112.
- , *Masā'ib al-nawāsib*, Buhār Arabic MS., 14.
- , *Hāshiya Nūr-Allāh (Tajrīd)*, I. O., Delhi Arabic MS., 846.
- Sibt-i Hasan Mujtahid, *Radd al-Sayf al-maslūl*, Lucknow, 1309/1891.
- Tūsī, Abū Ja'far Nasir al-Dīn M. b. M. al-Tūsī, *Qawā'id al-'aqā'id*, Tehran, 1303/1886.
- , *al-Istibsr fī mā ukhtulifa fīhi min al-akhbār*, Lucknow, 1307/1889-90.
- , *Tahdhīb al-ahkām*, Lucknow, 1905.

PERSIAN

Sunni-Polemics

'Abd al-'Aziz, Shāh, *Tuhfa-i Ithnā-'Ashariyya*, Lucknow, 1295/1878.

- , *Munhiyāt-i Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, Rāmpūr MS.
- 'Abd-Allāh Sultānpūri, *Minhāj al-Dīn*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Ghulām Rabbānī, Mawlānā, *Izālat al-khatā' fī radd-i Kashf al-ghitā'* Delhi, n. d.
- Haydar 'Alī b. M. Hasan Faydābādī, *Izālat al-ghayn*, Delhi, 1272/1856.
- , *Muntahī al-kalām*, Lucknow, 1257/1841-42.
- , *Risālat al-makātīb*, Delhi, 1268/1851-52.
- Husayn Haydar Husaynī, *Takmila-i Radd-i Rawāfid*, Murādābād, 1306/1888-89.
- 'Iwad al-Hisārī, al-Lāhawri, *Bawāriq-i mashriqa, Sharh-i Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Īzid Bakhsh Rasā, *Haqq al-Yaqīn*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Jahramī, Kamāl al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn, *Barāhīn-i Qāti'a dar tarjāma-i Sawā'iq muhriqa*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Muhammad Qāsim Nānawtawī, Mawlānā, *Qāsim al-'ulūm*, Delhi, n. d.
- Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī, *Radd-i Rawāfid*, Kānpūr, 1891-92.
- Rashīd al-Dīn Khān, Mawlānā, *Sawlat-i Ghadanfariyya wa Shawkat-i 'Umarīyya*, Rāmpūr MS., Delhi n. d.
- , *Tahqiq al-Shī'a*, I. O., Delhi Persian MS.
- , *Radd-i 'aqida-i Husām*, I. O., Delhi Persian MS.
- Salāmat 'Alī Tabīb, *Tabīrat al-īmān*, Calcutta, 1236/1820.
- Sayf al-Dīn Asad-Allāh Multānī, *Tanbīh al-safīh*, Khudābakhsh Patna MS.
- Sayyid M. and Salāmat-Allāh, *Makātīb-i munāzara*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Shāh Salāmat-Allāh Kashfī Badā'ūnī, *Ishbā' al-kalām*, Haydarābād, 1280/1863-64.
- Sibghat-Allāh 'Uthmānī, *Dar-i ghayb*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī, *al-Sayf al-Maslūl*, Delhi, 1268/1851-52.
- Walī-Allāh Dihlawī, Shāh, *Izālat al-khafā' 'an-khilāfat al-khulafā'*, Karāchi, n. d. MS.
- Personal collections.
- , *Qurrat al-'aynayn fī tafdīl al-Shaykhayn*, Delhi, 1892.

Shī'ī-Polemics

- 'Abd al-Hamid Sāmānī and others, *al-Bayād-al-Ibrāhīmī*, Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow.
- Abī 'Alī Khān Banārasī, *Ashāh al-bayān*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Ahmad Husayn, *Zafar-i dīn*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Husayn 'Alī Khān, *Radd-i Risāla-i Rashīdiyya*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Kāzīm 'Alī Lakhnawī, *Nusrat al-mu'minīn*, Rāmpūr MS.
- , *Radd-i Risāla-i Rashīdiyya*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Khayr al-Dīn M. Ilāhābādī, *I'tidhār-i 'Azīz*, Rāmpūr MS.
- , *Armaghān-i 'Azīz*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Mashhadī, *Mukātiba-i 'ulamā'-i Māwra' al-Nahr wa 'ulamā'-i Mashhad*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Mīr M. Hasan 'Alī Khān Bahādūr, *Tuhfat al-muslimīn wa hidāyat al-mu'minīn*, Lahore, 1316/1898-99.
- Mīrzā M. Kāmil, b. 'Ināyat Ahmad Khān Dihlawī, Hakīm, *Nuzha-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, I, Lucknow, n. d.; III, I. O., Delhi Persian MS.; IV, Lucknow 1279/1862-3; IX, Rāmpūr MS.
- Muftī Mīr 'Abbās Shustarī, *Jawhar-i 'abqariyya fī radd-i Tuhfa-i Ithnā' 'Ashariyya*, Lucknow, 1271/1854-55.
- , *Nasr al-mu'minīn*, Lucknow, n. d.
- Muftī S. M. Qūlī bin S. M. Husayn, Nishāpūri, *Tashyīd al-matā'in*, Ludhiāna, 1283/1866-67.
- , *Taqṭīb al-makā'id*, Delhi, 1262/1845-46.
- , *Burhān-i Sa'adat*, Rāmpūr MS.
- , *Sayf-i Nāsiri*, Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow MS.

- , *Musāri' al-afhām*, Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow MS.
 Muhammad Wahid-Allāh, *Fath al-kalām*, Rāmpūr MS.
 Nawwāb Sadr al-Dīn, M., *Risāla-i munāzara*, Rāmpūr MS.
 Nūr-Allāh, Qādī, Mar'ashī Shustarī, *Risāla dar jawābāt-i Shubhāt-i Iblīs*, Rāmpūr MS.
 Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī b. Qādī b. Qādī Nūr-Allāh, *Masā'ib al-nawāsiib*, Persian translation, Rāmpūr MS.
 S. 'Alī al-Hā'irī al-Qummī al-Lāhorī, *Tahdhīr al-mu'ānidīn*, Lahore, 1318/1900-1901.
 S. 'Ammār 'Alī, *Dafa' al-mughālita*, Delhi, 1307/1889-90.
 S. Bāqir Shāh Dihlawī, *Risāla dar afdalīyat-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, Rāmpūr MS.
 S. Dildār 'Alī Ghufrān Ma'āb, *Ihyā' al-sunna*, Ludhiāna, 1281/1864-65.
 —, *Husām al-Islām*, Calcutta, 1218-/1803-4.
 —, *Dhū'lfaqr*, Ludhiāna, 1281/1864-65.
 —, *Risāla-i Ghaybat*, Lucknow, 1266/1849-50.
 —, *Ihyā' al-Sunna*, Lucknow, n. d.
 —, *al-Sawārim al-Ilāhiyāt*, Calcutta, 1218/1803-4.
 S. Hāmid Husayn b. 'Allāma S. M. Qulī, *'Abaqāt al-anwār, Manhaj*, (literally Road, here the Principal text) 2, I, Lucknow, 1360/1941; *Manhaj* 2, II, Lucknow 1295/1878-79; *Manhaj* 2, III, Lucknow, 1303/1855-56; *Manhaj* 2, V/1 Lucknow, 1317/1899-1900; *Manhaj* 2, V/2, Lucknow, 1327/1909-10; *Manhaj* 2, VI, Lucknow, 1300/1882; *Manhaj* 2, VI/1, Lucknow n. d.; *Manhaj* 2, VI/1, Lucknow, n. d.; *Manhaj* 2, VI/2, Lucknow 1302/1884-5; *Manhaj* 2, XII/1, Lucknow 1314/1896.
 —, *Istiqsā' al-afhām fī naqd muntahī al-kalām*, Lucknow, 1276/1859-60.
 S. Husayn b. Mawlānā S. Dildār 'Alī, Ghufrān-Ma'āb, *Tard al-mu'ānidīn*, Lucknow, 1265/1848-49.
 S. M. Hādī b. S. M. Mahdī Nasirābādī, *Kashf al-astār*, Lucknow, n. d.
 S. M. Sādiq, Mawlānā, *Ithbāt-i nubuwwat-i khatm al-mursalīn*, Delhi, 1259/1843-44.
 S. Musharrāf 'Alī, *Ghazwāt-i Haydarī*, Rāmpūr MS.
 S. Riyād Hasan b. S. Bāqir 'Alī Naqawī, *Tuhfa-i munqaliba*, Lucknow, 1313/1895-96.
 —, *Radd-i Nawāsiib*, Rāmpūr MS.
 S. Yūsuf 'Alī Khān Husaynī al-Naqawī, *Hujjat al-Shī'a*, Ludhiāna, 1289/1872-73.
 Subhān 'Alī Khān, *Wajīza*, Lucknow, 1279/1862-63.
 —, *Radd-i Risāla-i Mawlawī Rashīd al-Dīn*, Rāmpūr MS.
 —, *Ikhilā fī'l manāqib*, Rāmpūr MS.
 —, *Radd al-makātīb*, Rāmpūr MS.
 —, *'Alamiyāt-i Amīr al-mu'minīn*, Rāmpūr MS.
 Sultān al-'ulamā' Mawlānā S. Muhammad, *Tafdīl Sādāt bar mashā'ikh*, Lucknow, 1311/1893-94.
 —, *Risāla-i Taqīya*, Lucknow, n. d.
 —, *Sayf-i Qāti'*, Lucknow, n. d.
 —, *Samsām-i Qāti'*, Lucknow, 1238/1822-23.
 —, *Darbāt-i Haydariyya*, Lucknow, n. d.
 —, *Ta'n al-rimāh*, Lucknow, 1238/1822.
 —, *Barq-i khātif*, Lucknow, n. d.
 Wazīr al-Dīn b. M. Ashraf Badā'ūnī, *Tuhfat al-Shī'a*, Ludhiāna, n. d.
 Wilāyat 'Alī b. Ghulām Rasūl, *Sayf-i Haydarī*, Rāmpūr MS.

History, Biography and Religious Works

- 'Abd al-'Aziz, Shāh, *Fath al-'Aziz* 3 Vols.; *Alif Lām Mīm*, Bombay, 1294/1877-78; *'Amm*, Bombay, 1306/1888; *Tabārak al-ladhī*, Lahore, 1277/1860.
 —, *Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, Delhi, 1311/1893-94.

- , *Bustān al-muhaddithin*, Delhi, 1898.
- , *'Ujāla-i nāfi'a*, Karāchī, 1964.
- , *Tahqīq al-rūya*, Delhi, 1350/1931-32.
- , *Wasīlat al-najā't*, Calcutta, 1248/1832-33.
- , *Risāla dar i'tiqād-i Shāh Walī-Allāh*, Rāmpūr MS.
- , *Sangīt-Shāstra*, Rāmpūr MS.
- , *Sharh Mullā Sadra*, 'Aligarh University, Firangī Mahal Collection.
- , *Fatāwā wa Maktūbāt*, 'Aligarh University MS.
- 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqī, Mūhaddith Dihlawī, *Madārij al-nubuwwa*, Lucknow, 1880.
- , *Sharh Sufar al-Sa'āda*, Lucknow, 1903.
- , *Fadā'il-i a'imma-i ithnā' 'ashar*, I. O., D. P. MS., 661 (a).
- , *Akhbār al-akhayār*, Delhi, 1914.
- , *Jadhb al-qulūb ilā diyār al-mahbūb*, Kānpūr, 1893.
- , *Zād al-muttaqīn fī sulūk tarīq al-yaqīn*, Rāmpūr MS.
- 'Abd al-Haqq Hādhiq, *Hālat-i jang-i Malkah u Sit'hanah*, Patna, 1901.
- 'Abd al-Qādir Khān, *Tārīkh-i 'Imād al-Mulk*, Khudābakhsh Patna MS., VIII, 615.
- Abu'l-Fadl 'Allāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, Calcutta, 1897-1921.
- , *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Lucknow, 1882.
- , *Mukātabāt-i 'Allāmī*, Delhi, 1846.
- Ahmad b. Nasr-Allāh, Thattawī and others *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, Ethé, 110.
- Amar Nāth, Diwān, *Zafar-nāma-i Ranjīt Singh*, Lahore, 1928.
- Ansārī, M. Ali Khān, *Tārīkh-i Muzaffarī*, Khudābakhsh Patna MS.
- Azfarī, M. Zahīr al-Dīn Mīrzā 'Alī Bakht Gūrgānī, *Wāqī'āt-i Azfarī*, Madras, 1937.
- Badā'ūnī, 'Abd al-Qādir Qādirī b. Mulūk Shāh, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta, 1864-9.
- al-Bal'āmī, Abū 'Alī M. b. M., *Tarjama-i Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, Bombay, 1903.
- Baranī, Diyā' al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1860-62.
- , *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī*, Lahore, 1972.
- Basāwan La'l Shādān, *Amīr-nāma*, 'Aligarh University, 'Abd al-Salām MS.
- Bhagwān Dās Pandit Shivpurī, *Makhzan al-futūh*, Rieu, III, 948.
- Būte Shāh, Ghulām Muhyī al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Panjāb*, Lahore Public Library.
- Dawlatābādī, Shihāb al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn b. 'Umar, *Bahr-i mawwāj*, Lucknow, 1297/1889-80.
- Dayā Rām Pandit, *Shīr u shakar*, Lahore Public Library.
- Farīd Bhakkārī, Shaykh, *Zakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, Karāchī, 1961.
- Fārūqī Murādābādī, Mawlawī Hājji Rafī' al-Dīn, *Risāla al-nazar 'alā tafsīr al-'Azīzī*, Rāmpūr MS.
- Firāqī, Kunwar Prem Kishore, *Waqā'i-i 'Ālam Shāhī*, Rāmpūr, 1949.
- Firishta, M. Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astarābādī, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* or *Tārīkh-i Firishta*, Lucknow, n. d.
- Ganesh Dās, *Chirāgh-i Panjāb*, Ethé, II, 3019.
- Ghulām 'Alī Dihlawī, *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, Delhi, 1892.
- , *Makātīb*, Madras, 1334/1915.
- , *Risālat al-Shawāhid*, Rāmpūr MS.
- , *Idāh al-tarīqa*, Lucknow, 1284/1867.
- Ghulām 'Alī Khān b. Bhikhārī Khān, *Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, Calcutta, 1912.
- Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naqawī, *'Imād al-Sa'ādat*, Lucknow, 1864.
- Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātabā'i, *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn*, Lucknow, 1866.
- Husaynī, Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn 'Atā'-'Allāh b. Fadl-Allāh, *Rawdat al-ahbāb fī siyar al-Nabī wa'l-Āl wa'l Ashāb*, Lucknow, 1880-82.
- Ilāhī Bakhsh Balūchī, *Khātam-i Sulaymānī*, Lahore, 1325/1907.
- Ismā'il, M. Shāh, *Mansab-i imāmat*, Delhi, n. d.

- Jāmī, Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Shawāhid al-nubuwwa li taqwiyat yaqīn ahl al-futuwwa*, Lucknow, 1882.
- Kāshifī, Kamāl al-Dīn Husayn b. 'Alī Wā'iz, *Mawāhib-i 'aliyā'* Kānpūr, 1895.
- , *Rawdat al-Shuhadā'*, Kānpūr, 1891.
- Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhāb al-lubāb*, Calcutta, 1860-74.
- Khayr al-Dīn, *'Ibrat-nāma*, Br. M., Or 1932.
- Khayrābādī, Fadl-i Haqq, *Tahqīq al-fatwa*, Lahore, 1979.
- Khwāja 'Abd al-Qādir, *Waqā'i' manāzil-i Rūm*, Bombay, n. d.
- Khwand-Amīr, Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Muhammad, *Habīb al-siyar fī akhbār aqrād al-bashar*, Bombay, 1891.
- Khweshgī Qasūrī, *Ma'ārij al-wilāya*, Shirānī Collections, Panjāb University, Lahore.
- Lachmī Narāyan Shafīq, *Ma'āthir-i Āsafī*, Ethé, 468.
- Lālā Mohan, *Rūznāmcha-i Ranjīt Singh*, Khudābakhsh Patna MS. Supp., II, 2020.
- Lālā Sohan La'l Sūrī, *'Umdat al-tawārikh*, Lahore, 1885-9.
- , *'Ibrat-nāma*, Lahore, 1885.
- Majlisī, Mullā M. Bāqir b. M. Taqī, b. Maqsūd, *Hayāt al-qulūb*, Lucknow, 1878-9.
- , *Jilā' al-'uyūn*, Tehran, 1240/1825.
- , *Tadhkirat al-a'imma*, Tehran, 1260/1844.
- Mīr Khwand, M. b. Khāwand Shāh, *Rawdat al-sāfā' fī sirāt al-anbiyā' wa'l mulūk khulafā'*, Lucknow, 1883.
- Mīr Muhammad Taqī, *Dhikr-i Mīr*, Awrangābād, 1928.
- Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī, *Nujūm al-samā'*, Lucknow, 1303/1886.
- Muftī 'Alī al-Dīn b. Muftī Khayr al-Dīn Lāhawri, *'Ibrat-nāma wa 'Umdat al-tawārikh*, Ethé, 504.
- Muhammad Ayyūb Qādirī (ed.), *Majmū'a-i Wasāyā'-i arba'a*, Haydarābād, Pākistān.
- , *Fadā'il-i Sahāba wa Ahl-i Bayt*, Karāchī, 1965.
- M. Husayn b. M. 'Alī Bihbihānī, *Wazīr 'Alī*, Public Library, Lahore.
- M. Iqbāl Mujaddidī, *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa*, Lahore, 1978.
- M. Mustajāb Khān, *Gulistān-i Rahmat*, Subhān-Allāh Collection, University, 'Aligarh.
- Mu'in al-Dīn Farahī, *Ma'ārij al-nubuwwa fī madārij al-futuwwa*, Kānpūr, 1895.
- Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī, *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Karāchī, 1392/1972.
- Mullā Shāh, Shāh M. b. 'Abd Muhammad, *Shāh-i tafsīr*, I. O., D. P. MS., 1420.
- Munnā Lāl, Munshī, *Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, Khudābakhsh Patna MS.
- Murād 'Alī, S., *Tārikh-i Tanāwalyān*, Lahore, 1975.
- Murtadā Husayn, *Hadīqat al-aqālīm*, Lucknow, 1881.
- Mushafī, Ghulām Hamadānī, *'Iqd-i thurayya*, Awrangābād, n. d.
- , *Tadhkira-i Hindī*, Awrangābād, n. d.
- Musharraf 'Alī, *Izāhat al-ghayy fī radd-i 'Abd al-Hayy*, Khudābakhsh Patna MS.
- Najm al-Dīn Nāgawri, *Manāqib al-mahbūbayn*, Rāmpūr, 1289/1872.
- Naqīb Khan and others, *Tārikh-i alfi*, Ethé, 112.
- Nawwāb M. Khān, Shāhjahānpūrī, *Malfūzāt-i Razzāqī*, Lucknow, 1313/1895-96.
- Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Calcutta, 1913-27.
- Nūr al-Dīn Hasan Khān, *A detailed history of Najib al-Dawla*, Br. M., Add, 24, 410.
- Nūr-Allāh Shustarī, Qādī, *Majālis al-mu'minīn*, Tehran, n. d.
- Qazwīnī, Hamd-Allāh b. Abī Bakr, *Tārikh-i guzīda*, Leyden and London, 1910.
- Rahmān 'Alī, *Tadhkira-i 'ulamā'-i Hind*, Lucknow, 1914.
- Rāja Rām Mohan Roy, *Tuhfat al-muwahhidīn*, Calcutta, 1859.
- Rashīd al-Dīn Fadl-Allāh, *Jāmī' al-tawārikh*, Tehran, n. d.
- Rāwandī, Abū Bakr, *Rāhat al-sudūr*, London, 1921.
- Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, *Makātib*, Lahore 1975, Tonk MS. British Museum MS., and Sir Sālārjang Haydarābād MS.
- , *Sirāt-i mustaqīm*, Meerut, n. d.

- Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī, Mawlawī, *Makhzan-i Ahmadi*, Agra, 1299/1881-82.
 Shāh Nawāz Khān, Mir 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, Calcutta, 1888-91.
 Shāh Nawāz Khān, Nawwāb 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Mir'āt-i Aftāb-numā*, 'Aligarh University MS.
 Tahmās Khān, *Tahmās-nāma*, 'Aligarh University MS.
 Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī, *Mā lā budda Minhu*, Kānpūr, 1882.
 —, *Tadhkira-i mawta wa'l qubūr*, Lahore, 1287/1870.
 —, *Haqiqat-i Islām*, Lucknow, 1266/1849-50.
 Tek Chand, *Rūznāmcha-i Shāh 'Ālam*, Khudābakhsh Patna MS., VII, 620.
 Ya'qūb b. 'Uthmān b. Mahmūd b. M. Ghaznawī Charkhī, *Tafsīr-i Ya'qūb-i Charkhī*, Bombay, 1326/1908-9.
 Zayd-pūrī, Ghulām Husayn, *Riyād al-salātīn*, Calcutta, 1902-4.
 Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, Br. M., Or, 180.

URDU

- 'Abd-Allāh Butt (ed). *Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd*, Lahore, 1943.
 Amīr Shāh Khan, *Amīr al-riwāyāt*, Sahāranpūr, n. d.
 Ansārī, Muhammad Ridā, *Bānī-i dars-i Nizāmī*, Lucknow, 1973.
 Āzād, Muhammad Husayn, *Āb-i hayāt*, Allahabad, 1962.
 Bashīr al-Dīn Ahmad, *Wāqī'āt-i dār al-hukūmat-i Dihlī*, Delhi, 1337/1918-19.
 —, *Farāmīn-i Salātīn-i Dihlī*, Delhi, 1944.
 Dihlawī, Mīrzā Hayrat, *Hayāt-i tayyiba*, Lahore, 1976.
 Fārūqī, Khwāja Ahmad, *Chirāgh-i rahguzar*, Delhi, 1974.
 Gīlānī, Manāzīr Ahsan, *Sawānīh-i Qāsimī*, Lahore, 1373/1954.
 Hasan, M., *Dihlī mēn Urdū Shā'irī kā fikrī aur tahdhībī pas manzar*, 'Aligarh, 1964.
 Ismā'il Shāh, Shahīd, *Taqwīyat al-īmān wa tadhkirat al-ikhwān*, Karāchī, 1976.
 Ja'far 'Alī Naqawī, *Manzūrat al-su'adā' fī ahwāl al-ghuzāt wa'l-shuhadā'*, MS. in the Panjāb University Lahore and Tonk.
 Karāmat 'Alī Jawnpūrī, *Nūran 'alā' nūr*, Jawnpūr, 1235/1907.
 —, *Miftāh al-jannat*, Calcutta, 1234/1818-19.
 —, *Kawkab-i Durri*, Calcutta, 1253/1837-38.
 —, *Bay'at-i tawba*, Calcutta, 1254/1838-39.
 —, *Zīnat al-Qārī*, Calcutta, 1264/1847-48.
 —, *Fayd-i 'āmm*, Calcutta, 1282/1865-66.
 —, *Hujjat-i qāti'a*, Calcutta, 1282/1865-66.
 —, *Nūr al-hudā*, Calcutta, 1286/1869-70.
 —, *Mukāshafāt-i Rahmat*, Calcutta, 1282/1865-66.
 —, *Zād al-taqwa*, Calcutta, 1287/1870-71.
 Khaliq Anjum, *Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān ke khutūt*, Delhi, 1962.
 Madanī, Husayn Ahmad, *Naqsh-i Hayāt*, Deoband, 1954.
 Mīhr, Ghulām Rasūl, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Lahore, 1952.
 —, *Jamī'at-i mujāhidīn*, Lahore, n. d.
 Mīrzā Lutf 'Alī, *Gulshan-i Hind*, Haydarābād (A. P.), 1906.
 Muhammad Miyān, Mawlānā, *'Ulamā'-i Hind Kā Shāndār mādī*, Lahore, 1977.
 Muhammad Qāsim Nānawtawī, *Qibla Numā*, Deoband, 1969.
 Muhammad Rafiq Athrī, Urdū translation to the *Sayf al-maslūl* by Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī, Multān, 1979.
 Nadwī, Sayyid Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī, *Sīrat Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Karāchī, 1974.
 Nizāmī, K. A., *Shāh Wali-Allāh ke Siyāsī maktūbāt*, 'Aligarh, 1950.
 Noshahrī, Malik Abū Yahyā, *Tarājīm 'ulamā'-i hadīth*, Layaipur, 1938.

- Nu'mānī, Muhammad Manzūr, *Hadrat Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd*, Lucknow, n. d.
 Qādirī, Arshad 'Alī, *Ẓalzala*, Lahore, n. d.
 Rahīm Bakhsh, Mawlānā, *Hayāt-i Walī*, Lahore reprint, n. d.
 Ra'ūf Ahmad Mujaddidī, *Durr al-ma'ārif*, Delhi, n. d.
 Shaffī, Mawlānā Muftī M., *Islām kā nizām-i arādī*, Karāchī, 1383/1964.
 Shāh 'Ālam II, *Nādirāt-i Shāhī*, Rāmpūr, 1944.
 Sharar, A. H., *Guzashta Lakhna'ū*, Lucknow, 1965.
 Siddiqī, M. A., *Gilchrist aur uskā ahd*, 'Aligarh, 1960.
 Syed Ahmad Khān, Sir, *Tadhkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, Karāchī, 1955.
 Thāneswarī, M. Ja'far, *Hayāt-i Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Karāchī, 1968.
 —, (ed), *Maktūbāt-i Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Lahore, 1969.
 'Ubayd-Allāh Sindī, *Shāh Walī-Allāh aur unkī siyāsī tahrīk*, 4th edition, Lahore, 1970.
 Zahr al-Dīn, Sayyid Ahmad, *Kamālāt-i 'Azīzī*, Karāchī, 1973.
 Zahūr al-Hasan (ed), *Arwāh-i Thāltha*, Sahāranpūr 1370/1951.
 Board of eye witnesses, *Makhzan-i Ahmadī*, MS. in the Panjāb University Library and Tonk.
al-Furqān, Bareilly (Urdu magazine), *Shāh Ismā'il* number, 1355/1936-37.

ENGLISH

- Ahmad 'Azīz, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford, 1964.
 —, *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan*, Oxford, 1967.
 Ahmad, 'Azīz and Grunebaum, G. E. Von, *Muslim self-statement in India and Pakistan*, Wiesbaden, 1970.
 Ahmad Mohi'u'd-Din, *Saiyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Lucknow, n. d.
 Atchison, C., *Collection of treaties, engagements and sunnuds relating to India*, Calcutta, 1892.
 Bajwa, F. S., *Military System of the Sikhs*, Delhi, 1964.
 Bernard Lewis, *Islam*, New York, 1974.
 Boyle, J. A. (ed), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, V, Cambridge, 1968.
 Buckland, C. E., *Dictionary of Indian biography*, reprint, Varanasi, 1971.
 Datta, K. K., *Shah Alam II and the East India Company*, Calcutta, 1965.
 Duff, Grant, *History of the Maharattas*, reprint, Allahabad, 1915.
 Forrest, D., *Tiger of Mysore*, London, 1970.
 Forster, G., *A journey from Bengal to England through the Northern part of India*, London, 1978.
 Francklin, W., *The History of Shah Alam*, New Delhi, III reprint, 1979.
 Friedmann, J., *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī*, Montreal, 1971.
 Frykenberg, R. E. (ed), *Land control and social structure in Indian history*, Wisconsin, 1969.
 Gleig, G. R., *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, London, 1841.
 Grant, R., *A sketch of the history of the East India Company*, London, 1813.
 Gupta, B. K., *Sirajuddaulah and the East India Company*, Leiden, 1962.
 Gupta, H. R., *A history of the Sikhs*, Simla, 1952.
 Gupta, K. S., *Mewar and the Maratha relations*, New Delhi, 1971.
 Gupta, P. S., *Shah Alam and his Court*, Calcutta, 1947.
 Hamilton, W., *Description of Hindostan*, London, 1820.
 Hasrat, Bikramajit, *Life and times of Ranjit Singh*, Nabha, 1977.
 Heber, R., *Narrative of a journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, 2nd edition, London, 1861.
 Hidayat Husain, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Buhār Library*, Calcutta, 1923.
 Hitti, P. K. etc., *Descriptive catalogue of the Garrett Collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*, Princeton, 1938.
 Hodges, William, *Travels in India 1780-1783*, London, 1793.
 Hodgson, G. S., *The Order of assassin*, Hague, 1955.

- Holt, P. M., Lambton and Lewis, B., *The Cambridge history of Islam*, Cambridge, 1970.
- Hunter, W. W., *The Indian Musalmans*, London, 1872.
- Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal empire*, reprinted, Karachi, 1967.
- Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963.
- Irwin, H. C., *The gardens of India*, reprint, Lucknow, 1973.
- Izutsu, *A comparative study of the key philosophical concepts in Sufism and Taoism*, Tokyo, 1966.
- Khan, M. A., *History of the Fraidī movement in Bengal*, Karachi, 1965.
- Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, Princeton, 1963.
- Lambrick, H. T., *Sir Charles Napier and Sind*, Oxford, 1952.
- Lawrence, H. M. L., *Adventure of an officer in the Punjab*, London, 1846.
- Levy, R., *A catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the library of the India Office*, London, 1937-40.
- Long, Rev. J., *Selections from unpublished records of Government, 1748-1767*, Calcutta, 1869.
- Loth, Otto., *A Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the library of the India Office*, London, 1877.
- Macarthy, R. J., *The theology of al-Ash'ari*, Beirut, 1953.
- Mahmud Husain (ed), *A history of the freedom movement, 1707-1947*, Karachi 1957-60, 2 Vols.
- Malcolm, John, *A memoir of Central India including Malwa*, London, 1832.
- , *Life of Robert Clive*, London, 1836.
- Mallick, A. R., *British policy and Muslims in Bengal*, Dacca, 1961.
- Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, Calcutta, 1971, 2nd edition.
- Mujeeb, M., *The Indian Muslims*, London, 1969.
- Narang, K. S., Gupta, H. R., *History of the Punjab*, Delhi, 1969.
- Qureshi, I. H., *The administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Karachi, 1944.
- , *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, The Hague, 1962.
- , *The administration of the Mughal empire*, Karachi, 1960.
- Rizvi, S. A. A., *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Agra, 1965.
- , *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, Delhi, 1975.
- , *A history of sufism in India*, I, Delhi, 1978, II, in Press.
- , *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his times*, Canberra, 1980.
- , *Iran, royalty, religion and revolution*, Canberra, 1980.
- , and M. L. Bhargava (ed), *Freedom struggle in U. P.*, Lucknow, 1957-61.
- Rypka, J., *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht, 1968.
- Sarkar, Sir J. N., *Fall of the Mughal empire*, Calcutta, 1932-50.
- , *Mughal administration*, Calcutta, 1920.
- Saxena, R. K., *Maratha relations with the major states of Rajputana*, New Delhi, 1973.
- Schacht, J., *The origin of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950.
- Schimmel, A., *History of Indian literature*, Urdu, Wiesbaden, 1973-75.
- , *Pain and grace*, Leiden, 1976.
- Setor-Karr, W. S., *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette, 1784-1823*, 4 Vols., Calcutta, 1864-69.
- Sharif, M. M. (ed), *A history of Muslim Philosophy*, Wiesbaden, 1966.
- Shemesh, A. B., *Taxation in Islam*, Leiden, 1958, 1965.
- Singh, G., *Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*, Bombay, 1959.
- , English translation of *Janganama* by Qadi Nur M., Amritsar, 1939.
- Sleeman, Sir, W. H., *A journey through the kingdoms of Oude*, London, 1858, 2 Vols.
- Spear, P., *Twilight of the Mughals*, Cambridge, 2nd edition, 1969.
- Srivastava, A. B. L., *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, 2nd edition, Delhi, 1961.
- Steward, Charles, *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, London, 1814.
- Storey, C. A., *Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, London, 1927-58.
- Syed Ahmad Khān Bahādur, *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans*, Benares, 1872.
- Tara Chand, *History of freedom movement in India*, I, New Delhi, 1961.
- Tate, G. P., *The kingdom of Afghanistan*, Delhi, 1973.
- Waheeduddin, F. S., *The real Ranjit Singh*, Karachi, 1965.

Index

- Aaron, 293, 303, 308, 338, 407, 410, 418, 432, 452.
- 'Abāda b. Thābit, 328.
- 'Abbās b. Muttalib, 283, 313, 317, 322, 383, 408, 418, 423, 425, 427, 429, 430, 439.
- 'Abd-Allāh, 'Alī's son, 354.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abbās, 271.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Āmir, 326, 327, 329.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Ās, 355.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. Jabla, 380.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. Jam'a, 417.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. Khālīd, 325.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. Mas'ūd, 323, 327, 328.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. Muttalib, 395.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abi Sarah, 323, 324, 326, 327, 381, 434.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar, 329, 363, 375, 404, 414, 415, 422, 446.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. Wahb, 143.
- 'Abd-Allāh b. Zubayr, 320, 363, 449, 456.
- 'Abd-Allāh Ansārī, Shaykh, 268, 456.
- 'Abd-Allāh Karrām, 141.
- 'Abd-Allāh Khān Uzbek, 253.
- 'Abd-Allāh Maymūn, 264.
- 'Abd-Allāh, M., 65.
- 'Abd-Allāh Sandilawī, 71.
- 'Abd-Allāh Sultānpūrī, Makhdūm al-Mulk, 12, 253, 480.
- 'Abd al-Ahad, 6.
- 'Abd al-Ahad Kashmīrī, 25-28.
- 'Abd al-Ahad, Shāh, 557.
- 'Abd al-'Alī, Bahr al-'Ulūm, 72-74.
- 'Abd al-'Aziz, Shāh, 74-100, 103-174, 178-244, 255-470, 474, 477-81, 484, 493, 498, 507, 522, 524, 532-536, 538-540, 542, 544, 550, 551, 553, 554, 562, 573-579.
- 'Abd al-Barr, 361, 385, 436.
- 'Abd al-Ghanī, Shāh, 78, 93, 527.
- 'Abd al-Haqq, Mawlānā, 98.
- 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith, Shaykh, 157, 167, 373, 377, 386, 423, 425, 438, 439, 556-560.
- 'Abd al-Hayy, Mawlānā, 94, 238, 240, 477-485, 490, 493, 498, 524, 532, 533, 554.
- 'Abd al-Hayy, Sayyid, 82.
- 'Abd al-Jabba'ī Mu'tazilī, (Qādī al-Qudāt), 418, 436, 445.
- 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī, 6.
- 'Abd al-Latif, 549.
- 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 377.
- 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī, Shaykh, 45, 46, 160, 178, 195, 367, 394, 404, 462, 474, 475, 500, 549, 564.
- 'Abd al-Qādir Khān, 11.
- 'Abd al-Qādir, Shāh, 78, 82, 93, 94-96, 101, 103-105, 168, 169, 474, 475.
- 'Abd al-Qayyūm, Muhaddith, 94.
- 'Abd al-Rahīm Shāh (Abu'l-Fayd), 98, 548.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān, 65.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 262, 335.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān, Hāfiz, 46.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān Pānīpatī, 82.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān Qandahārī, 459.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān, sūfī, 73.
- 'Abd al-Razzāq, 419, 443.
- 'Abd al-Razzāq (of Bānswī), 576, 577.
- 'Abd al-Razzāq, Muhaddith, 200.
- 'Abd al-Razzāq, Shaykh, 156.
- 'Abd al-Samad Khān, 79.
- 'Abd al-Wājīd Khayrābādī, 71.
- 'Abd b. Hamīd, 145.
- 'Ābid Sunnāmī, Shaykh, 558.
- Abjadī, Mīr, M. Ismā'il, 8.
- Abi b. Ka'b, 328.
- Abi'l-'Ās, 445.
- Abraham, 157, 158, 235, 293, 337, 392, 396, 449, 458, 551.
- Abū al-Shāmit, 265.
- Abū 'Abd-Allāh, 144.
- Abū 'Abd-Allāh M. b. Yūsuf, 400.
- Abū Bakr, 144, 146, 162, 199, 200-206, 251-253, 255, 261, 262, 273, 277, 297, 301,

- 305-316, 319-22, 327-345, 353, 355, 362, 367, 374, 397-402, 414-469, 502, 552, 565.
- Abū Bakr ibn al-'Arabī, 465.
- Abū Bakr, Qādī, 392.
- Abū Bakr, Ziyād's brother, 435.
- Abū Basīr, 292.
- Abū Dāwūd, 275, 373, 385.
- Abū Dāwūd al-Tayalīsī, 143.
- Abū Dharr Ghifārī, 271, 291, 316, 328, 361, 366, 383, 419, 436, 438.
- Abū Hanīfa, 141, 160, 175, 178, 199, 225, 231, 247, 248, 279, 297, 343, 348, 377, 378, 407, 423, 432, 439, 442, 450, 453, 456, 460, 505, 569.
- Abū Hanīfa, S., 474.
- Abū Hātim Rāzī, 331.
- Abū Hurayra, 183, 329, 336, 363, 381, 422.
- Abū Ja'far Tūsī, 282, 287, 292, 343, 344, 381, 386.
- Abū Jihl, 366, 382, 455.
- Abū Lahb, 353.
- Abū Lūlū, 305, 328.
- Abū Makhnaf Lūt, 278, 296, 337, 376, 403, 404.
- Abū Ma'shar Balakhī, 382.
- Abū Mūsā Ash'arī, 326, 332, 437, 444.
- Abū Nasr, 312.
- Abū Qatāda, 414, 415.
- Abū Raḥī, 422.
- Abū Sa'id b. Abī'l-Khayr, 500.
- Abū Sa'id Hasanī, Shāh, 81, 100.
- Abū Sa'id Khidrī, 361, 422.
- Abū Sa'id, Shāh, 474, 475.
- Abū Shahma, 320, 321.
- Abū al-Shaykh, 343.
- Abū Sufyān, 202, 325, 435.
- Abū Tāhir (Jannābiyya), 265.
- Abū Tālib, 395.
- Abū Tālib Isfahānī, 6, 66-68.
- Abū 'Ubayda, 310, 367, 458.
- Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh, 307.
- Abū Yūsuf, 229-231, 248, 337, 450.
- Abu'l-Bakhtārī, 142.
- Abu'l-Ma'ālī, Sayyid, 255.
- Abu'l-Qāsim, 322.
- Abu'l-Qāsim Khān, 26, 27.
- Abyssinia, 160.
- Achhe Miyyān, 357.
- 'Adābarī, 282.
- Adam, 112, 278, 402, 564.
- Ādam Banūrī, Sayyid, 474, 491, 550.
- Adams, A., 90.
- Afdal Khān, 80.
- Afghānistān, 12, 17, 46, 65, 66, 550.
- Afrāsiyāb Khān, 25, 26, 27, 29.
- Āghā Ibrāhīm, 279.
- Āghā Mīr, 36, 37, 55, 479, 480.
- Āghā Muhammad, 32.
- Agra, 13, 19, 21, 26, 27, 30, 31, 40, 47, 59, 60.
- Agrāon, 39.
- Agror, 490.
- Ahl-Allāh, Shāh, 79, 80, 100.
- Ahlādganj, 479.
- Ahlaj, 275.
- Ahmad b. 'Abd-Allāh, 265.
- Ahmad b. Hanbal, 199, 248, 391, 394, 395, 412, 456.
- Ahmad b. Ishāq, 305.
- Ahmad 'Alī, 533.
- Ahmad 'Alī, 95, 491.
- Ahmad-Allāh, Mawlawī, 97.
- Ahmad Ghazālī, 547.
- Ahmad Jāmī, 268.
- Ahmad Khān Bangash, 13, 14, 21.
- Ahmad Khān Bārakza'i, 32.
- Ahmad Shāh, Emperor, 4, 472.
- Ahmadnagar, 39, 160.
- Ahrār, Khwāja 'Ubayd-Allāh, 161.
- Ahriman, 351.
- Ahwaz, 264, 265, 328, 439.
- Ahzāb, 137, 335.
- 'Ā'isha, 134, 140, 205, 255, 260, 262, 267, 319, 320, 328, 329-340, 343, 345, 354, 359, 362, 372, 383, 385, 394, 408, 417, 418, 430, 431, 435, 438, 441-450, 456, 457, 463, 464, 468.
- Ajmīr, 32, 40.
- Akbar I, 44, 109, 178, 189, 211, 254, 364, 377, 413, 472, 481, 523.
- Akbar II, 40, 42, 45, 46, 47, 50, 551.
- Akbar Beg, 66.
- Akbarābādī Masjid, 78.
- Akorā, 487, 490.
- Alā Singh, 17, 18.
- 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī, 390, 544, 549.
- 'Alā' al-Dīn Ahmad, 74.
- 'Alam-Allāh, S., 473, 474, 491.
- 'Ālamgīr I, see Awrangzīb.
- 'Ālamgīr II, 5, 10, 11, 12, 46, 84, 85.
- Alexander, 91, 273.
- Alexandria, 144.
- 'Alī al-Dīn, Muftī, 5.

- 'Alī al-Naqī, Imām, 266, 462, 544.
 'Alī al-Ridā, Imām, 22, 253, 265, 289, 344, 414, 424, 452, 456, 564.
 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, 443.
 'Alī b. Hasan, 381.
 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, Imām, 43, 68, 110, 134, 143, 147, 164-74, 198, 245, 246, 249, 251, 252, 255, 261-262, 272-279, 284-286, 290-294, 297, 307-25, 328-350, 353-356, 362-470, 476, 502, 551, 552, 555, 564, 565, 574.
 'Alī Gawhar, 5, 11.
 'Alī Hazin, 63.
 'Alī Mardān, 16, 255.
 'Alī Muttāqī, Shaykh, 394.
 'Alī Wardī Khān, 10, 59.
 'Aligarh, 4, 25, 26, 30, 31, 39.
 Allahabad, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 24, 25, 36, 42, 47, 479, 481, 485.
 'Alqamī, 266.
 Alwar, 28, 97.
 Amāma, 386.
 Amān Pānīpatī, Shaykh, 156.
 Amb, 490.
 Ambāla, 18, 29.
 Ambeth, 18, 478.
 'Āmīlī, Bahā' al-Dīn, 343.
 'Āmīlī, Shaykh Hurr, 382, 403.
 Amīn al-Dīn, Mawlawī, 95.
 Amīn-al-Dīn, Munshī, 482.
 Amīr Hasan Khān, 468.
 Amīr Khān, 81.
 Amīr Khān of Hund, 494.
 Amīr Khān of Kābul, 364.
 Amīr Khān, Nawwāb, 6, 23, 41, 42, 48, 474, 477, 526, 529, 532, 578.
 Amīr Khusrāw, 62, 132.
 Amjad 'Alī Shāh, 37.
 'Ammār b. Yāsir, 271, 327, 328, 355, 366, 383, 406, 419, 435, 438, 441, 442.
 'Amr b. 'Ās, 308, 327, 329, 363, 418, 419, 436, 437.
 Amritsar, 16, 18, 33, 40, 41, 43.
 Amroha, 24, 60, 71, 95, 493, 550.
 Ānand Kishore, Kunwar, 4, 59.
 Anas, 422.
 Andalus, 143, 324.
 Andaman islands, 97, 98.
 Anderson, James, 64.
 Āndhra, 37.
 Anīs, Mīr Babar 'Alī, 61.
 Ānla, 24.
 'Aqaba, 484.
 Arabia, 147, 209, 210, 279, 326, 347.
 Arākān (Arracan), 48.
 Ardashīr, 472.
 Ardbīl, 268.
 Arghūn, Sultān, 266.
 Aristotle, 273, 291.
 Arkāt (Arcot), 8, 9, 10, 357.
 'Arshī, Imtī'āz 'Alī, 45.
 Arthur Wellesley, 39.
 'Ās, 386.
 Āsaf al-Dawla, Nawwāb, 6, 34, 35, 49, 53, 54, 55, 59, 63, 66, 358.
 Āsaf Jāh III, 491.
 Āsaf Khān, 364.
 Ash'ath b. Qays, 381.
 Ash'arī, Abu'l-Hasan, 147, 160, 200, 247, 367, 391, 392.
 Ashraf Khān, 487.
 Asia Minor, 4.
 Asiatic Society of Bengal, 66.
 Asirgarh, 39.
 Aslamī, Mawlawī, 357.
 Assam, 48, 482, 527, 541.
 Assaye, 39.
 'Atba b. Abī Lahb, 455.
 A'tham Kūfī, 327, 331, 437, 443.
 Attak, 33, 66, 487.
 'Attār, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn, 157, 343, 411, 462.
 Avicenna, 74, 100, 291, 376, 394, 471.
 Awadh, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 21, 24, 25, 34, 35, 36, 42, 45, 51, 52, 53, 59, 71, 92, 97, 284, 477, 532.
 Awrangābād, 39, 557.
 Awrangzib, 9, 43, 44, 151, 255, 273, 364, 479, 523, 556, 557, 572, 573.
 Awtās, 323.
 Āyat-Allāh, S., 474.
 'Ayn al-Qudāt Hamadānī, 267, 547.
 Ayyūb Qādirī, M., 100.
 A'zamgarh, 36, 95.
 A'zamjāh, 8.
 Āzarbayjān, 266, 267.
 Āzarda, Sadr al-Dīn, 96, 517-519, 527.
 'Azīm al-Dawla, 8, 73.
 'Azīm Beg, 48.
 'Aziz Ahmad, 530.
 Bāb-Allāh, Mawlānā, 543.
 Bābā Fadl Kashmīrī, 76.
 Bābā Farīd, 189.

- Bābā Ratan, 210, 211.
 Bābā Shujā' al-Dīn, 305, 339.
 Bābur, 30.
 Badakhshān, 163.
 Badakhshī, Mīrzā M. Beg, 557.
 Badā'ūn, 210.
 Badā'ūnī, Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir, 360, 377, 413.
 Badr, 137, 329.
 Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī, 163.
 Bādshāh Begum, 480.
 Baghdād, 68, 145, 265, 381, 397, 550.
 Baghdādī, 247, 249, 445.
 Baghwī, 412.
 Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, Khwāja, 160, 161.
 Bahādur Shāh Zafar, 96, 97.
 Bahrā'ich, 189, 550.
 Bahrām Gūr, 364.
 Bahrām Khān, 490.
 Bahrayn, 265.
 Bahū Begum, 34, 35, 59.
 Baillie, Colonel, 26.
 Bāji Rāo II, 39.
 Bakhtiyār Kākī, Qutb al-Dīn, 43.
 Baksar, 14, 22, 481.
 Bālākot, 497.
 Balkh, 19, 66, 163, 268, 324.
 Balkhī, Abū'l-Qāsim, 251.
 Ballabgarh, 26.
 Ballia, 481.
 Balūchistān, 19, 553.
 Balwand Singh, 6.
 Bāmiyān, 66.
 Bāmza'i, Nūr al-Dīn, 16.
 Banāras, 6, 21, 25, 34, 36, 42, 50, 56, 63, 64, 481, 484, 479.
 Bandā Bahādur, 17.
 Bani Yarbū, 227.
 Bannū, 491.
 Bānsa, 576.
 Baqī', 329, 330, 446, 484.
 Bāqī Bi'llāh, Khwāja, 151, 157, 550, 557, al-Baqillānī, 247.
 Bāqir, Imām Muhammad, 264, 286, 295, 315, 343, 347, 373, 379, 387, 388, 413, 414, 424, 456, 460, 564.
 Bāqirganj, 540.
 Bārābankī, 178.
 Barani, Diyā' al-Dīn, 176.
 Barāset, 537.
 Bardawān, 73.
 Bareilly, 13, 24, 52, 95, 100, 478, 493, 550, 574.
 Bārḥā, 16, 145, 178, 576.
 Barnālā, 16.
 Barnāwā, 28.
 Barsānā, 26.
 Basāwan La'l Shādān, 5, 41.
 Basehsar, 479.
 Bashārat 'Alī, Mawlānā, 538.
 Basra, 8, 68, 265, 326, 327, 330, 331, 465.
 Bastī, 36.
 Batālā, 549.
 Bāyazīd, 4.
 Bāyazīd Bistāmī, 268, 283, 396, 407.
 Baydāwī, 107, 240, 267, 312, 405, 406, 426, 519.
 Bayhaq, 145.
 Bayhaqī, 343, 412.
 Bayram Khān, 364.
 Beās, 40.
 Bedford, Lady, 63.
 Bengal, 8, 10-14, 18, 21, 24, 32, 56, 58, 66, 72, 73, 284, 472, 482, 537-541, 550.
 Benjamin Schultze, 104.
 Berār, 42.
 Berber, 144.
 Bhāgalpūr, 482.
 Bhagwān Dās Pandit Shivpurī, 5.
 Bharatpūr, 27, 30, 40, 41.
 Bhāwalpūr, 48, 69.
 Bhiwānī, 51.
 Bhonsle, 40.
 Bibī Irāda, 75.
 Bidnūr, 37.
 Bihār, 8, 12, 13, 14, 24, 65, 72.
 Bihbihānī, Āghā Bāqir, 405.
 Bijāpūr, 255.
 Bijnor, 95.
 Bīkānīr, 48.
 Bikramājī, 210.
 Bilgrām, 6.
 Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān, 382.
 Biyās, 209.
 de Boigne, 32.
 Bombay, 37, 68, 484, 527.
 Bristow, 35.
 Bruce, Captain, 64.
 Budh Singh, 487, 488.
 Budhānā, 73, 478.
 Bukhārā, 65, 66, 163, 199, 204, 205, 207, 240, 268, 490, 491, 533, 534, 550.

- Bukhārī, M. b. Ismā'il, 146, 251, 275, 303, 310, 312, 316, 318, 336, 373, 380, 382, 385, 408, 410, 417, 420, 423, 424, 427, 429, 432, 455, 456, 505, 550.
- Bundelkhand, 13, 22.
- Bündi, 40, 42, 477.
- Buner, 41, 490.
- Burayda, 307, 409.
- Burhān Khān, Munshī, 8.
- Burhān Nizām Shāh, 166, 168.
- Burhānpūr, 39.
- Burma, 527.
- Bursi, Rajab, 372.
- Būtē Shāh, Ghulām Muhyī al-Dīn, 5.
- Byzantine, 144, 324, 336, 340, 504.
- Cairo, 538.
- Calcutta, 5, 34, 36, 43, 62, 63, 65, 68, 227, 355, 482-484, 486, 493, 532, 540.
- Carnac, Colonel, 12.
- Carnatic, 8, 38.
- Cathay, 160.
- Central Asia, 55, 486.
- Cetesiphon, 262.
- Chait Singh, 34, 35.
- Chambal, 19, 20, 30, 40.
- Chanāb, 17.
- Chānda Sāhib (Husayn Dūst) 9, 10.
- Chāndpūr, 537.
- Chandū Gūjar, 25.
- Charlotte, Queen, 67.
- Charsadda, 487.
- Chawtālā, 69.
- Chayt Singh, 6.
- Cherry, 36.
- Chhatra Singh, Rānā, 7.
- Chhatrasāl Bundela, 13.
- China, 39, 160, 209, 327.
- Chingiz, 286, 387, 419, 473.
- Chingla'i, 490.
- Chirayyakot, 95.
- Chishtiya, 69, 76, 161.
- Chitaldurg, 39.
- Chitrāl, 491.
- Chittagong, 482.
- Chitū Khān, Pindārī, 41.
- Christ (Jesus), 14, 117, 160, 166, 243, 276, 278, 283, 294, 295, 351, 400, 462.
- Clive, 10, 12, 14, 22.
- Coimbatore, 38.
- Comti de Modave, 22.
- Constantinople, 8, 38.
- Cornwallis, Lord, 38, 57.
- Copts, 235.
- Dabīr, Mirzā Salāmat 'Alī, 61.
- Dābitā Khān, 4, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30.
- Dacca, 482, 550.
- Dā'ira Shāh Ajmal, 479.
- Dalmaū, 481.
- Damascus, 250.
- Damgala, 493.
- Damīrī, 386.
- Dānāpūr, 481.
- Dārānagar, 71.
- Daraporam, 38.
- Dard, Khwāja Mīr, 47, 59, 77.
- David, 114, 313, 402, 405, 423.
- Dawlat Rāo Sindia, Mahārāja, 486.
- Dawwānī, Jalāl al-Dīn, 368.
- Dayār Bakrī, 'Allāma, 401.
- Daylam, 266.
- Daylamī, 343, 454.
- Deccan, 7, 9, 25, 31, 32, 35, 39, 284, 550.
- Delhi, 4, 5, 11-21, 24-27, 32, 37, 40, 43, 47, 48, 49, 53, 56, 59, 60, 62, 66, 71, 75, 79, 81, 92, 95, 96, 106, 145, 151, 176, 224, 211, 227, 233, 236, 284, 459, 473, 475, 477, 478, 493, 529, 532, 543, 549, 557, 554, 577.
- Delhi College, 96.
- Deoband, 478.
- Derā Ghāzī Khān, 69.
- Derājāt, 66.
- Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, 250, 373, 375, 376.
- Dhakā'-Allāh, 557.
- Dhawq, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, 62.
- Dhi Khashab, 326.
- Dholpūr, 20.
- Dhū'lfaqār al-Dawla, see Mirzā Najaf.
- Dibā'i, 21.
- Dīg, 20, 26, 30, 31, 40.
- Dilāwar Khān Habashī, 255.
- Diya', M. Abd al-Rahīm, 75, 76, 356.
- Doāb, 26, 29, 30, 31, 66.
- Dūdū Miyān, 540, 541.
- Dūndē Khān, 13.
- Dupleix, 9, 10.
- Durrānī, Ahmad Shāh, 9-13, 15-20, 23, 32, 46, 49, 523, 532.
- Durrānī, tribe, 487, 490, 493.
- Dūst Muhammad, 70.

- East India Company, 5, 6, 8, 12-15, 34, 52, 59, 64, 65, 95, 104, 242.
 Edinburgh, 62.
 Egypt, 143, 144, 179, 209, 235, 241, 261, 281, 324, 329, 347, 551.
 Elphinstone, M., 65.
 England, 10, 12, 67.
 Etāwa, 21, 36.
 Ethiopia, 144, 209.
 Europe, 57, 66.
- Fadakh, 227, 261, 270, 314, 315, 326, 347, 353, 362, 413, 423-425, 440, 461.
 Fadl b. 'Abbās, 417.
 Fadl-Allāh b. Rūzbihān, 252, 254, 255, 369-72, 378, 416, 420, 421, 449.
 Fadl-i Haqq Khayrābādī, 96-98, 517, 533.
 Fadl-i Imām Khayrābādī, Mawlawī, 96, 97.
 Fakhr al-Dīn, Mawlānā, 69, 76, 81-83, 574, 577.
 Faqīr M. Khān, 479, 480.
 Fārābi, 291, 394, 471.
 Farghānī, Sa'id al-Dīn, 157.
 Farrukhābād, 6, 13, 19, 21, 36, 56, 59.
 Farrukhnagar, 19, 26.
 Farrukhsiyar, 14, 46, 178.
 Fārs, 266, 325, 336, 449, 504.
 Fatehgarh, 36.
 Fath 'Alī Khān Tālpūr, Mīr, 70.
 Fath-Allāh Shīrāzī, 364.
 Fath Khān, 487, 490.
 Fathpūr Hanswa, 481.
 Fathpūr Sikrī, 29.
 Fātima Zahra, 261, 283, 284, 292, 298, 301, 302, 313-315, 336, 339, 343, 362, 383, 395, 407, 408, 411, 414, 417, 421, 423, 425, 431, 445, 448, 449, 454, 461, 463, 464, 465, 476.
 Fayd-Allāh Khān, 25, 35, 73.
 Fayd Bakhsh, M., 6.
 Fayd M. Khān, Nawwāb, 97.
 Faydābād, 6, 11, 33, 34, 59, 95, 97.
 Firangi Mahal, 71, 72, 74, 405.
 Fija' Sulamī, 316.
 Firāq, Thanā'-Allāh, 47.
 Firāqī, Kunwar Prem Kishore, 4, 32, 59.
 Firūz Tughluq, Sultān, 189, 576.
 Firūzābād, 32.
 Fletcher, 14.
 Forster, G., 53-56.
 Fort William College, 62.
 Fox, 67.
- France, 38, 68.
 Francklin, W., 5.
 Frazer, W., 65, 91.
 Fullarton, W., 64.
- Gabriel, 276, 291, 292, 311, 374, 422.
 Ganesh Dās, 5.
 Ganges, 4, 25, 52, 327, 481, 482.
 Gangoh, 478.
 Gayā, 12.
 Gāzirūnī, Abu'l-Fadl, 449.
 George III, 60.
 Ghāba, 326.
 Ghadīr Khumm, 302, 303, 305, 339, 366, 409, 430, 432, 447, 470.
 Ghafūr Khān, 42.
 Ghālib, Mīrzā Asad-Allāh Khān, 62, 96, 97.
 Ghawthgarh, 27, 53.
 Ghazālī, 160, 189, 199, 207, 247, 271, 279, 297, 376, 421, 462, 471, 505, 514, 547, 548, 553, 579.
 Ghāzān Khān, 249, 267, 394.
 Ghāzī al-Dīn Haydar, 6, 36, 37, 53, 92, 480.
 Ghāziābād, 481.
 Ghāzī Miyān, 189.
 Ghāzipūr, 34, 481, 484, 550.
 Ghaznavids, 96.
 Ghaznī, 163, 487, 550.
 Ghiyāth, 265.
 Ghiyāth b. Maymūn, 140.
 Ghotaulī, 12.
 Ghufrān Ma'āb, Mawlānā S. Dildār 'Alī, 358, 359, 388, 390, 393, 396, 397, 410-411, 461-469, 479, 480.
 Ghujduwānī, Khwāja 'Abd al-Khāliq, 161.
 Ghulām 'Alī of Arkāt, 8.
 Ghulām 'Alī Naqshband, Shāh, 90, 91, 101, 239, 549-558, 579.
 Ghulām Dāmin, 8.
 Ghulām Halīm, 75, 98.
 Ghulām Haydar of Gwalior, 534, 535.
 Ghulām Husayn, Khwāja, 7.
 Ghulām Husayn Jawnpūrī, 65.
 Ghulām Husayn Khān, 6.
 Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabatabā'i, 4, 64.
 Ghulām Husayn Khān b. Bhikārī Khān, 5.
 Ghulām M. Ghawth, 8.
 Ghulām, M., Prince, 8.
 Ghulām Murtadā Khān, 8-73.
 Ghulām Mustafā, Qādī, 72.

- Ghulām Qādir Rohella, 5, 27, 30, 31, 44, 85, 89, 98.
 Ghulām Yahyā, 542-549, 574.
 Ghulām Yahyā, Mawlānā, 101.
 Gilchrist, J. B., 62.
 Goddard, Colonel, 64.
 Gooty, 39.
 Gopāma'ū, 73.
 Gorakhpūr, 36, 65, 66, 493, 550.
 Govindpūr, 11.
 Gujrānwāla, 100.
 Gurramkonda, 39.
 Gwalior, 7, 40, 64, 486, 534.
- Habbāb, 361.
 Hābīl, 112.
 Hadhifa, 383.
 Hadrat Begum, 46.
 Hadrū, 488.
 Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, 6, 13, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 71, 72, 73.
 Hāfiz Shīrāzī, 271, 475.
 Hafsa, 267, 305, 332, 346, 417, 423, 444, 457, 458, 463.
 Hagar, 235.
 Hajash, 186.
 Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, 276, 278, 279, 376, 434, 436.
 Hakam b. 'Ās, 325, 435.
 Hākīm, 412.
 Hākīm Mahdī, 36.
 Haldiya, 481.
 Halīma bint Abī Dhu'ayb, 278, 279, 376.
 Hallāj, 368, 549.
 Hamadān, Qarmatī, 265.
 Hamadānī, Ismā'il Beg, 30, 31.
 Hamadānī, M. Beg, 29.
 Hamadānī, Sayyid 'Alī, 394, 445.
 Hamīd b. Ziyād Naynawī, 381.
 Hāmīd Husayn, Mawlānā, S., 359, 470.
 Hamilton, W., 48.
 Hamza, 446.
 Hannay, Col., 66.
 Hānsī, 51.
 Hanūmān, 110.
 Hāpur, 21, 478.
 Hardīārpūr, 537.
 Hardoi, 73.
 Harī Singh Nalwa, 33, 490, 494.
 Hārith b. Hakam, 325, 326.
 Hārith b. Usāma, 144.
- Harmuzān, 328.
 Haryānā, 51, 145.
 Hasan, Imām, 46, 187, 196, 252, 284, 296, 297, 301, 302, 305, 308, 309, 314, 323, 330, 332, 337, 339, 379, 404, 407, 408, 411, 414, 415, 418, 420, 424, 425, 433, 441, 445, 446, 454, 469, 503, 555, 576, 577.
 Hasan b. 'Alī b. Fadl, 380.
 Hasan b. Kabish, 291, 394.
 Hasan b. Khālīd Baraqī, 373.
 Hasan b. Saffār, 292.
 Hasan 'Askarī, Imām, 266, 275, 282, 290, 295, 342, 373, 374, 564.
 Hasan Basrī, 271, 420, 472.
 Hasan Mawdūd Chishtī, Khwāja, 552, 557.
 Hasan Mawdūdī, 100.
 Hasan Muthanna, 264, 283.
 Hasan Ridā, 459.
 Hashnagar, 487, 491.
 Hassān b. Thābit, 200, 271, 384, 409.
 Hastings, Lord, 37.
 Hātifi, 47.
 Hawab, spring, 331, 443.
 Haydar 'Alī, 7, 8, 37.
 Haydar 'Alī Faydābādī, Mawlānā, 358, 466, 468-470.
 Haydar Beg, 35.
 Haydarābād (A. P.), 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 59, 227, 356, 533, 550.
 Haydarābād (Pākistān), 100.
 Hazāra, 490, 494, 497.
 Heber, Bishop, 52.
 Hector, Munro, Major, 14.
 Hillī, Hasan b. Yūsuf, 249-252, 254, 258, 267, 282, 291, 299, 315, 344, 361, 369, 370, 372, 381, 416, 418, 420, 425, 446, 449, 461, 469.
 Himmat Khān, M., 6.
 Hind, 327.
 Hindan, 19.
 Hindū, Rāo, 486, 534, 535.
 Hirāt, 19, 32, 33, 437, 491.
 Hisār (Tājikistān), 550.
 Hisār, 51, 80, 163.
 Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, 264.
 Hishām b. Sālim, 292.
 Holkar, Yashwant Rāo, 5, 40, 41, 48, 526, 578.
 Hooper, R., 65.
 Hūd, 405.
 Hudaybiyya, 318, 429, 459.

- Hudhayfa, 335, 448.
 Hugli, 482.
 Hunayn, 333, 447.
 Hund, 487, 490, 494.
 Hunter, W. W., 57, 58, 483, 538.
 Hurmuzān, 439, 44.
 Husām al-Dīn Mīrzā, 557.
 Husayn, Imām, 46, 61, 68, 84, 91, 187, 195, 196, 198, 246, 263, 264, 280, 284, 296, 297, 301, 302, 305, 308, 314, 325, 337, 339, 347, 350, 362, 364, 375, 379, 400, 403, 404, 407, 408, 411, 414, 415, 418, 424, 425, 441, 446, 454, 462, 465, 469, 503, 504, 564, 576, 577.
 Husayn Ahmad Madanī, 524, 525, 527, 535.
 Husayn 'Alī Khān, 8.
 Husayn b. 'Alwān, 142.
 ibn 'Abbās, 197, 301, 316, 323, 398, 422, 427, 430, 435, 448, 453, 456.
 ibn Abī Hātim, 301.
 ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, 367, 368, 370, 373, 394, 397, 398, 421, 423, 427, 457.
 ibn 'Adī, 376.
 ibn al-'Arabī, 123, 156, 368, 390, 393, 395, 462, 514, 542-549, 561.
 ibn Ash'ath, 472.
 ibn Bābuwayh, 273, 275, 281, 289, 292, 342, 345, 362, 371, 373, 381, 382, 392, 394, 395, 396, 412.
 ibn Fūrak, 247.
 ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, 210, 252.
 ibn Hajar al-Haythamī, 252, 254, 255, 375, 385, 404, 405, 409, 411, 423, 426, 442, 444, 456, 465.
 ibn Hājib, 259.
 ibn Hanbal, 142, 344.
 ibn Hazm, 249.
 ibn Hibbān, 145.
 ibn Ishāq, 443.
 ibn Jarīh, 434.
 ibn Jawzī, 190, 405, 421, 433, 443, 445.
 ibn Khaldūn, 245.
 ibn Khallikān, 375, 377, 414, 415, 417, 435.
 ibn Māja, 331.
 ibn Ma'lam, 345.
 ibn Muljam, 134, 344, 456.
 ibn al-Nadīm, 189.
 Ibn Qayyim, 190.
 ibn Qutayba, 274, 327, 331, 372, 436, 437, 442, 443, 449.
 ibn Sabā, 'Abd-Allāh, 261-263, 280, 361-363, 368, 378.
 ibn Sabbāgh Mālikī, 404.
 ibn Shahr Āshūb, 343, 344, 461.
 ibn Taymiyya, 190, 250, 259, 260, 416, 413, 420, 433, 443, 578, 579.
 Ibrāhīm, the Prophet's son, 332.
 Ibrāhīm b. Adham, 553.
 Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā Kāzim, 283.
 Ibrāhīm 'Adīl Shāh, Sultān, 255.
 Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān, 255.
 Ifriqiya, 325, 326, 436.
 Ihraman, 462.
 Ilāhdād Sanbal, 180, 181.
 Ilāhī Bakhsh Muftī, 570.
 Iltutmish Sultān, 473.
 Ilyās, 400.
 'Imād al-Dawla, 266.
 'Imād al-Mulk, 11, 13, 15, 19, 21.
 Imām Muhammad b. Hasan al-Shaybānī, 228, 230, 231, 248, 337, 450.
 Imām Zāhid Abū Bakr, 569.
 'Ināyat Ahmad of Kākorī, 97.
 'Ināyat 'Alī, 497, 533.
 'Ināyat-Allāh Firangi Mahli, 74.
 Indore, 40.
 Indra, 110.
 Indus, 12, 19, 32, 66, 488, 490, 491.
 Inshā'-Allāh Khān, 48, 60-62.
 Irān, 13, 22, 23, 32, 38, 179, 203, 252, 253, 266, 336, 347, 364, 384, 550.
 'Irāq, 147, 203, 211, 214, 215, 261, 266, 267, 279, 284, 325, 326.
 Isaac, 350.
 Isfahān, 22, 56, 252, 268, 279.
 Isfrāyīnī, Abū'l-Ishāq, 160, 247, 569.
 Isfrāyīnī, Isām al-Dīn, 136.
 Isfrāyīnī, Ya'qūb, 136.
 Ishāq b. Najīh, 142.
 Ishāq Khān, M., 23.
 Ismā'il, M., Shāh, Shahīd, 3, 94, 95, 477-481, 485-490, 494-497, 509-522, 524, 532, 533, 536, 549, 555, 576, 578.
 Ismā'il b. Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq, 101.
 Ismā'il Āfandī, 101.
 Ismā'il Jalwānī, Miyān, 180.
 Ismā'il Safavi, Shāh, 252, 437.
 Italy, 68.
 I'timād al-Dawla, 364.
 Iyād, Qādī, 400.
 'Izzat-Allāh 66.
 Jābir b. 'Abd-Allāh Ansārī, 355, 361.

- Jābir Ju'fī, 275, 373.
 Ja'far, 330, 441.
 Ja'far al-Sādiq, Imām, 264, 266, 272, 283, 284, 286, 288, 289, 295, 310, 316, 343, 347, 348, 362, 384, 385, 387, 407, 414, 425, 426, 456, 462, 564.
 Ja'far b. 'Alī, 283, 291.
 Ja'far b. Mūsā Kāzim, 283.
 Ja'far Khān, 364.
 Ja'far Wijdānī, 249.
 Jafīna, 328.
 Jadda, 484.
 Jahān Khān, 18.
 Jahāndār Shāh, 49, 50.
 Jahāngir, 63, 295.
 Jahāngir, Emperor, 63, 254, 472.
 Jahm, 'Alī b., 375.
 Jahm b. Safwān, 146.
 Jahramī, Kamāl al-Dīn, 255.
 Jaipūr, 20, 26, 28, 30, 40, 42, 43, 48, 50.
 Jā'is, 550.
 Jaisalmīr, 48.
 Jalāl Thāneswari, Shaykh, 212, 213, 215.
 Jallandar Doāb, 16, 17.
 Jamal, Battle of, 139, 331, 354, 363, 379, 441, 463, 567.
 Jamāl al-Dīn, Muhaddith, 277, 443.
 Jamāl al-Dīn b. Tā'ūs, 282.
 Jāmī, Mullā Nūr al-Dīn, 76, 157, 298, 377, 401, 411.
 Jammū, 16, 29, 33, 55.
 Jamunā, 18, 19, 27, 89, 327.
 Jamunā-Gangetic Doāb, 17, 18.
 Jān Sāhib, 6.
 Jannābī, Abū Sa'id, 265.
 Jāora, 42.
 Jaraf, 307, 326.
 Jassa Singh Āhluwāliā, 15, 16, 20.
 Java, 484.
 Jawāhir Singh, 16, 17, 19, 20.
 Jawān Bakht, Mirzā, 49.
 Jawhar, Ghulām Husayn Khān, 7.
 Jawnpūr, 34, 81, 95, 295, 540, 543.
 Jaychand, Rāja, 473.
 Jazarī, Shams al-Dīn, 416.
 Jean Law, 12.
 Jerusalem, 474.
 Jewar, 20, 26.
 Jewna Begum, 49.
 Jhajjar, 97.
 Jhanjhānā, 156.
 Jhānsī, 13.
 Jhā'ū La'l, Rāja, 55.
 Jilān, 266.
 Jili, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm, 156.
 Jodhpūr, 42, 48, 49, 50, 70, 71.
 Johnson, R., 7.
 Jonathan Scott, 62.
 Joseph, 235, 239, 241, 279, 310, 420, 446, 458.
 Joshua, 303.
 Jubba'i Mu'tazili, 368.
 Jugal Kishore, Rāja, 4, 59.
 Junayd, Abū'l-Qāsim, 161, 368.
 Jur'at, Qalandar Bakhsh, 60.
 Jūrjān, 260.
 Jūrjānī, S. Sharif, 392.
 al-Juwaynī-Imām al-Haramayn, 247
 Ka'b b. 'Abda, 328.
 Kabbar river, 497.
 Kābīlpore, 89.
 Kābul, 19, 23, 51, 55, 66, 364, 460, 486, 487, 491, 534, 550, 575, 578.
 Kābulī Mal, 17.
 Kach, 71.
 Kāghān, 497.
 Kākori, 95.
 Kalda Thaqafī, 435.
 Kālika, 193, 194.
 Kālikata, 11.
 Kālpi, 11, 13, 20.
 Kalyānī, 577.
 Kāma, 26.
 Kamāl al-Dīn, M., 443.
 Kamāl al-Dīn, Mullā, 71.
 Kanāra, 138.
 Kāndhla, 16, 95, 478, 570.
 Kāngra, 33.
 Kanhayya, 193, 194.
 Kānpūr, 36, 39, 481.
 Kanwāh, 29, 30.
 Karā Mānikpūr, 21.
 Karāchī, 70, 71.
 Karam-Allāh, Mawlawī, 554.
 Karāmat 'Alī, Mawlanā, 499, 540, 541.
 Karbalā, 46, 61, 66, 131, 246, 280, 351, 358, 405, 461, 503, 539.
 Karīm 'Atā', Shāh, 479.
 Karīm Khān Pindārī, 41.
 Karkh, 381.
 Karkhī, Abū'l-Hasan 'Ubayd-Allāh, 228, 234.

- Karnāl, 27, 28.
 Karnātak, 9.
 Karoli, 477.
 Kāshī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq, 157.
 Kashmīr, 15, 18, 32, 33, 51, 53, 55, 59, 66, 279, 326, 494, 497, 532, 550.
 Kashmīri Darwāza, 43.
 Kaythān, 263.
 Kāzim 'Alī Jawān, 62.
 Kerāla, 37.
 Khādī Khān, 487, 494.
 Khādīja al-Kubra, 186, 304, 332, 342, 444, 455.
 Khālīd b. Walīd, 305, 306, 333, 409, 414, 415, 418, 426.
 Khālīd Kurdī Rūmī, Mawlānā, 550-552.
 Khalīl-Allāh Khān, 364.
 Khān-i Khānān, 'Abd al-Rahīm, 364.
 Kharqānī, Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan, 268.
 Kharr, 493.
 Khatak, 495.
 Khatib, Hakīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 244.
 Khatib Baghdādī, 372.
 Khaybar, 227, 308, 323, 418, 433.
 Khayr al-Dīn M. Ilāhābādī, 5 6, 7, 31, 64, 470.
 Khayrābād, 71, 95, 97.
 Khazraj, 383.
 Khidr, Khwāja, 16.
 Khoqand, 66.
 Khudāganj, 54.
 Khūlī b. Yazīd, 404.
 Khulm, 66.
 Khurāsān, 15, 143, 246, 265, 266, 267, 268, 284, 327, 491.
 Khurja, 32.
 Khushhāl Rāy, 55.
 Khushhālganj, 55.
 Khuzistān, 265.
 Khwāja Khwurd, 76, 77, 151.
 Khwāja M. Sa'id, 157.
 Khwārazm, 268, 472.
 Khwārazm Shāh, Sultān, M., 472.
 Khweshgī, 495.
 Khwushwaqt Rāy, 5.
 Kirmān, 267.
 Kishī, 381.
 Kisra, 435, 442.
 Koh-i nūr, 33.
 Kohāt, 491.
 Konkan, 326.
 Kora Jahānābād, 21, 22, 25.
 Krishna, 10, 38, 110, 208, 327.
 Krishna Deva, 537, 538.
 Kūfa, 175, 198, 247, 261, 265, 280, 323, 327, 330, 331-333, 347, 354, 397, 439, 444.
 Kulaynī, M. b. Ya'qūb, 281, 284, 286-289, 310, 324, 343-345, 347, 382, 391, 420.
 Kumbgarh, 27.
 Kumbher, 30.
 Kunjpura, 17, 29.
 Kurdī, Abū Tāhir M. Ibrāhīm, 157, 255, 281, 407.
 Kurdistan, 550-552.
 Lādli Khānam, 76.
 Lāhawri, 449.
 Lāhijī, 423.
 Lahore, 5, 16, 17, 18, 32, 33, 44, 70, 71, 253, 254, 490, 550.
 Lake, General, 5, 39, 43, 89.
 La'l Dang, 6, 33.
 La'l Shahbāz, 110.
 Lālsot, 30.
 Lāla Mohan, 5.
 Landa'i, 487, 490.
 Lārī, Mullā 'Abd al-Ghafūr, 157.
 Lāt, 273, 371.
 London, 63, 66, 67.
 Lot, 446 453.
 Lucknow, 5, 35, 36, 42, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 72, 73, 81, 95, 97, 178, 227, 405, 459, 475, 479, 523, 543, 550.
 Ludhiyāna, 5.
 Ma'ādh, 183.
 Macariev, 65.
 McAndrew, Colonel, 36.
 Machhlīshahr, 95.
 Madras, 9, 37, 50, 73.
 Mahbūb 'Alī, Mawlānā, 493, 533.
 Mahbūb 'Alī Khān, 28.
 Mahdī, Imām, 115, 160, 515.
 Mahdī, M. of Morocco, 265.
 Mahdī 'Abbāsī, 140.
 Mahdī 'Alī Khān, Hakīm, 55.
 Mahmūd of Ghazna, 160, 163, 207.
 Mahmūd Ghāzān, 249.
 Mahoba, 13.
 Mahrawlī, 43.
 Mainpurī, 36.
 Majar, 495.

- Mājha, 33.
 Majlisī, Mullā Bāqir, 305, 371, 418, 427, 435, 438, 469.
 Makhdūm Ibrāhīm Thattawī, 70, 71.
 Makhdūm Jahāniyān, 188, 189.
 Makhdūm Mu'in al-Dīn Sindī, 190.
 Makhsūs-Allāh, Mawlawī, 94.
 Malābār, 37, 179, 180, 484.
 Malhār Holkar, 19, 20.
 Malihābād, 95.
 Mālik b. Anas, 143, 247, 279, 343, 348, 377, 385, 433, 456, 460.
 Mālik b. Nuwayra, 305, 414, 415.
 Mālik Ashtar, 333, 336, 406, 444, 448.
 Malik Birha, 77.
 Malika-i Zamānī, 46.
 Mālwa, 40, 477.
 Mamlūk 'Alī, Mawlānā, 95, 96.
 Ma'mūn, 246, 247, 289.
 Mān Singh, 49.
 Manāra, 493, 533.
 Manāzir Ahsan Gilānī, 81.
 Manba, 326.
 Mancrī, 494.
 Mangalore, 38.
 Mānikpūr, 473.
 Mānsahra, 495.
 Maqṣūd 'Alī Tabrizī, Mullā, 242.
 Māriya Qibtiya, 332, 384, 444.
 Martin, Claude, 53.
 Marwān, b. Hakam, 324-326 331, 332, 336, 398, 434, 436.
 Mārwar, 486.
 Mary, Virgin, 263.
 Masānī, 193.
 Māshā'-Allāh Mīshī, 382.
 Mashhad, 18, 22, 66, 253, 327, 358, 437.
 Mashhadī, Mullā 'Abd-Allāh, 281, 300, 302, 353, 354, 388, 408, 464.
 Mas'ūd Ghāzī, Sayyid Sālār, 473.
 Masūlipatam, 10.
 Mathurā, 31, 59, 110.
 Māturidī, Abu'l-Mansūr, 147, 160, 200, 247, 390-392.
 Mawlawī Muḥammad, 73.
 Maybudhī, Husayn b. Mu'in al-Dīn, 389, 405.
 Mazhar Karīm, 97.
 Māzandarān, 266, 267, 326.
 Mecca, 11, 28, 67, 140, 164, 180, 198, 207, 236, 250, 303, 311, 315, 325, 329, 330, 349, 367, 407, 408, 448, 455, 459, 484, 485, 492, 498, 501, 509, 523, 552, 553, 557.
 Medina, 129, 143, 144, 159, 164, 180, 198, 207, 227, 236, 247, 255, 261, 307, 318, 325, 329, 330, 332, 362, 408, 410, 435, 439, 448, 484, 509, 523, 532, 537, 538, 551-553, 557.
 Meerut, 16, 18, 21, 50, 478.
 Metcalfe, C. T., 66, 91, 554.
 Mewār, 178.
 Mewāt, 26, 51.
 Michael, 291, 292.
 Middleton, N., 66.
 Mīhrāb Khān, 487.
 Minā, 312, 329, 439, 484, 532.
 Miqdād, 203, 271, 346, 355, 361, 366, 383, 419.
 Mīr 'Ālam, 7.
 Mīr Amman, 62, 63.
 Mīr Hasan, 59, 61.
 Mīr Ja'far, 10, 11, 12, 14
 Mīr Jumla, 364.
 Mīr Khaliq, 61.
 Mīr M. Panāh, 11.
 Mīr Nāsir Khān Balūch, 17.
 Mīr Qāsim, 12, 13, 18, 22.
 Mīr Taqī, 47, 59, 60, 62.
 Mīr Zāhid, 102.
 Mīrānpūr Katra, 25.
 Mīrzā Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān, 364.
 Mīrzā Hayrat, 486.
 Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān, 76, 81, 101, 108, 542, 545, 550, 556, 558, 559, 562, 574, 576.
 Mīrzā Mīrak Ridawī, 364.
 Mīrzā M. Akhbārī, 357.
 Mīrzā M. Kāmil, Hakīm, 83, 357-65, 378-88, 392, 412, 413.
 Mīrzā Muhsin, 22.
 Mīrzā Rustam Safavī, 364.
 Mīrzāpūr, 481, 484.
 Miyān Husayn Farmulī, 178.
 Mohān, 56.
 Moor, Edward, 37.
 Moorcroft, W., 66.
 Moqanna, 265.
 Morocco, 265, 281, 325, 326, 329.
 Moscow, 65.
 Moses, 114, 117, 119, 120, 166, 241, 243, 283, 293, 303, 308, 311, 319, 321, 338, 392, 400, 407, 410, 418, 421, 431, 434, 452.

- Moth, 13.
 Mu'āwiyā, b. Abū Sufyān, 139, 198, 199, 235, 252, 296, 298, 299, 325, 327-329, 331, 346, 347, 361, 362, 378, 379, 404, 405, 430, 441, 456-458, 463, 465, 469.
 Mubārak, 264, 265.
 Mubārak Khān Sūr, 180.
 Mubīn, Mawlawī, 459.
 Muftī Mir 'Abbās, 397.
 Muftī S. M. Qūlī, 'Allāma, 358, 364-378, 414-461, 467.
 Muckhoo Khān, 85, 87.
 Mughal Beg Mirzā, 66.
 Mughīra b. Shu'ba, 327, 363.
 M. b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Husayn, 283.
 M. b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 190, 484, 485, 498, 509, 538.
 M. b. Abī Bakr, 324, 336, 406, 448, 468.
 M. b. 'Alī al-Sahmī, 252.
 M. b. Barqa'i, 265.
 M. b. al-Hanafiyya, 263, 264, 308, 323, 433.
 M. b. 'Isa b. 'Ubayd, 381.
 M. b. Ismā'il, 265.
 M. b. Miskawayh, 331.
 M. b. Muslima, 314.
 M. b. Nu'mān, 292.
 M. b. al-Qāsim Astarābādī, 373.
 M. b. Talha, 331.
 M. Afdal Fārūqī, 94.
 M. 'Ālam Sandilawī, 71.
 M. 'Alī of Arkāt, 73, 74.
 M. 'Alī Bihbihānī, 6.
 M. 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb, 357.
 M. 'Alī Shāh, 37.
 M. Amīn Kashmīrī, Khwāja, 76, 81.
 M. 'Āqil, Khwāja, 69.
 M. 'Ashiq Phultī, 81, 100.
 M. 'Azīm, Mawlawī, 554.
 M. Barakat Ilāhābādī, 71.
 M. Beg Hamadānī, 25.
 M. Fākhīr, 255.
 M. Farrukh, 557.
 M. Ghawth, 73.
 M. Hasan, Mawlawī, 94.
 M. 'Isa, Mawlawī, 94.
 M. Ishāq, Mawlānā, 82, 94, 96, 524, 533, 534.
 M. Jamāl Multānī, Hāfiz, 69.
 M. Jān, 44.
 M. Mahdī, Imām, 266, 282, 284, 294, 295, 360, 381, 400, 405, 414, 564.
 M. Ma'sūm, Khwāja, 555.
 M. Miyān, Mawlānā, 81, 526-528.
 M. Muhsin Kishshū Kashmīrī, 255.
 M. Mūsā, Mawlawī, 94.
 M. Pārsā, 401.
 M. Qāsim Pānīpatī, Mawlānā, 533.
 M. Qulī Khān, 12, 22.
 M. Qutb Shāh, Sultān, 255.
 M. Sādiq, Khwāja, 555.
 M. Salīm, 71.
 M. Shāh, Emperor, 41, 46, 77, 88, 151, 279, 357, 573.
 M. Shākir, Khalīfā, 77.
 M. Sulaymān, Shāh, 69, 70.
 M. Taqī, Imām, 266, 564.
 M. Ya'qūb, Mawlānā, 94, 527, 533.
 Muhār, 69.
 Muhibb al-Dīn, 445.
 Muhibb al-Dīn Sulaymān Baghdādī, 449.
 Muhibb-Allāh Ilāhābādī, 156.
 Muhibb-Allāh, Mawlawī, 72.
 Muhsin Kāshī, Mullā, 382.
 Mu'in al-Dīn Ashraf, 253, 255.
 Mu'in al-Dīn Chishti, Khwāja, 160.
 Mu'in al-Mulk, 4.
 Mujaddid Alf-i-Thānī, 17, 151, 157-64, 186, 242, 253, 255, 368, 472, 514, 542-549, 555-568, 576.
 Mujīb, M., 531.
 Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, 263.
 Mullā 'Alī Qārī, 418.
 Mullā Hasan, 71.
 Mullā Ilāhdād, 235.
 Multān, 16, 18, 32, 33, 34, 42, 48, 69, 71.
 Mu'min, Hakīm, 61, 94, 96.
 Munger, 482.
 Mun'im Khān, 7.
 Munnā La'l, Munshī, 5.
 Munro (Sir Hector), 64.
 Munro, Sir Thomas, 37.
 Murādābād, 25, 41, 60, 81, 478.
 Murādnagar, 478.
 Murīd Khān, 279.
 Mursān, 26.
 Murshidābād, 12, 14, 57, 59, 60, 66, 482.
 Murtadā Husayn Bilgrāmī, 7, 54, 55, 64.
 Murtadā Khān, 279.
 Mūsā al-Kāzim, 283, 386, 414, 564.
 Mus'ab b. Zubayr, 284.
 Musaddiq al-Dīn, 98, 105.
 Musāfir ibn 'Umar, 457.
 Musāhib 'Alī Khān, 86.
 Musalma b. Aslam, 307.

- Mushafi, Ghulām Hamadānī, 60.
 Musharrāf 'Alī, 485, 517.
 Muslim, Traditionist, 275, 303, 312, 316,
 319, 373, 382, 412, 424, 429, 432, 433,
 455.
 Musta'alī, 265.
 Mustajāb Khān, Nawwāb, 6.
 Mu'tadid, Caliph, 265.
 Mu'tamad al-Dawla, see Āghā Mīr.
 Muta'ammim b. Nuwayra, 306, 415.
 al-Mutawakkil, 247, 364.
 Muttaqī, Sh. Husām al-Dīn, 157.
 Muzaffār Bakht, 36.
 Muzaffārābād, 490, 493, 495.
 Muzaffārjang, 9, 10.
 Muzaffārnagar, 11, 18, 26, 28, 53, 73, 478,
 570.
 Mymensingh, 540.
 Mysore, 7, 37, 38.

 Nādir Shāh, 309.
 Nadwī, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī, 535.
 Nadwī, Mas'ūd 'Alī, 525, 536.
 Nafs-i Zakīyya, 283.
 Nāgpūr, 40.
 Nahrāwān, 379, 456, 465.
 Na'im b. Hammād, 331.
 Najaf, 68, 358.
 Najaf, Mīrzā, 2, 4, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27,
 28, 29, 41, 43, 81-84, 98, 363, 526.
 Najaf Qulī Khān, 25, 26, 27.
 Najīb al-Dawla, 6, 11, 13-20, 22-25, 27,
 49, 53, 55, 71, 472, 523.
 Najībābād, 19, 20, 21, 24, 53, 71.
 Najm al-Dawla, 14.
 Najm al-Dīn, 543.
 Najm al-Dīn Khidr, 251, 252.
 Najm al-Dīn Kubra, Shaykh, 472.
 Nānawta, 18, 95, 478.
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 68.
 Naqshbandiyya, 69, 76, 77.
 Narāyan Rāo, Peshwa, 25.
 Narkulbaria, 537.
 Nasaf, 265.
 Nasafī, 'Abd-Allāh ibn Ahmad, 228, 377.
 Nasīm Ahmad, Mawlānā, 100.
 Nasir Husayn, Mawlānā, 5.
 Nasir Khān, 17, 42.
 Nasir Khān (Afghān), 494.
 Nasir Khān, Mīr, 71.
 Nasir, Mullā, 405.
 Nasirābād, 473, 480.

 Nasr-Allāh of Bukhārā, 491.
 Nasr-Allāh Kābulī, 254, 255, 258, 259,
 372, 374, 378, 404, 416, 422, 423, 426,
 432, 433, 436, 441, 444, 446, 456, 562,
 563.
 Nawāl Rāy Rāja, 54, 55.
 Nawalganj, 55.
 Nawawī, 448, 454.
 Nayyar, 96.
 Nazir Akbarābādī, 59, 60.
 Nile river, 277.
 Nijāshī, 275, 282, 381.
 Nimrod, 342, 455.
 Nisā'i, 275, 373.
 Nishāpūr, 145, 327, 344, 437, 456.
 Nishāpūri, Nizām, 312.
 Nithār, 96.
 Niyāz Ahmad, 574, 575.
 Nizām, 37, 38, 39, 42.
 Nizām al-Dīn, 32.
 Nizām al-Dīn, Shāh, 31.
 Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Shaykh, 189, 550,
 576.
 Nizām al-Dīn, Nawwāb, 554.
 Nizām al-Dīn Sihālwi, 71, 72.
 Nizām al-Mulk Āsafjāh, 7, 9, 11, 23, 37,
 85, 86, 88, 472.
 Nizām 'Alī Khān, 7, 37, 43.
 Nizāmī, K. A., 4, 81, 82, 176, 529.
 Nizār, 265.
 Noah, 109, 110, 447, 453.
 Noorbaug, 85, 86.
 Nowshehra, 487, 490.
 Nūh b. Abī 'Asma, 141.
 Nūr al-Dīn Fakhrī, 6, 11.
 Nūr al-Hasan Bilgrāmī, Sayyid, 72.
 Nūr-Allāh, Shāh, Budhānawī, 76, 80, 81,
 94, 100.
 Nūr-Allāh Shustari, Qādī, 253-255, 258,
 349, 353, 354, 362, 369-371, 416, 420,
 424, 446, 452, 464.
 Nūr Jahān, 295, 364.
 Nūr Muhammad, Khwāja, 66.
 Nūr Muhammad Nārūwāla, 69.
 Nūr Muhammad, Qādī, 17.
 Nūshīrwān, 96.

 Ochterlony, David, 5, 43.
 Ohind, 487.
 Orenburg, 65.
 Orissa, 10, 13, 14.
 Orme, 10.

- Pāk Pattan, 69.
 Pakhlī, 497.
 Pākistān, 486, 529.
 Pālam, Havelī, 84, 85, 86, 89.
 Palmer, John, 45, 63.
 Pānīpat, 13, 17, 28, 37, 256, 493, 523, 558, 562.
 Panja Hadrat 'Alī, 43.
 Panjāb, 5, 15, 16, 17, 18, 33, 42, 53, 66, 70, 79, 485, 532.
 Panjtār, 487, 490, 493, 495, 497, 523.
 Paththargarh, 24, 53.
 Patiāla, 17, 28, 44.
 Patna, 11-14, 43, 431-433, 493, 532, 543, 550.
 Pāyanda Khān, 494.
 Peking, 66.
 Pennar, 38.
 Perron, C., 32, 39, 43.
 Peshāwar, 11, 19, 32, 33, 66, 485, 486, 490, 493-496, 533, 534, 538, 550.
 Peshwa, 38, 39, 41, 66.
 Petersburg, 65.
 Pharaoh, 205, 239, 241, 342, 402, 455.
 Phulet, 81, 478.
 Phūlra, 495.
 Pir M. Khān, 490.
 Pir M. Shāh, 479.
 Pitt, 11, 67.
 Plassey, 10, 11, 15, 79.
 Pondicherry, 9, 10.
 Pratāpgarh, 479.
 Ptolemy, 7.
 Pūna, 31, 41, 42, 550.
 Pushkar, 40.
 Puwāyān, 97.
 Qābil, 112.
 Qadhar b. Salif, 134.
 Qādī M. A'la, 570, 573.
 Qādī Ijād Mālikī, 375.
 Qādī al-Qudāt, see 'Abd al-Jabbār.
 Qādiriyya, 69, 101, 161.
 Qalāt, 17, 487.
 Qamar al-Dīn Husaynī, 93, 138.
 Qambar, 330, 441.
 Qandahār, 16, 17, 18, 46, 51, 84, 163, 268, 284, 486, 487, 550.
 Qannauj, 13, 95.
 Qarmat, 264.
 Qarshī, 'Alī b. al-Jahm, 276.
 Qartabī, 448.
 Qāshghar, 65, 66.
 Qāsim, Hakīm Qudrat-Allāh, 47.
 Qāsim, Imām Hasan's son, 351.
 Qāsim, the Prophet's son, 343.
 Qastallānī, Abu'l-'Abbās, 372, 377.
 Qasūr, 32, 41, 42, 552.
 Qasūrī, Ghulām Yahyā, 553, 556.
 Qatāda b. Nu'mān, 307.
 Qatāmī, 134.
 Qays b. Sa'd, 383.
 Qaysarī, 157.
 Qāzān, 65.
 Qidwā'is, 178.
 Qiwām al-Dīn, 5.
 Qiwām al-Dīn, S., 473.
 Quetta, 486, 487.
 Qummi, Abu'l-Qāsim, 275.
 Qunduz, 491.
 Qureshī, I. H., 81, 82, 529.
 Qūshjī, Mullā, 447, 449.
 Qutb al-Dīn Khān, 482.
 Qutb al-Dīn M., 71.
 Qutb al-Dīn, S., 473.
 Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, 407.
 Rabadha, 328, 438.
 Rae Bareli, 95, 100, 473-485, 532.
 Rafī' al-Dīn Fārūqī, Murādābādī, 106, 107.
 Rafī' al-Dīn Shāh, 78, 81, 93, 94, 95, 100, 105, 168, 173, 543-549, 574.
 Rafī' Wā'iz, Mullā, 282.
 Raghūjī Bhonsle II, 40.
 Raham 'Alī, Mawlawī, 5, 357.
 Rahīm-Allāh Beg, Mīrzā, 550.
 Rahīm Bakhsh, 100.
 Rahīmdād, Mullā, 26.
 Rāja Bhoj, 210.
 Rāja Rām Mohan Rā'i, 95.
 Rajab b. Muhammad, b. al-Hillī, 275.
 Rājputāna, 327.
 Rājasthān, 42, 50, 477.
 Rājmaḥal, 482.
 Rāma, 208, 327.
 Rāmgarh, 26.
 Rāmghāt, 25, 28.
 Rāmpūr, 4, 24, 25, 35, 50, 71, 73, 97, 227, 478, 491, 493, 550, 559.
 Rāmpura, 40.
 Rānā Sāngā, 30, 178.
 Rangīn, Sa'adat Yār Khān, 6.
 Rangoon, 40.

- Rānī Kitkī, 60.
 Ranjīt Singh, Jāt, 26.
 Ranjīt Singh, Mahārāja, 5, 33, 40-42, 485-488, 490, 494, 497, 532, 534, 578.
 Rashīd al-Dīn Khān, 92, 95, 357, 358, 466, 468, 485, 519, 527, 533.
 Raverty, H. G., 66.
 Rāvi, 17.
 Rāwalpindī, 18, 33.
 Rāwandī, 141.
 al-Rāzi, 74.
 Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn, 107, 160, 243, 297, 370, 392, 394, 396, 400, 408.
 Razī, Sayyid, 379.
 Rehatsek, 538.
 Rene Madec, 24.
 Riāyat 'Alī Khān, 239.
 Richard Becher, 14.
 Richardson, D., 66.
 Ridā Khān, M., 14.
 Ridawī Khān, Bakhshī, 364.
Rig Veda, 110.
 Rohelkhand, 24, 36, 41, 51, 52.
 Rohtās, 64.
 Rome, 209.
 Rūh-Allāh Khān, 364.
 Rūmī, Mawlānā, Jalāl al-Dīn, 156, 271, 411.
 Rūpbāns, 29.
 Ruqayya, 283, 342, 343, 455.
 Rustamdārī, M. Mushakkik, 253.

 Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb, 55, 59, 60, 63.
 Sa'ādat-Allāh Khān, 8.
 Sa'ādat Khān, Nawwāb Burhān al-Mulk, 6.
 Sa'ādat-Yār Khān, 6.
 Sabz Shahr, 163.
 Sabzvār, 327.
 Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 307, 363, 422, 435.
 Sa'd bin Ma'ādh, 200.
 Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, 183, 187, 383, 419.
 Sa'd b. Zayd, 307.
 Sa'dān b. Nasr, 316, 426.
 Sādiq M. Khān, 364.
 Sadr al-Dīn Āzardā, Muftī, 96-98, 533.
 Sadr al-Dīn, Munshī, 73.
 Sadr al-Dīn Qūnawī, 156.
 Safdar 'Alī Khān, 8.
 Safdarjang, 12, 22, 23, 55.
 Safiya, 445.
 Sage, 64.
 Sāghānī, Mawlānā Rādī al-Dīn, 210.

 Sahāranpūr, 16, 18, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 53, 79, 95, 478, 479.
 Sahbā'i, 96.
 Sāhiba Mahal, 46, 47, 84-90.
 Sa'id b. Jābir, 434.
 Sa'id Musayyab, 440.
 Sakina, 284.
 Salābat Jang, 10.
 Salāh al-Dīn, Sadr al-Sudūr, 86.
 Sālih, the Prophet, 134.
 Salīm, Ghulām Husayn, 7.
 Salmān Fārsī, 200, 203, 228, 355, 366, 376, 419.
 Salon, 479.
 Samah, 490, 49.
 Samaha, 227.
 Samak b. Harb, 202.
 Samarqand, 66, 163, 247, 550.
 Sāmarra, 295, 401.
 Sambhal, 25, 41, 550.
 Samiya, 435.
 Sāmīrī, 379.
 Samsātī, 278, 327, 331, 437, 443.
 Sāndec, 52.
 Sangīn Beg, Mīrzā, 66.
 Saqīfā, 310, 403.
 Sāra, 235.
 Sardhana, 478.
 Sarkār, J. N., 22.
 Sarkhasī, Radī al-Dīn, 228.
 Sarma'i, 490.
 Satāra, 9.
 Satlaj, 18, 28, 32, 33, 34.
 Saul, 402.
 Sawād ('Irāq) 211, 214, 215.
 Sawāt, 490, 493.
 Sawdā, 47, 59, 255.
 Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, 3, 4, 62, 236, 473-509, 517, 524, 532, 533, 537, 555, 576, 578.
 S. 'Alī, Mawlānā, 358.
 S. Awlād Hasan Qannaujī, 533.
 Sayyid Brothers, 21, 26.
 S. Hasan, Mawlānā, 358.
 S. Husayn, Āqā, Mawlānā, 358.
 S. Ismā'il of Medina, 550-552.
 S. Mahdī, Mawlānā, 358.
 S. Muḥammad of Jawnpūr, 295.
 S. M. 'Alī Rāmpūrī, Mawlānā, 101, 533.
 S. M. Diyā', 474.
 S. M. Hudā, 474.
 S. M. Ibrāhīm, 474.

- S. M. 'Irfān, 474.
 S. M. Ishāq, 474, 478.
 S. M. Jī, 474.
 S. M. Nu'mān, 474, 475.
 S. M. Nūr, 474.
 Scott, J., 64.
 Schimmel, A., 104.
 Seringapatam, 7, 8, 38.
 Seton, Archibald, 82, 86, 87, 89, 91, 209.
 Shafī, Mīrzā M., 28, 29.
 Shāfi'i, Imām, 160, 230, 247, 248, 297, 343, 373, 376, 378, 404, 453, 456, 457.
 Shāh 'Abbās Safavi, 253.
 Shāh 'Ālam, 5, 12, 14, 18, 22-25, 28-33, 36, 39, 40, 42-49, 60, 85, 87, 90, 98, 105, 226, 227, 298.
 Shāh Hidāyat, 47.
 Shāh Mahmūd Durrānī, 491.
 Shāh Nasir, 96.
 Shāh Pīr M., 479.
 Shāh Tāhir, 167, 168.
 Shāhābād, 24.
 Shāhdara, 19, 37, 81.
 Shahīd Thānī, 381.
 Shāhjahan, Emperor, 63, 572.
 Shāhjahanpūr, 72, 73, 97.
 Shahrastānī, 249, 366, 370, 410, 417.
 Shahrzūr, 550.
 Shā'ir, Mīr, S. M., 6.
 Shāmlī, 16, 18.
 Shams al-Dīn Fighāzī, 157.
 Shaqīq Balkhī, 344.
 Sharī'at-Allāh, Hājji, 538-541.
 Sharif al-Dīn, S., 545, 548.
 Sharif al-Murtadā, 249, 280, 287, 288, 292, 294, 295, 298, 346, 347, 369, 370, 378, 381, 382, 390, 391, 401, 423, 426, 439.
 Sharif Khān, Hakīm, 357.
 Sharif, S., 389.
 Shawkānī, M., 484.
 Shaydū, 490.
 Shayfta, 96.
 Shaykh 'Alā'i, 188.
 Sh. Budh, 188.
 Sh. Jalāl, 472.
 Sh. M. Phultī, 76.
 Sh. Saddū, 195, 337.
 Sher Shāh, 180, 181.
 Sher Singh, 497.
 Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, 207.
 Shikebā, Miyān, 47.
 Shikohābād, 21.
 Shimr Dhi'ljawshan, 199, 339, 381, 404, 456.
 Shinkārī, 493.
 Shirāz, 252, 325, 437.
 Shirāzī, Qutb Muhyī, 429.
 Shītlā, 188, 193.
 Shiv Prasād, Munshī, 6.
 Shiva, 110.
 Shore, Sir John, 6, 36, 63.
 Shujā' al-Dawla, Nawwāb, 6, 11-14, 18, 21-26, 34, 36, 52, 55, 62, 79.
 Shujā' al-Mulk, 227.
 Shujā' al-Mulk, Shāh, 33, 41, 42, 70, 578.
 Shukrtāl, 23, 53.
 Siālkot, 16.
 Siddiq Hasan, Nawwāb, 498, 533.
 Siffin, 245, 327, 354, 361, 379, 420, 465.
 Sikandar Lodī, 178, 180, 189.
 Sikandar Shukoh, 46.
 Sikandarjāh, 65.
 Simpson, 65.
 Sinā'i, 303, 308.
 Sinān b. Anas, 404.
 Sind, 11, 19, 32, 33, 42, 70, 71, 110, 327, 437, 486, 504.
 Sindia, Dattājī, 23.
 Sindia, Dawlat Rāo, 32, 40, 41, 45, 48, 65.
 Sindia, Mahādji, 29-32, 39, 42, 43, 47, 71.
 Sirāj al-Dawla, Nawwāb, 10.
 Sirāt, 395.
 Sirhind, 16-18, 550.
 Sistān, 42, 113.
 Sītāpūr, 97.
 Siwālik hills, 16.
 Solomon, 279, 313, 423.
 Son, 12.
 Sonīpat, 93, 95.
 Spear, P., 39.
 Spedding, 86, 88.
 Srīnagar (Garhwāl), 55.
 Sūda, 441.
 Suhrāwardiyya, 69, 76.
 Sulaymān b. 'Umar, 142.
 Sulaymān Ahwal, 427.
 Sulaymān Shāh, 490.
 Sulaymān Shukoh, 50, 60.
 Sultān al-'Ulamā', Mawlānā, S. M., 358, 359, 402-10, 413, 466, 467-409.
 Sultān M. Khān, 490, 494, 495, 496, 497.
 Sultān M. Khān of Kābul, 460.
 Sundā, 37.

- Sūrajmal Jāt, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 26.
 Sūrī, Lāla Sohan La'l, 5.
 Sutnatī, 11.
 Suwayd, 316, 426.
 Suyūtī, Jalāl al-Dīn, 377, 412, 419, 422, 440.
 Syed Ahmad Khān (Sir), 95-97, 356, 486, 578, 579.
 Sylhat, 472.
 Syria, 4, 144, 147, 179, 347.
- Tabarī, 107, 278, 376, 415, 441.
 Tabriz, 267, 268.
 Tabrizi, Shams al-Dīn, 157.
 Tabūk, 303, 318, 410, 430.
 Tafaddul Husayn, 'Allāma, 63.
 Taftāzānī, 375, 402, 449.
 Tāhir, the Prophet's son, 343.
 Tahsīn of Etāwa, 62.
 Tā'if, 434, 435.
 Tāj al-Dīn, 267.
 Tāj al-Dīn, S., 473.
 Tāj al-Umarā', 73.
 Tajalli 'Alī, 7.
 Talha, 140, 262, 305, 326, 329, 331, 336, 343, 362, 383, 430, 435, 438, 441, 443, 444, 449, 455, 457, 463, 567.
 Tanāoli, 494.
 Taqī, Imām, 414.
 Taqī al-Dīn b. Dāwūd, 282, 381.
 Tartary, 209.
 Tāshqand, 163, 550.
 Tā'ūs b. Kaysān, 434.
 Tawnsa, 69.
 Taylor, I. H., 92.
 Tayyib, the Prophet's son, 343.
 Tek Chand, 5, 43.
 Thābit, 343.
 Thamūd, 134.
 Thāna Bhawn, 478.
 Thanā'-Allāh Pānīpatī, 232, 256, 557-576, 579.
 Thanā'-Allāh of Sonīpat, 75.
 Thanā'ī, Hakīm, 271.
 Thānawī, Qādī, M. A'la, 215.
 Thānesarī, Mawlānā Ja'far, 3, 4, 486.
 Thaqafī, Hārith b. Kalda, 435.
 Thatta, 70, 71.
 Tibet, 66.
 Tīmūr, 34, 309.
 Tīmūr Shāh, 11, 32.
 Tīpū, Sultān, 7, 8, 37-39, 43, 63, 73.
 Tirmidhī, 96, 275, 373, 426.
- Tītū Mīr, Nithār 'Alī, 537-541.
 Tonk, 6, 40, 490, 493, 529.
 Trans-Himālaya, 66.
 Transoxiana, 65, 198, 252, 253, 255, 295, 372, 472, 486.
 Travancore, 38.
 Tripoli, 144.
 Tūr, 303, 308.
 Turkey, 8, 38, 68, 160, 252, 255, 295, 327, 506, 551, 552.
 Turkistān, 160, 209, 327, 472, 506.
 Tūsī, Nasir al-Dīn, 65, 298, 299, 353, 374, 407, 416, 418, 439, 469.
 Tytler, J., 65.
- 'Ubayd, the father of Ziyād, 435.
 'Ubayd-Allāh, narrator of *qirtās* hadīth, 427.
 'Ubayd-Allāh b. 'Umar, 328, 363, 439.
 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn Ziyād, 199, 263, 404.
 'Ubayd-Allāh Khān, 268.
 'Ubayd-Allāh Sindī, 522-525, 536.
 'Ubayd Khān, Khwāja, 16.
 Udaypūr, 50.
 Uhud, 136, 329, 333, 353, 379, 439, 446, 447, 561.
 Ujjain, 210.
 Uljāyūtī, 249, 250, 267.
 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, 96, 143, 144, 147, 199-206, 211, 214, 251-253, 255, 261, 262, 273, 276-279, 284, 286, 299, 304, 305, 307-347, 353, 355, 362, 366, 374, 375, 378, 393-469, 502, 552, 565.
 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 424.
 'Umar ibn Sa'd, 404.
 'Umdat al-Umarā', 8, 73.
 Umm-Ayman, 314, 424.
 Umm-Habība, 186.
 Umm-Kulthūm, 283, 342, 343, 385, 455.
 Umm-Kulthūm, 'Alī's daughter, 284, 347, 384.
 Umm-Salama, 186, 197, 408, 441, 442.
 Unnao, 481.
 Urcha, 13.
 Usāma, 306-309, 314, 416, 418, 419.
 'Uthmān, 147, 151, 166, 199, 203, 204, 206, 252, 253, 255, 261, 262, 273, 278, 283, 298, 307, 315, 320, 323-333, 342, 353, 355, 362, 381, 392, 398, 403, 408, 415, 416, 430, 434-46, 457, 458, 560, 565.
 'Uthmān b. Hanīf Ansārī, 331, 332, 443.

- Uthmānza'ī, 493.
 Uttar Pradesh, 73.
 Uways Qaranī, 271.
 'Uzza, 273, 371.

 Vallore, 8.
 Vansittart, 12, 13.
 Ventura, B., 494.
 Victoria, Queen, 33.
 Vikramāditya, 210.
 Vindrāvan, 110.
 Vishnū, 110.
 Vyāsa, 209.

 Wādī al-Qurra, 227.
 Wā'iz, Mullā Raffī, 282.
 Wājīd 'Alī Shāh, 37, 53.
 Wālajāh, Nawwāb 8, 73, 74.
 Walī-Allāh, Shāh, 3, 4, 23, 75-91, 97-104,
 107, 138-159, 164-180, 199, 236, 255,
 365, 404, 418, 421, 422, 426, 430, 433,
 434, 436, 438, 439, 448 474-477, 498,
 500, 514, 523, 536, 542, 545-549, 557,
 558, 565-568, 574-579.
 Walīd, Caliph, 276, 375.
 Walīd b. 'Aqaba, 323, 329, 381, 435, 439.
 Wārdha, 38.
 Warren Hastings, 21, 34, 35, 45, 49, 50,
 63, 64.
 Wazīr al-Dawla, Nawwāb, 6.
 Wazīr 'Alī Khān, 6, 35, 36, 44, 59.
 Wazīrganj, 55.
 Wellesley, Lord, 36, 38, 39, 41, 62, 63.
 Wilāyat 'Alī, 497, 533.
 Wilāyati Begum, 227.
 Wilford, Francis, 66.

 Yāfi'ī, Imām, 147, 377.
 Yāghistān, 487.
 Yahyā, 136, 347.
 Yahyā, Shāh, 557.
 Yahyā b. Mu'in, 275.
 Yahyā b. 'Umar, 283.
 Yahyā b. Yahyā, 143, 144.
 Yahyā b. Y'amar, 376.

 Yahyā b. Zayd, 283.
 Yār Muhammad, 33.
 Yār Muhammad, 480, 490, 493, 494, 496.
 Yārqand, 66, 163.
 Yasawī, S. M. Ahmad, 472.
 Yazdān, 351.
 Yazīd, 197-199, 252, 263, 339, 362, 379,
 398, 404, 405, 436, 456, 457, 465, 469,
 503, 553.
 Yemen, 209, 261, 303, 484.
 Yūhunna, 378.
 Yūsuf al-A'war, 252, 254.
 Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb, 97.
 Yūsufza'īs, 487, 490, 492, 493.

 Zacharias, 136.
 Zafar, Bahādur Shāh, 40.
 Zahr al-Dīn, M., 5, 50.
 Zahra, 326.
 Zakariyya, Prophet, 243.
 Zakariyya b. Ibrāhīm, 282.
 Zakariyya b. M. Bāqir, 264, 283.
 Zamakhsharī, 107, 405, 406, 459.
 Zamān Shāh, 11, 32, 33, 36, 38, 44.
 Zamaniya, 481.
 Zayd b. 'Alī (Shahīd), 264, 283, 286, 379,
 388.
 Zayd b. Arqam, 361.
 Zayd b. Hārith, 228, 306, 307.
 Zayd b. Sawhān, 442.
 Zayd b. Thābit, 240, 325, 329.
 Zayda, 487, 490, 494.
 Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Imām, 264, 286, 296,
 311, 354, 355, 403, 412, 421, 454, 564.
 Zayn al-'Ābidīn, S., 7.
 Zayn Khān, 16.
 Zaynab, 455.
 Zaynab bint Jahsh, 186, 441.
 Zīnat Mahal, Malika, 13.
 Ziyād, 325, 435.
 Zubayr, 140, 202, 262, 283, 305, 311, 314,
 326, 329-332, 336, 343, 362, 383, 420,
 430, 435, 438, 441, 443, 444, 446, 455,
 463, 567.
 Zuhri, 433, 440.

